



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

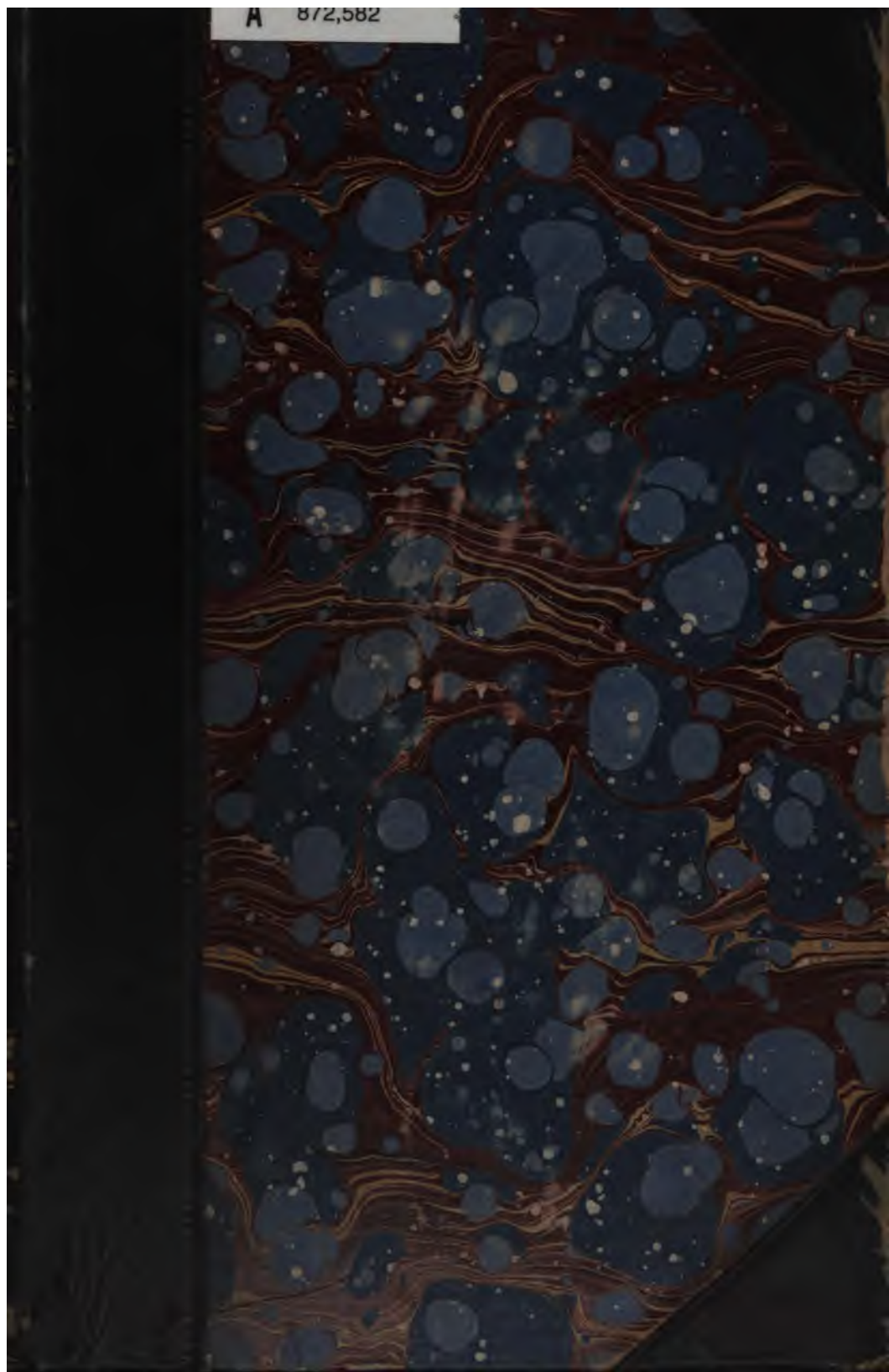
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

A 872,582



Contents.

iii
PAGE

ART. VII.—“THE QUARTERLY REVIEW” AND THE CULTURE OF
OUR CLERGY. 352

The charge made by the writer in the *Quarterly* that the abandonment of the Universities by Catholics has led to failure in educating our own priests: a reply to this—A sketch of what is required from a man and of his course upwards to Orders in Oxford and in Cambridge—Life at Oxford not a preparation for Orders—Contrast: studies and life at Ushaw and Stonyhurst—The special training for clerics: life at Upholland; religious training in a French seminary—Studies at S. Asaph—Significance of a Catholic theological course: superiority of the training in our colleges.

ART. VIII.—IRISH INDUSTRIES 378

Value of Mr. Dennis's book on the commercial resources and capabilities of Ireland—Fatal tendency to export raw produce and re-import it manufactured, illustrated—Neglected opportunities—Disastrous consequences of high inland traffic rates; Irish preference for foreign goods—Neglect, &c., in agriculture—Decadence of dairy industries—Cattle raising and the fishing industries: success of the Baltimore industrial fishery school—The woollen and linen trades—Success of lace schools—The future.

LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE BISHOPS OF BRAZIL 400

SCIENCE NOTICES 411

Celestial Photography—The Great Southern Variable—Climate of Mars—Modern Views of Lightning Conductors—Electric Light Litigation—Purification of Air by Ozone.

NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION 419

African Diamond Mines—Illicit Diamond Dealing—Kaap Valley Gold Fields—Catholicity at the Diamond Fields—Christmas Island—Volcanic Disaster in Japan, &c.

	PAGE
NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION	186
NOTES ON NOVELS	196
The Mystery of a Hansom Cab—Farebrother the Miser— Narka—Joy Cometh in the Morning—Chris—Tony the Maid—A Council of Perfection—The Strange Advent- tures of a House-Boat—John Westacott—The Lindsays	
NOTICES OF CATHOLIC CONTINENTAL PERIODICALS	202
La Civiltà Cattolica—Katholik—Stimmer aus Maria Laach —Etudes religieuses—Revue des Questions Historiques	
NOTICES OF BOOKS	213
Father Bridgett's Life of B. John Fisher—Miss Craven's Lady Georgiana Fullerton—Father Coleridge's Life of the same—E. Healy Thompson's Life of S. Joseph— J. Gillow's Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics—Publications of the C.T.S.—Br. Azarias's Aristotle and the Christian Church—Cardinal Wiseman's Essays—Dr. E. B. Smith's New Ecclesiastical Procedure —O. J. Reichel's Elements of Canon Law—Abbé Trotin's Hypnotisme—Manuale Sacerdotum—Fr. Holaind's Ownership and Natural Right—Prof. Stokes' Ireland and the Celtic Church—The <i>Ave Maria</i> —Tales for Eventide—The <i>Bookworm</i> —Miss Bell's Curious Creatures—The Churgress—M. Jost's Enseignement Primaire—A. Gibbon's Early Lincoln Wills—De Rossi's Bible of Ceolfrid—Dr. H. Brück's Church in Nineteenth Century—G. Lahousse's <i>Metaphysica Specialis</i> —S. Colvin's Keats—E. Boutmy's English Constitution— Rev. A. Carr's Church and Roman Empire—Suggestive Lessons in Practical Life—F. Gasquet's Henry VIII. and English Monastery—Mickiewicz's Master Thaddeus —Life of Bishop Hall—	

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ART. I.—MR. GLADSTONE ON THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION	243
Mr. Gladstone's article full of historical inaccuracies : an enumeration of those to be here examined—His contention is that the Reformation was legally established by the Church herself in England : proofs and replies—Value of his contention that under Mary Convocation did not repeal the legislative action of Convocation under Henry VIII.—His assertion that the episcopal successions through Parker did not displace any legitimate possessors of the Sees, is quite wrong.	
ART. II.—A MISSING PAGE FROM THE "IDYLLS OF THE KING" .	259
An examination of the "Morte d'Arthur," from which Tennyson drew his Idylls, reveals that the Idylls are, as it were, "adapted" for English Protestantism : what he has rejected a Catholic poet would have seized as the culminating point of the epic—Object of this paper to bring out some of the Catholic points passed over by the Laureate—Thoroughly Catholic spirit of the "Morte d'Arthur" : authority of the Pope—A <i>résumé</i> of the narrative of the Holy Grail, the legend which has suffered most in this "adaptation"—Character of Sir Galahad—The correct and more Catholic account of the Queen's repentance : how they both do penance.	
ART. III.—THE APOSTLES' CREED AND THE RULE OF FAITH .	275
Supreme value of the testimony borne by the Apostles' Creed to the continuity of the Church—Principal authorities—Apostolic origin of the Rule of Faith summarized in the Creed, according to Probst : proofs ; the Kerygma—The Rule and the Creed not identical as Bingham supposes : points of difference—The question of the Apostolic origin of the Roman Creed traced back through the Creeds of Rufinus, and of Marcellus, and early Fathers to sub-Apostolic times—Led to same conclusion by comparison of Creed with New Testament and earliest Christian writings.	

subtle and searching critical power. This satisfies in his purely literary work Goethe's test of true criticism—a quick eye for and appreciation of the *beauties* of his author. Again and again a passage in George Eliot or Matthew Arnold, which had left its mark on the reader, he could not quite tell why, is reproduced by Mr. Hutton, and the complex source of our admiration faithfully delineated by him, whether it be a striking contrast, or fine insight into the inmost recesses of character, or the touching of some of the deepest chords of human feeling, or the purely artistic presentation of a scene of human life. Mr. Hutton's critical power, when he touches the deeper aspects of religious thought, is also very acute, if not quite so remarkable. Many of his readers will recollect how, years ago, he struck at the root of Feuerbach's ingenious atheistic writing, so far as its logical force went, by pointing out that the real analysis of his argument was not "Here are proofs that belief in God and Immortality is based on myths," but rather "*Assuming* that religious belief corresponds to no world beyond this, here is a plausible explanation of its genesis." The present volume, in its criticisms on Carlyle, George Eliot, and, above all, on Matthew Arnold, shows a similar power of detecting and exposing fallacy. Mr. Arnold's "stream of tendency" is laid bare in its true meagreness, and the contrast between his purely literary account of the secret of Jesus, and the self-abandonment preached in the Gospels, is exhibited with great force. How could the latter be more unanswerably proved than by the two lines in which Mr. Hutton remarks that Mr. Arnold regards "serene calm, not passionate worship, as the highest type of moral life?"

But there is another side besides the critical, which stands out in strong relief in Mr. Hutton's writing, and which gives it its special character. I speak of his directly religious view of all that he writes of. I wish at starting to insist on this, as it contains the key, as it seems to me, to his strength and consistency, and, on the other hand, to a certain narrowness of which I shall shortly speak in detail. The religious instinct and the religious perceptions are so strong in him, that he seems at times to hold, with the Ontologists, that man has an intuitive knowledge of God. Revelation is to him "the direct presentation of the divine life to our spirits:" he speaks of God as being "present to the human mind." The work of the Gospel is said to be the "purification of the human vision from weakness and disease, which renders it liable to be dazzled and blinded by the Divine light." Of course, there is a sense in which such phrases could be used by all Christians; but their special significance in Mr. Hutton's case is that this communing with the Divinity seems to him to involve direct and unmistakable guidance of the soul

by the Spirit of God. What in the Catholic world would be the language of the mystics, in times of privileged intercourse with the unseen, becomes an integral portion of Mr. Hutton's religious philosophy. The result of this is at once evident in his treatment of the various writers whose work he reviews. In dealing with George Eliot's life and religious history, he faithfully analyzes, with his unflinching critical accuracy, the progress of her mind, and the sources of her unbelief. He discovers in her a slowness to believe in the unseen—a general tendency in human things as well as divine to act on the proverb "out of sight, out of mind"—a shallowness from the first in her adherence to the creed of her childhood; a tendency to regard it as a burden, and not a privilege. Hence we readily see that her lack of spiritual faith was something very easily harmonized with her general character. Her true greatness is shown by him to consist, for the most part, in the quasi-inspiration which made her dramatic creations so immeasurably superior to anything in the writer; and while we should be unspeakably surprised at hearing that Dinah Morris had lost her faith in God and the world to come, Mr. Hutton makes us feel little or no surprise that the creator of Dinah Morris should have done so. This is all very well as far as it goes; but, allowing for the power of critical analysis it shows, is it not, as an account of the *reasons* for George Eliot's scepticism, a little like the schoolman's account of the reasons for sleep: "Because there is a somnolent tendency in the human constitution?" Is it not like saying: "She did not believe because she had no faith?" A very true reason, no doubt, but not sufficient for those who believe that Christ wished all men to be saved, and that faith is necessary for salvation. Her critic's religious instinct being all-sufficient, when he finds her destitute of a similar instinct, he has, in this matter, no common ground on which to approach her. We get from him no glimpse of those tendencies and qualities in her which, had she made a different use of them, should have accomplished the divine purpose within her. He scarcely seems to suggest that she marred or misused the faculties whereby she might have retained her belief in God; he seems rather to imply that she was destitute of such faculties. I am not desiderating confident speculation on a matter in which confidence would be presumptuous; I am only pointing out that Mr. Hutton's tendency to exaggerate the immediate character of the intimations of the invisible world leaves him without any bridge by which to approach and affect the ultra-sceptical, to whom these intimations seem purely illusory.

And while the characteristic I am speaking of keeps him from entering fully into the sceptic's position, it likewise holds him aloof from the Catholic Church. I am not forgetting his strong

sympathy with, and admiration for, the sanctity which he finds among her members. The Catholic ideal of a saint, and the vivid and constant recognition of the supernatural which the Church exhibits, are congenial to Mr. Hutton's religious imagination; and he readily admires the devotion which he witnessed at Lourdes, and gives credit to M. Lasserre's account of the miracles which have been worked there. But the intellectual standpoint of Catholics is quite foreign to his tone of thought. Strong in his own intimate religious convictions, there is in him no longing for the support of the Church. Those sentiments of almost personal attachment to, and dependence on, *Sancta Mater Ecclesia*, which are so prominent a feature in the writings of the Fathers, and which appealed so strongly to Cardinal Newman while yet an Anglican, would find no responsive echo in Mr. Hutton's writings. The beautiful representation of the Church as the Ark to which the faithful flee for refuge from the storm—which sails triumphant, bearing the elect in safety above the all-destroying flood, has little in common with the isolated and personal nature of his creed. The deep sense of God's presence in the soul, and the clear-cut inferences of an independent but deeply religious mind, which make George Eliot's irreligion seem to be like the absence of a special sense, render the guidance of an infallible Church a sort of redundancy of spiritual help in his eyes. And if that Church differs in its conclusions from his own direct inferences, it is proved, moreover, to be untrustworthy as a guide. It is a "human institution" which comes into conflict with the divine voice within the heart of the individual and thus obviously forfeits its own claim to be trusted.

I shall attempt to trace both the sources and the effects on Mr. Hutton's own influence as a "guide of English thought in matters of faith"—which is unquestionably very considerable—of this singular mixture in him of sympathetic critical power and inability to enter into certain positions other than his own. His mind is remarkably plastic and sympathetic on all matters, save such as are closely connected with his own religious position. Here it is fixed and rigid. He has thought laboriously, conscientiously, and once for all. And this is greatly explained by the character of Mr. Hutton's religious history. He has done what very few have done: he has advanced, by force of the destructive principle of private judgment, along a road essentially constructive—from the Unitarian position to a belief, on grounds of reason, in the Incarnation. In the autobiographical essay on "The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence," which he published more than twenty years ago, he told us the process whereby this had come to pass. He elaborated principles as to the kind of evidence admissible in religious inquiry; and he proceeded to apply them

to his belief concerning the nature of Christ. The conception of God as primarily *in Himself* a God of love—loving His Divine Son in the past ages of eternity before men existed—was an idea which powerfully attracted him to the Trinitarian view. The reconciliation in the doctrines concerning the Man-God, of belief in man's lowliness and unworthiness, with belief in his dignity and privileges, was another consideration which drew him towards his new creed. And he devised with evident care and labour a theory of evidence by which to justify the beliefs to which his sympathies drew him. This is, as I have said, a very unusual history. Private reasoning has, in many cases, as with Luther and the other Reformers, led to the discarding of Church doctrines as unscriptural accretions. On the other hand, it has led men from lower levels to accept, by reaction from rationalism, the authority of Scripture and the authority of the Church. But that it should lead to accepting individual Christian doctrines while something of the rationalistic attitude is preserved with reference to the Church, and even to Scripture itself, is very remarkable. And the Herculean nature of the task is at once apparent, as it involves the finding of a totally new road to doctrines which have ever in the past rested upon authority, in one form or another. A more individual or independent journey forward in religious truth has rarely been accomplished. With vivid and intense religious instincts marching in the van as his "pillar of fire," to guide the course of his speculations, his almost rationalistic mind follows with infinite labour and indefatigable obedience over ground which is uncongenial to all that savours of rationalism. The journey is, however, accomplished. His intellect has adopted and justified the position congenial to his moral nature; and it is, perhaps, due to the very intensity of the effort, that his line of thought on these subjects has become almost a part of himself, and the necessary medium through which he views all else.

The purely sympathetic side of Mr. Hutton's work is most strongly shown in literary criticism which has no direct connection with religion. I have already noted his power of bringing before the reader the true analysis of his pleasure in particular works or passages; but for the average reader he does far more. His own perceptions, as well as his powers of analysis, are acuter than those of most of us, and he shows us what to look for as well as explains what we have found. Take, for example, his estimate of the general effect on the reader of George Eliot's masterpiece, "*Adam Bede*," few could read it without feeling their own comparatively misty impressions brought out and defined with quite a new freshness, and their minds sharpened and directed for a fresh and far more profitable perusal of the book.

I quote it, in spite of its length, as an admirable specimen of Mr. Hutton's powerful and sympathetic criticism :—

The group of characters, conceived in themselves, and without reference to the narrative, seems to me perfect, a rural cartoon of marvellous simplicity, and yet stately in its beauty. The strong-headed, manly, sharp-tempered, secular carpenter, with his energetic satisfaction in work, his impatience of dreamers, and his early passion for Hetty's earthly loveliness; the tender-hearted, mystic-minded Seth, who so readily unlooses his hold of his one dream of happiness; the pretty, vain, little, pleasure-loving dairymaid, with her inarticulate love of luxury, and dread of shame, so shallow that she cannot even feel a passing anticipation of the fate before her, but flutters into it like a moth into the candle; the spiritual, transparent-minded, meditative, yet clear-sighted, Wesleyan factory-girl, whose delicate sensitiveness to the inward condition and wants of others never ruffles her own distinct apprehension of the personal duty before her; the good-natured, self-deceiving, weak young squire, with his patronising generosity, and his disposition to comfort himself, in his self-reproach, with the good opinion of those who are totally ignorant of his grounds for self-reproach; and the noble, easy-minded, tolerant rector, who feels so little impulse to exert moral influence over others that the Wesleyan factory-girl is a problem to him, and who, even where he has natural authority, rather shrinks from the intrusion necessary to exert it, with the many other vividly painted figures more or less in the background; the quick-witted, fretful Lisbeth, with her excessive fondness for the son she fears, and her half contempt for the son whose religiousness she regards as an insurance to the family; the more quick-witted and more audacious farmer's wife, whose reverence for the piety of her niece is so strongly mixed with dislike of eccentricity and dissent; these, with the slighter and equally true outlines, with which the picture is filled up, form one of the truest and most typical groups of English life I have ever seen delineated.

* * * * *

The greatest effort and greatest success of the book consist, however, in the wonderful power of the contrast between Hetty and Dinah. From the first introduction of Dinah preaching to the crowd on the village green, and winning her little success over the vain heart of the blacksmith's daughter, and the first appearance of Hetty tossing her butter in the dairy, full of conscious delight at *her* little success in riveting Captain Donnithorne's admiration, the interest centres in these two figures.

What common measure of human nature can apply to them both? Near as they are in position, and equal in attractions, and belonging alike to the same half-educated class, they represent evidently the highest and lowest grade in the scale of spiritual nature, and thoughts that fill the mind of the one do not even rouse the faintest echo in the nature of the other. The art of the contrast is the greater, that it is never forced on our attention, and never exaggerated. Yet from the first it is growing upon us. Dinah's gentle rejection of the one brother

whom she cannot love opens the tale, while Hetty's conduct to the other, whom she cannot love, forms its climax of interest. The interest is the deeper and truer that it is not the common-place antithesis between right and wrong, but between the finest and most delicate of spiritual consciences, and that absolute inaccessibility to moral or spiritual thought which marks a soft shallow pleasure-loving nature preoccupied with self-love. The moral *material* of which the two girls are made seems chargeable with the difference rather than any conduct of their own. Can any meeting-point be found between the two? . . . This is in a great measure the theme of the story, and the scene in which it is first fully realized, where Dinah and Hetty are pictured in the adjoining bedrooms, each in their separate world, is one of the most powerful pieces of imaginative writing which the present generation has produced.

There is in this analysis the acuteness, self-forgetfulness, and entire dramatic sympathy, which are the highest critical gifts. The features of the work are viewed, not in reference to opinions or hobbies of the critic, but entirely from the author's standpoint, and from the point of view of her own success in her own attempt; an obvious standard, it may be said, to set up for the critic, but one, nevertheless, very rarely attended to in practice.

Again, how powerful and terse is the description of Carlyle—true, so far as it goes, though some will hold the estimate of his power to be insufficient. "In origin, a peasant who originated a new sort of culture, and created a most artificial style, full at once of affectation, and of genuine power; in faith, a Calvinistic sceptic, who rejected Christianity while clinging ardently to the symbolic style of the Hebrew teaching; in politics, a pioneer of democracy, who wanted to persuade the people to trust themselves to the almost despotic guidance of Lord-protectors whom he could not tell them how to find; in literature, a rugged sort of poet who could not endure the chains of rhythm, and even jeered at rhyme—Carlyle certainly stands out a paradoxical figure—solitary, proud, defiant, vivid."

As a final specimen of Mr. Hutton, quite at his best as a sympathetic critic, I will take his account of Cardinal Newman's style. He notes truly how inseparable in Newman's case are the style and the man, and the description is as much an account of the mode in which the Cardinal's thought advances as of his way of writing. And this makes it the more interesting as showing the critic's faithful estimate of the fibre and nature of Newman's mind; while the latter part of the same essay shows an inability equally remarkable to enter into the actual religious position which he finally adopted. The former calls out the critic's singular gift of dramatic sympathy; the latter falls outside the limits of that intense and narrow spiritual limelight which makes

his own religious convictions so vivid, and leaves views outside its path in comparative darkness. Here is the passage :—

Newman's is a style that more nearly represents a clear atmosphere than any other which I know in English literature. It flows round you, it presses gently on every side of you, and yet, like a steady current, carries you in one direction too. On every facet of your mind and heart you feel the light touch of his purpose, and yet you cannot escape the general drift of his movement more than the ship can escape the drift of the tide. He never said anything more characteristic than when he expressed his conviction that, though there are a hundred difficulties in faith, into all of which he could enter, the hundred difficulties are not equivalent to a single doubt. That saying is most characteristic even of his style, which seems to be sensitive in the highest degree to a multitude of hostile influences which are at once appreciated and resisted, while one predominant and over-ruling power moves steadily on.

After reading this delicately sympathetic estimate of the master-mind of the Oxford Movement, the Catholic reader comes with something like a shock of surprise on Mr. Hutton's account of the religious position which that mind ultimately found rest in—that of submission to the authority of the Church. The practical action of the Church's infallibility is quite misunderstood by Mr. Hutton. He is, it is true, too well read in Catholic theology to commit himself definitely to the statement that the Holy Father is held to be infallible in acts due merely to his own private judgment; but the general rhetoric of his account amounts to little less than this. The Cardinal is described as having "led hundreds back to surrender their judgment to a Pope whose rashness Dr. Newman's own ripe culture ultimately condemned;" the Papacy is spoken of as an "infallible authority to which" Catholics "can appeal on points in dispute." The writer insists on the fatal consequences of attaching importance to "the infallibility of a Church of which the earthly corner-stone may be such a Judas as Alexander Borgia;" he appeals triumphantly to the fact that, among the Irish Nationalists, "the infallible Church has not succeeded in bringing home even the most elementary of spiritual duties to the hearts and consciences of the people." Throughout his whole treatment of the subject, indeed, we find expressed or implied an estimate of the professed scope and efficacy of infallibility very different from that held by Catholics—as a restless, conspicuous, drastic power, working miracles at every turn, dependent on the judgment or caprice of an individual, performing crucial experiments constantly by which its claim should stand or fall, accountable to every bystander who may say, "If the Pope does not interfere there, where things are so bad, how can he be truly infallible?" It is a surely obvious

answer to make that, as such a conception of the infallibility of the Holy See could not for a moment justify itself in the face of the facts of the seventeen years during which it has been a defined dogma, it could scarcely have resulted, as did the Catholic doctrine, from the ever-increasing definiteness—in the face of the facts of eighteen centuries—of the conception of the Church's unfailing guidance. The very fact that the dogma has defined itself in the course of human history in a great measure explains its limitations. A man who should come to us and complain that God's Providence cannot be believed in, because he has been just and unfortunate while his neighbour has been a scamp and has thriven, is not to be met on his own ground. We should not question his facts as the last appeal in the matter. We should rather point to the Scripture of thousands of years ago in which it is written: "There are just men to whom evils happen as though they had done the works of the wicked; and there are wicked men who are secure as though they had done the deeds of the just;" or to St. Paul's resigned reflection that "His ways are not as our ways."

The belief in God's unfailing Providence has never excluded the recognition that its action is often a mystery to us, and that it cannot always be discovered in the *minutiæ* of life. "Though He slay me, yet will I trust Him," said holy Job. There was, in the depths of his religious nature, an assurance of the goodness of God which left his trust untouched in the face of afflictions such as few men have had to endure. Cardinal Newman has told us that the "revolution of empires, the rise and fall of States, the periods and eras, the progresses and the retrogressions of the world's history . . . the great outlines and the results of human affairs," are due to God's Providence. And yet, in all these things, "incidental sin" is, as he says, "over-abundant." The sin is not from God, the great outlines are. If any one fixed his attention on the excesses of the Crusaders, and proceeded to argue that either Providence should have interfered to prevent them, or that no Divine Providence should be recognized in the Crusades, he would surely be over hasty. He would be insisting on an unreal presumption of "all or none." Either Providence is apparent everywhere, or it has no existence. Either it must obviously guide each detail or it accomplishes nothing. There is no allowance for a Power which holds it wisest to act by natural means, and without upsetting the natural order; which accomplishes great aims without destroying those sinful possibilities of nature which are necessarily left to themselves for other ends equally important.

And so, too, with the infallibility of the Church. Those who recognize a teaching Church as the normal supplement to the dictates of conscience, hold further that the idea of a Church fully

developed leads to that of infallibility; as the conception of the God who reigns in our conscience logically involves His never-failing personal care for us and His providence for the world He has made. And in each case the idea of guidance is consistent with the working through natural and human forces rather than in a conspicuous and miraculous way. Theologians are express in asserting that no direct *inspiration* is presupposed in the exercise of infallibility. The divinely protected acts are brought about by human means, by the arguments of theologians, the events in Church history, and the personal wisdom of the Pontiff—any of which are in themselves liable to error and even sin; and inerrancy, as being a negative quality, does not necessarily imply the positive qualities of perfect opportuneness and completeness in the acts themselves. In the great definitions and *ex cathedrâ* decisions—the outlines of doctrinal development—infallibility is exhibited directly and unmistakably, and it acts elsewhere in the spiritual guidance of Christians, though it may not be evident to all, and in every case, in what elements of her teaching and action that guidance consists, just as particular Providences are ever acting on the lives of men, though they may only be detected by the reverent and watchful. But we can no more invoke it in *minutiae* of our own determining than we can call on God for a miracle; and we little know in either case what might be the evil consequences, the more important ends frustrated, were such rash and ignorant requests granted.

So much as to the general position and principle to be noted. Apart from this, Mr. Hutton's criticisms fall wide of the sphere of infallibility as it has been definitely explained by theologians. We cannot appeal, as he asserts, on all points in dispute, because the Church's infallibility in defining extends only so far as those utterances which enable her to preserve and protect the *depositum fidei*. We can not test her claim by her success in keeping the Irish people from a political fanaticism which is at times immoral, because her power of definition in morals cannot extend further than the deciding in what right morality consist. The Church has again and again asserted the principle that the existing law must be obeyed where it does not enjoin actual sin; but she can no more physically compel obedience to her principles on the part of particular persons than she can physically prevent apostasy from the faith. So far as the general wisdom of the Church authorities might be criticized for a policy of non-interference in so great a scandal, no doubt opinions may differ. No one claims infallible guidance for every detail of the Pope's policy in the discipline of the Church. Still, most of us will be disposed to attribute to the Holy See, even in such a case as I am considering, a farther-sighted judgment than others can claim as to the effects

of actions pregnant with consequences, and as to how it should allow itself to interfere in such cases, and the time at which interference would be really effective.*

But in refusing to accept Mr. Hutton's challenge to stake all on the particular issues he raises, we may seem to be laying ourselves open to his other charge—that infallibility is useless. Where it might do good, he seems to say, it does nothing, and where it acts it does no good. "I cannot, for the life of me, see," he writes, "how the infallible human authority for dogma could, even if it existed, be of any service to rebellious, misguided, passionate men, unless it could infuse the grace to understand spiritually, as well as authorize the right form of words to be understood." This is no new difficulty in Mr. Hutton's writings. In the preface to his "Theological Essays"—more than ten years ago—he desiderated "moral infallibility, infallibility of the will and the affections," as the necessary correlative to intellectual infallibility. The Catholic Church, he says, does not claim this, and hence the especial danger among Catholics of "assenting with the mind to what the heart ignores." Again he asks "how her presumed infallibility helps" to "put an abiding purity" into her children, to "make them holy with the holiness of Christ?" which is, of course, the final aim of all religion.

Mr. Hutton's language on this aspect of the matter, taken in conjunction with the statements I have cited earlier, implies a view of infallibility so exaggerated on one side—that of the definite and crystallized statements in which infallibility is exhibited, and so defective in another—that of the less palpable or definable, but very real action of infallibility in general spiritual guidance, that the best reply to it will be the attempt to describe some of the ways in which the doctrine he considers does affect the practical life of a Catholic. It is not my purpose to attempt a theological disquisition; I shall only endeavour to point out briefly some of the points, and the *kind* of points, at which the action of infallibility is found by experience to come in contact with the religious life of an instructed Catholic.

"It is excellent to have a giant's strength," says the poet; "but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant." The strongest among us can be tender and gentle, and can do more in many cases to help the weaker by adapting their strength to the requirements of the moment, than by exerting to the full a power which would make action synonymous with violence. And so the Church, which has the wonderful prerogative of infallible decision as the fullest expression and most unmistakable exhibition of her powers of guidance, does not at every moment give utterance to fresh

* Since these lines were in type the Holy Office has recorded its judgment in these matters.

defined intellectual propositions on matters of faith.* Considering the far-reaching nature of every categorical statement of truth in this universe, if its import be realized, such a procedure would involve an iron rule destroying rather than strengthening the spiritual life. It would imply, too, as Mr. Hutton suggests, a very one-sided and purely intellectual action, which might do more harm than good. But, on the other hand, her province extends far wider than this in the personal direction of Catholics, and her activity as an infallible guide has a side in this connection, which Mr. Hutton entirely ignores. He asks how infallibility helps her to make men holy, and seems to propound the dilemma—"either the object of the Church is to secure a certain number of cold intellectual assents by its infallible power, and, if so, it does not help men to be holy; or, if its object is to make its children holy, infallibility does not help it." In reply, I begin by saying, not as a mere profession which a religious body must make in general, but as a fact which I hope to show unmistakably in detail, that the sanctification of souls is *the one* object, and that intellectual assents to doctrine have never been viewed except as *one* of many means to this end; and, further, that the province of infallibility is not, in our ordinary theological text-books, confined at all to intellectual *formulae*, but does bear direct relation to means for sanctification. Let me, on the first head, quote the testimony of one who, from being a Protestant, became a Catholic.

I bear my own testimony [writes Cardinal Newman] to what has been brought home to me most vividly as a matter of fact since I have been a Catholic—viz., that that mighty world-wide Church, like her divine Author, regards, consults for, labours for, the individual soul; she looks at the souls for whom Christ died, and who are made over to her, and her one object, for which everything is sacrificed—appearances, reputation, worldly triumph—is to acquit herself well of this most awful responsibility. Her one duty is to bring forward the elect to salvation, and to make them as many as she can: to take offences out of their path, to warn them of sin, to rescue them from evil, to convert them, to teach them, to feed them, to protect them, to perfect them.†

* I am purposely keeping clear of the controversy which was carried on twenty years ago among English Catholic theologians as to the exact extent of Infallibility. My criticism would hold good on either of the views maintained. Even the "maximistic" side admitted that infallible pronouncements are "far rarer" than other official acts of the Pope, and that he must speak as *Doctor Universalis* and not merely as *Gubernator Doctrinalis* if his decision is to be accounted infallible.—See Dr. Ward's "Essays on the Church's Doctrinal Authority," pp. 452, 506.

† See "Difficulties of Anglicans," vol. i. p. 207.

And with reference to Mr. Hutton's second question—how does infallibility help the Church to accomplish this aim—to sanctify and save souls?—let me first cite, again, from a standard work in the hands of all Catholics, an account of the main features of Church guidance :

The Church [writes Perrone] when she discharges her functions of teaching, performs a threefold office : the office of witness, of judge, of *magistra*. She performs the office of witness in professing those truths of the faith which she has received from Christ; that of judge in deciding those controversies which affect the faith or are related thereto; that of *magistra* in her daily ministry, wherein *by word of mouth and by her action she instructs the faithful in those things which conduce to their training in pure doctrine and morality, and leads them, as it were, by the hand along the path of eternal salvation.* That Christ has endowed His Church with infallibility for these several offices Catholics maintain and non-Catholics deny.

Surely this account of infallibility by a Catholic theologian is a very different one from Mr. Hutton's. The Protestant writer entirely omits from his estimate of its effects the sphere of practical guidance by her daily ministry; and yet this is just the sphere in which the infallible Church has the most constant and immediate communication with her children. The liturgical and sacramental system, and the ascetic discipline of the Church, which combine to impress, in the words of a well-known theologian, "a definite interior character" on Catholics, form a large part of this practical guidance—of the Church's *magisterium ordinarium* as it is called. That infallible teaching as to the true ethical ideal which is definitely declared in the canonization of saints and in the approval of religious orders, is likewise impressed upon the minds of the faithful in the daily devotional life of the Church. Frequenting the Sacraments, carrying out the devotions and dwelling on the doctrines proper to the season or the saint commemorated, learning principles of self-improvement in the confessional—from the bare avoidance of sin to the study of the "interior life," adopting at fitting times the prescribed remedies for spiritual sloth in systematic meditation and retreat from the world—these are obvious particulars in which Catholics may profit by Church guidance. And here are, surely, means of ethical training designed to aid in the assimilation of revealed doctrine. There is no divorce of the intellectual from the moral order. The Church cannot, indeed, ensure either acceptance of the intellectual *formulae*, or conformity to the rules of the spiritual life which she lays down for the fruitful acceptance and apprehension of those *formulae*. But this is only saying, what scarcely needs saying, that she cannot make all who are

Catholics by profession Catholics in spirit and practice. Still, this does not affect the issue. A system must be judged of by those who do their best to profit by it. No doctor—though he be infallibly wise—can infallibly secure that his patient should take his medicine regularly; but I need hardly insist that his skill should be measured by his success with obedient, and not by his failure with disobedient, patients. “The same words mean totally different things to the humble mind and the arrogant mind,” says Mr. Hutton, “to the selfish mind and to the self-denying.” Hence, he concludes that an infallible exposition of doctrine is no security that that doctrine will be spiritually profitable. Most true. But the remedy lies not in less Church guidance, but in that wider and more personal guidance which he has omitted to consider, which enables the Catholic to be humble and not arrogant, self-denying and not selfish. Mr. Hutton is considering the case of one who is ordered a mixture with mutually complementary ingredients, and has taken but one. The remedy is not to leave off the one, but to take both.

I have said “mutually complementary,” and this leads to a consideration of importance. If, it may be asked, personal sanctity is the one aim, and if the Church’s moral discipline leads to this, why trouble at all about intellectual definitions? Why overweight us with such problems which would seem to be a mere distraction of the mind from practical duties, or an oppressing it with details irrelevant to the sanctification of the day’s work?

The reply to this question is that the intellectual and the ascetic guidance of the Church are, as I have just said, mutually complementary. The ascetic training enables him who goes through it to enter with spiritual perception into intellectual propositions which were else barren and cold. But the converse, too, holds good. Dogma may help the believer to be ascetic, may form and does form an integral portion of the spiritual life. I speak, throughout, as Mr. Hutton does, of *facts*, of *effects*, of actual phenomena. Take the definition of the real presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. How many find this an actual *stimulus* to concentrated devotion and prayer before the Altar, of union with God, and submission of the will to His, which they could never attain to without it. The belief is interwoven with the devotional life of the most ordinary Catholic, in the practices of Benediction and Exposition and in daily Mass, and it reaches the height of its influence in the orders of Perpetual Adoration in which, day and night, prayer is offered without intermission to our Lord, present in the Tabernacle.

Take, again, another of the doctrines which Luther rejected—the doctrine of the priesthood. Doubtless it contains in it certain intellectual propositions; but who, that reads the life of St. Charles Borromeo, of St. Ignatius of Loyola, of St. Francis Xavier, of St. Philip Neri, of the army of saints who were the champions of what has been called the counter-reformation within the Catholic Church, can deny that the conception of the priesthood, and the correlative Catholic teaching as to its true ideal—of its constant self-renunciation and divorce from all earthly ties, of the dignity of the office, of its eternal character, of the mystic and indelible mark it gives to the soul—a priest being *sacerdos in æternum*—of the sacramental aid which priests alone can give—that all this and much else which the reformers destroyed, gave to the actual spiritual life of the saints I speak of a character quite foreign to the Protestant? I am not attempting to prove that it is a *better* character. Many will say that celibacy is unnatural, that the idea of the priesthood is unscriptural formalism, that the ascetic idea implies over-confidence in the power of man. But even those who maintain this must allow that the character impressed by the beliefs they condemn is something *sui generis*; that the beliefs do not remain something apart from the spiritual life of those who endeavour to realize them, but have a very important influence on that life.

I have not space to pursue this in detail. What is true of the two dogmas I have referred to is true in its measure of others. The system of meditation on dogma and of applying to practical life the fruits of meditation, means nothing else than the connecting intellectual beliefs with the life of the affections.

There is another consideration which Mr. Hutton overlooks in his disparagement of the value of formal definitions. A *formula* may protect a living belief from the inroads of Rationalism. It may protect life though it cannot by itself give life. Thus Newman has told us that the passing over as nought of the *formulae* whereby the Church has crystallized into unbending shape her witness to our Lord's divinity, has rendered the belief in it so vague among many Protestants as almost to fade away altogether. Mr. Froude has borne witness that Carlyle recognized in his old age that the definition which secured the word *homoousion* and condemned the word *homoiousion* was vital to Christian faith. As a young man he laughed at so much bitter strife about a diphthong; his riper wisdom saw that Christianity itself was at stake.* Again, the awful alternative of Heaven or Hell—

* "He told me now that he perceived Christianity itself to have been at stake. If the Arians had won, it would have dwindled away into a legend."—Carlyle's "Life in London," vol. ii., p. 462.

Purgatory being eliminated—has made Protestants, within the knowledge of all of us, speak with confidence of death as a passage to Heaven. The absence of the Catholic dogma as to Purgatory has so diminished their realization of the doctrine of Eternal Punishment that the Protestant hell has been wittily described as “a place of eternal torment, eternally untenanted.” Here are beliefs secured by Church decisions, and whose absence touches matters vital to Christianity. A still stronger case is the doctrine of grace. The Calvinistic conception of God with its awful sternness, with the fatalistic ethical temper it generates in its votaries, could not coexist with the Catholic definition that “God wishes all men to be saved.” Here is a matter affecting the whole moral temper of the believer, and those who have lived where Calvinism has flourished as a popular creed attest the gloomy fatalism, and the paralysis of moral effort, as well as the unchristian lack of charity which it begets. Something of this was tersely and terribly expressed in a verbal controversy between a Calvinistic minister and a clergyman who was in distress and horror at his views. The latter broke off the discussion after some very plain statement as to the implacable God of the Calvinists, who doomed before creation the mass of mankind to inevitable perdition, with the exclamation, “Stop! I see how it is! Your God is my devil.” Luther’s conception of man being ridden alternately by God and the devil is little less disastrous in its effect on morality. How can the decisions which render such beliefs impossible, which secure intact the conceptions of the goodness of God, the value and possibility of moral effort, the reality of moral responsibility, be considered as outside the truly religious and spiritual life, as valueless in themselves without the assistance in him who receives them of those very moral qualities which they have so necessary a share in begetting?

One further effect of trust in the Church’s guidance may be noted, and this is the definite ethical ideal which it begets. Mr. Hutton owns that the “only attitude of mind in which we can hope to profit by revelation is that of profound humility towards an infallible authority above us;” but he contends that that authority is wielded by God and not by men. Catholics will assent to this so far as words go, but will deny that in ordinary cases God’s authoritative guidance can be clearly understood, if his Church, through whom He speaks, be ignored. And this is a very practical consideration. We cannot at the same moment be disputing and submitting. One who sees on the one side of him the Broad Church, whose gospel of self-reliance has issued in Matthew Arnold’s version of Christianity, and on the other side the passivity of the Low Church school, which tends to make the individual soul a mere instrument on which the powers above and

below play alternately, requires a good deal of independent thought before he learns to aim at the mixture of diffidence in self and confidence in God which Mr. Hutton rightly judges to be the way to spiritual progress. On the other hand, in the Catholic Church the ideal is unmistakable, and the means proper to its pursuit are, as we have seen, ready at hand. The energy which another will expend in finding the right path, in independent thought and discussion, is directed in the case of the Catholic towards submission and action. I do not deny that there may be those of rare spiritual gifts, who, as the prophets of old, before the details of Church guidance existed, may find in their own goodness and reliance on God enough to help them; but for ordinary human beings the accumulated experiences of the saints as embodied in the Church's ascetic discipline and teaching is a legacy for which they are grateful, and which they would not venture to neglect. Mr. Hutton's own criticism of George Eliot's attempt to supply the place of God by her own moral thoughtfulness, may, in its measure, be applied to those who think to substitute for Church guidance principles derived from their own reflections. "A human being of strong ethical convictions," he writes, "who thinks that God is to be replaced by his own moral thoughtfulness, must be always exerting himself to be more and more morally thoughtful; and must injure himself by giving to his moral thoughtfulness a highly artificial character." And so surely theories purely individual on self-improvement and the best means to it—theories apart from the growth of ascetic theology as a science in the course of the history of the Saints, run the risk of being unreal and artificial. Mr. Hutton again and again maintains that we cannot form a theory as to what is above us—that we must study it as learners understanding better and better, but never hoping to have that comprehension which justifies a theory, and which implies that we are *above* what we explain.* And on this principle the personal study of the saints, and the generalizations we can make as to the road to perfection from the lives of these masters of perfection, and the adoption of the method they have indicated, is surely a more hopeful way and a more intelligent way of progressing than to theorize beforehand on phenomena of which the individual can only have very limited experience. It is more hopeful to cultivate the spirit of self-abandonment and love of the Cross, advocated by all the saints without exception, and to balance it in practice by the common sense of St. Theresa and the teaching of moral theologians that mortification should not interfere with the practical duties of life,

* See e.g., "Theological Essays," p. 81 (Second Edition).

than to hesitate in the first matter because love of suffering seems to justify the excesses of the Fakeers, and to hesitate conditionally in the next because we do not see on what theory practical duties should come before the virtue of self-denial, if self-denial be accorded the high place it holds in Catholic spirituality. M. Jourdain talked before he knew how his jaws and tongue were to be moved for each vowel and consonant, and he might have talked fairly well and yet had insuperable difficulty in reconciling to his own mind the principles on which his instructor explained their movements. Practice comes before theory in such cases ; and much more so where confessedly we have not enough experience of practice to give us the number of facts requisite for a theory, or where the facts are to a great extent above us and beyond us as a whole.

To conclude, and to sum up, as briefly as possible, the effects on Mr. Hutton's judgment and influence of the characteristics I have been considering. The fact that his religion is of his own manufacture, if it makes his attitude somewhat wooden and narrow, is, nevertheless, in some respects, a source of strength. No one knows a book as well as he who has written it, and no one can grasp and realize his own beliefs as well as one who has thought out every step for himself. Mr. Hutton has studied and understood the modern sceptical school. The sceptical position, into whatsoever form it is thrown, amounts to much the same thing. The actual difficulties urged against belief in God and in another world, it is true, vary with different ages. But the denial of religious first principles—of the reality and authority of conscience, with all its corollaries—is, at all times, the foundation of religious scepticism. Affirm these truths, and doubts are only difficulties ; deny them, and difficulties at once become doubts. The old Romans read in Lucretius much what our grandfathers read in Hume, so far as the essence of unfaith is concerned. In dealing, then, with modern Agnostics, Mr. Hutton never flinches. He feels that their apparently overwhelming strength is destroyed, once it is confessed that they refuse to see the true import of the religious nature and spiritual perceptions of mankind ; and that if these perceptions are allowed no self-asserting and self-justifying character, it is useless to argue in detail with those who ignore them ; for the controversy will be, at best, undecided. He asserts the reality of these instincts, and ruthlessly exposes the insufficiency of the account which the Agnostics give of them. He concentrates the battle on the really critical points, refusing to stake the result, as his enemies would wish, on the issue of a side-skirmish. He does not, indeed, refuse to discuss minor issues ; but he never lets us forget the relative importance of the points in dispute, or the logical lie of the argument. The writing of one

whose religious grasp was less nervous and firm could not have a similar effect.

But, on the other hand, Mr. Hutton suffers in the conflict, and suffers very seriously, from the weakness of isolation. Both in its influence on the imagination, and in its materials for actual reasoning against the various shades of infidelity, a purely personal creed labours under heavy disadvantages. The history of the Catholic Church, as a history of spiritual discovery and spiritual power, witnessing to the reality of that world from whence it professes to draw its strength; the exhibition of its diffused influence throughout the earth, of its infinitely varied activity in every place; the schools of theology, the heroic labours of the saints, the hundreds of religious orders ministering to different classes of spiritual needs, the incessant work of the ministry at altar, confessional, and pulpit, submitted to an organization whose perfection has been the admiration of all, its life centred in the Holy See, as every nerve and organ in the complex frame of man has its life of sensation in the brain—all this has an effect on the imagination which answers in some sense on the side of religion to the imposing display of modern science, in whose name the "advanced" thinkers would discredit belief in the supernatural. In many minds the effect of the one on the imagination will be to some extent counteracted by the effect of the other. As scientific discovery is a witness to scientific truth, so the saints and the triumphs of the Church are a witness to religious truth. Joubert's often-quoted saying, "One should be fearful of being wrong in poetry when one differs from the poets, and in religion when one differs from the saints," expresses something of this. I do not deny that, in their degree, all Christians alike may take refuge in the thought of Christian achievement; but the Catholic Church evinces spiritual activity in forms much more striking and conspicuous, more definite and systematic, and, as Catholics would contend, in a far higher degree than less disciplined bodies, in which opposite ideals in matters of importance to a great extent neutralize the effect of moral action.

But a yet greater disadvantage of an individual and self-evolved creed seem to consist in its want of adaptability to other minds of various degrees of strength and different moral temperament. It would carry me too far to develop fully my meaning on this head. I can only indicate it briefly. Mr. Hutton's singular union of great mental power and strong ethical instincts has enabled him to bear an intellectual examination of Agnosticism which, where minds are weaker or religion less strong, might shake all belief. Many may follow him in his considerations on Feuerbach and Renan, and find, at the end of their reading, that the action of God on the soul, which is so certain to Mr. Hutton,

appears to them doubtful. Renan's view of Christ has been presented, and Feuerbach's rationalistic account of the whole supernatural world, and the imagination of the reader proceeds to grasp the analysis of the deeper spiritual view with weakened powers. It ceases to discriminate what is plausible from what is true. The religious view may appear to it, at this stage, but one form of the intellectual kaleidoscope, instead of being, as it is to Mr. Hutton, the unmistakable light through whose medium all other views are seen. In short, many could not adapt themselves to Mr. Hutton's method from intellectual or moral weakness. Here the safeguard afforded by that wise and systematic moral training, on which the Church insists before such investigations are undertaken, may be twofold. It may render more clear and articulate the spiritual and moral side of human nature; while on the intellectual side, individual direction will decide how far detailed argument is suited for the intellectual strength of the particular mind, how much thought will have a fair prospect of digestion, and how much would merely blur and confuse such insight as it already has into the question.

It is more and more recognized that the attitude and disposition of a man's mind in many cases both indicates more and aids more in insight than explicit statement or explicit arguments. Dr. Martineau rejects the miraculous in Scripture, and denies Christ's Divinity; Voltaire believed in God; and yet there is that in their mode of believing in God which must keep them poles asunder, and which would bring Dr. Martineau's religion into more closer sympathy with Mr. Hutton's—widely different though their statements of doctrine are. Again, Cardinal Newman has shown, with unsurpassed force, that infidels, as Gibbon, fail to gauge accurately arguments which they grasp intellectually, purely for want of those earnest and religious dispositions which are as necessary to the intellect in viewing religious truth as light to the eyes. This being so, the power of a Church which comprehends an ethical training and ascetic code, as well as a statement of doctrine, is at once evident. What Mr. Hutton's religious nature finds ready made in him, requires for many a course of training, as one can paint or draw by natural genius in a degree which is impossible to another without much practice and the study of perspective.

My limits require that I should now take leave of Mr. Hutton, though there is much more which I should have wished to say did space permit. I have dwelt at disproportionate length upon his fundamental religious position, as it seems to me to afford the key to all those points in which a Catholic would diverge from him. Had I reviewed principally his incidental criticisms I

should have had little to say but to echo his own keen and incisive remarks.

For the rest, if he has *les défauts de ses qualités*, if deep and laborious thought has given his convictions a somewhat stereotyped character, this very fact has its influence for good. In days when sentimental sympathy with every possible religious view, and consistent action on none, is the intellectual fashion, when æsthetic admiration of contradictory ideals so often destroys the possibility of moral action, it is indeed refreshing to find a religion in its measure clear and consistent, without, on the one hand, the bigotry which refuses to look at other opinions, or, on the other, the maudlin weakness which sympathizes with and is carried away by each in turn. Mr. Hutton's choice of spiritual diet may be somewhat Spartan, and unsuited to weak digestions; but it is invigorating and sustaining to those who are equal to it. The sentimental school tastes religion after religion—Buddhism, Mahomedanism, and Christianity, one after another—and digests none. Mr. Hutton at least supports and strengthens the spiritual-life of the more intellectual class; modern sentimentalism produces very varied powers of spiritual appreciation at the cost of spiritual starvation.

There has been, perhaps, an additional and partly unconscious reason which has led me to dwell so long on one point; and this is, that I cannot help thinking that the personal depth of religious appreciation which gives Mr. Hutton's writings so much power, might very well be united with a less individual creed so far as its genesis goes, and with what I must call a broader and more adaptable system. The Catholic system, which, without lessening individuality, concentrates it rather on the spiritual life than on the fundamental articles of the creed, which leads the individual in *lieu* of proving our Lord's divinity, as Mr. Hutton does, with elaborate and original arguments, rather to concentrate his originality on realizing the practical effects on his own life of this doctrine, which he accepts on Church authority, seems to me to afford equal scope for the active and earnest thought of such a mind as Mr. Hutton's, while it combines with this the advantages of system and pliability which I have already considered. The union in Mr. Hutton of the two characters might have made him, I believe, one of the most effective champions of modern times against the Infidel movement.

WILFRID WARD.

ART. II.—MEMOIRS OF A ROYALIST.

Mémoires d'un Royaliste. Par le COMTE DE FALLOUX.
Paris : Perrin et Cie. 1888.

POLITICAL memoirs, showing us the great actors on the stage of history, in everyday mufti behind the scenes, add the missing element of human interest to the drama of nations. Hence their value depends, not only on their authority as a contemporary narrative of events, but on their fulness of detail in regard to such minor incidents as bring before us, in their moments of intimate relaxation, those personages whom we have hitherto seen only when appearing before the public in the decorous restraint of their histrionic characters.

In regard to this form of interest, the Comte de Falloux's Memoirs are entitled to a high place; for their author, while brought by his birth and talents into close relations with the leading men of his time, had the clearness of mental vision, and critical perception of the hidden springs of character, which enable him to portray them with keen and life-like touches. The graces of diction which gained for the biographer of Pius V. and historian of Louis XVI. the honour of a *fauteuil* among the Forty, are displayed on these pages in the brilliancy of a narrative enlivened by a profusion of anecdotes told with all the *verve* of an incomparable *raconteur*. Amid such a wealth of materials, the Reviewer's task is limited to a selection of a few of the more striking facts, leaving the reader to restore, from imagination, the full contour of the skeleton thus outlined.

Born at Angers on May 7, 1811, of an ancient but impoverished family, Alfred de Falloux was an eye-witness of that series of secondary revolutions which have made France the by-word of modern Europe, while his early associations were coloured by memories of that earlier and greater cataclysm which may be said to have permanently shaken the social equilibrium of the universe. His paternal grandmother was one of its actual victims, for she expiated with her life the honour of having given hospitality to General La Rochejaquelin during the occupation of Angers by the army of La Vendée. She died, not on the scaffold, but a prisoner in the Castle of Montreuil-Bellay, of typhoid fever, caused or aggravated by inanition, exclaiming with her last breath, that she felt a cup of broth would restore her to life. Her son, our author's father, an *émigré* at fourteen, returned, under the Consulate, to find only a fragment of the family estate recoverable.

An inheritance of similar traditions was transmitted to the

young de Falloux by his mother, *née* Mademoiselle de Soucy. Her father, in command at Cherbourg, looked on then as a possible refuge for the royal family, sacrificed life to loyalty by remaining at his post when he could have fled in safety, thus justifying the confidence placed in him by the hapless king, who said to him, "Soucy, I count on you!" Madame de Soucy, again, this devoted nobleman's wife, had been *sous-gouvernante* to the children of France, and remained in charge of the Dauphin and Madame Royale during their captivity in the Temple. It was a strange revolution in the dizzy whirligig of French politics that made the heir of such traditions, the representative of such a past, not only an active member of the democratic Constituent Assembly, but a Minister in the first Cabinet of restored Bonapartism.

M. de Falloux's childish recollections travel back to a time when western France was in great measure covered by a shaggy mantle of forest, while an ox-waggon supplied the only means of locomotion. Gilded armchairs, indeed, stood in the straw beneath the tilted roof to accommodate the more distinguished travellers, looking, with their crimson velvet covered cushions, a somewhat incongruous adjunct to the rustic vehicle.

The Lycée of Angers, where he carried off nearly all the prizes, was the first school frequented by our author and his brother, until a considerable inheritance, left to his father in 1822, enabled the family to remove to Paris. This timely increase of fortune came from the hoards of a miserly relative, M. de la Crosonnière, whose economies, it must be said, were sometimes of a costly description. His plan, for instance, for saving hotel bills, by purchasing houses at the various halting-places between Angers and Paris, and keeping a servant permanently in each, involved an outlay of 100,000 francs; but as this sum was paid by his agent out of the funds of the estate which had never passed through his own pocket, it was completely disregarded by the parsimonious prodigal.

The dull and decorous Paris of the Restoration had very little in common with the maenad of the Revolution; but the Court was enlivened for a time by the visit of the King and Queen of Naples, parents of the Duchesse de Berry, on their way to Spain, whither they were conducting their daughter Christina to share the throne of Ferdinand VII. The dynasties of these royal hosts and guests have alike been swept away, but an echo of their festivities still survives in the sparkling melodies of Auber's opera, "La Muette de Portici," brought out to compliment the Neapolitan Sovereigns with songs and scenery borrowed from their own capital.

M. de Châteaubriand was then the chief figure in Parisian society, as he was the principal leader of French thought. His

salon was enlivened by the grace and wit of Madame de Châteaubriand, who, despite her delicate health, supplied the piquant personal element of the conversation. She used to say of her husband: "M. de Châteaubriand is so stupid that if I were not there he would never speak ill of anybody."

To an earlier epoch of the Restoration belongs the anecdote of Count Bozon de Perigord, brother of the Duc de Talleyrand, who, being deaf and asthmatic, when asked by Louis XVIII.: *Bozon, comment va votre femme?* thought it was his cough that was inquired after, and replied, to the great amusement of the assembled courtiers: *Ah, Sire, elle m'a bien tourmenté cette nuit.*

One of the most vivid impressions of Alfred de Falloux's early days in Paris was that made on him by the acting of Talma, then near the close of his career. In the ardour of his childish enthusiasm, he even made a surreptitious sally from home to pay a visit to the actor, but when in his presence could only express his feelings in a passion of tears. The spontaneity of his juvenile homage touched the great tragedian, who offered him free admittance to all his performances, saying he had never received a tribute which flattered him more. The boy declined the tickets on the ground of having ample means of paying for his place, but came away well satisfied with the result of his adventure. It was revealed to his mother a few nights later when leaving the theatre, by a chance meeting with the actor, whose friendly exclamation, "Well, my little friend, were you pleased to-night?" as he passed his young admirer, betrayed the secret of their acquaintance.

A special aptitude for classical and literary studies gained young de Falloux a distinguished place among his fellow-learners, and he even declares his facility to have been a snare to him in enabling him to learn without any real discipline of thought. But the mental gifts his modesty thus tries to minimize seemed very brilliant to others, and he was already regarded as a young man of exceptional promise when he started in 1834 to make the tour of the principal capitals of Europe.

His first visit was one of homage to exiled royalty in the person of Charles X., dethroned by the Revolution of July (1830) and then occupying with his family the vast and dreary castle of Hradschin, near Prague, placed at his disposal by the House of Hapsburg. The young hope of the Legitimist party, then styled the Duc de Bordeaux, afterwards fondly dreamed of by them as Henri V., was but fourteen, and had those graces of manner and appearance, so doubly winning in one born to great station. The royal family were then much divided on the subject of his education, his grandfather's desire to confide it mainly to the hands of the Jesuits being opposed by his other relations, who wished for

greater emancipation for the young heir, under the charge of a secular governor of eminence and capacity. Charles X. proved obstinate, and Henri V. grew up to wreck the hopes of his party, though by faults of character which can hardly be charged to his early training, since they were rather the growth of his later years.

At Vienna, the next stage on M. de Falloux's journey, a disagreeable surprise awaited him in the discovery of the lack of enthusiasm among foreign crowned heads for the Legitimist Monarchy of France. The assumption of precedence over them by Louis XVIII. on his restoration, had permanently alienated their sympathies; and the most enduring memory brought away from Paris by the allied Sovereigns, was that of the French monarch passing to his own dinner-table in front of all the royal guests whose bayonets had reinstated him.

From Vienna the young traveller proceeded to Rome, where he was received with special cordiality by Gregory XVI. The benign Pontiff even desired him to introduce into his presence his Vendéan servants, the bearers of his vast assortment of beads and chaplets, that they too might share his benediction. Cardinal Mezzofanti, of whom Lord Byron said, that "he had missed his vocation, and should have been cicerone to the Tower of Babel," was then librarian of the Vatican, and of him, as of all those with whom he came in contact, M. de Falloux has some characteristic traits to record.

A strange and apparently well-authenticated instance of a supernatural apparition was narrated to him in Rome by a Polish lady, *née* Princess Lubomirska, whose own ancestor, nicknamed "the Solomon of Poland," was the person concerned. He was a man of great learning but no religion, and was occupied on a laborious work in defence of unbelief, when, walking one day in his demesne, he met an old woman engaged in loading an ass with sticks. He entered into conversation with her, and she lamented her poverty which prevented her from having Masses said for her husband, recently dead, to which he replied by flinging her a handful of gold and bidding her have as many as she liked. The same evening, while at his impious task as usual, he was startled by seeing motionless in his study the figure of a peasant, who made no reply to his angry demands for explanation, and of whose presence the servants could give no account. On the following day, at the same hour, the incident was repeated; but the visitor on the second occasion, said, in answer to a question as to his motive: "I am the husband of the widow you assisted two days ago, and have received God's permission to repay the benefit by these words—'the soul is immortal.'"

Prince Lubomirski's conversion was instantaneous, and, summoning his family, he, in their presence, tore his manuscript into

fragments—still preserved by his descendants. The priest who pronounced his funeral oration from the pulpit of Warsaw, heard the story from his own lips, and it is recorded in the archives of the family.

A singular and romantic friendship was formed by M. de Falloux, during his stay in London in 1835, with M. de Persigny, even then a confident, and, as the world would have said, infatuated believer in the destiny of Louis Napoleon. A sudden summons to join the latter in Switzerland found him short of funds to pay his hotel bill, and he appealed to M. de Falloux, as a compatriot, to assist him in his temporary embarrassment. The latter made no difficulty about doing so, and the Bonapartist adventurer, after vainly trying to win him as an adherent to his own party, left him with the following remarkable prophecy: "I respect your sincerity, but I also know your patriotism. Prince Napoleon will reign, and you will form part of his first Ministry."

In despite of the prophet's accent of conviction [continues the narrator] I received the prediction with a peal of laughter, and replied in a jesting tone: "Promise me then that you will give me my first Portfolio."—"Very well, I promise." But the lamentable part of the story was that the destiny of France should have been so troubled and compromised, that two young men of five-and-twenty, laying such a wager, should have ended by each being taken at his word. On entering the Ministry in 1848, I found there, left by M. de Persigny, the Portfolio he had announced to me in 1835; I have preserved it in my retirement, and never cast my eyes on it without saying, in sadness, "Unhappy, thrice unhappy, the country where such an adventure does not remain in the region of romance."

The fulfilment of the prediction was all the more remarkable, as M. de Falloux's entry into the Ministry of Louis Napoleon, despite the gift from M. de Persigny of the actual symbol of office, was brought about quite irrespectively of his influence, as a result rather of the general course of events than of any individual will. Before this unexpected consummation was reached, the Legitimist noble had it in his power to give many proofs of friendship to the adherent of Bonapartism, whose fortunes were meantime at a very low ebb. Among his acts of kindness was the offer to visit him when in prison after the landing at Boulogne in 1840, received by M. de Persigny with enthusiastic gratitude. "My own family," he exclaimed to M. Berryer, the intermediary in opening communications, "repudiate me, and send me nothing but reproaches, and were it not for M. de Falloux, I should not have a single friendly hand to clasp in mine."

Some years later, when long captivity and study had begun to tell upon the eyesight of his friend, M. de Falloux's intervention

secured his removal to a hospital for treatment, and would have effected his release, had he consented to petition the Ministers in the prescribed form. "Remember well what I say," were his parting words on this occasion, "in a year we shall be in their places," and this second prophecy, uttered in 1847, was again literally fulfilled.

M. de Falloux's active participation in politics during the revolutionary period was due to the general action of the Catholic body, who, by ceasing to identify themselves with any particular party, sought to reassert their influence in the councils of the State. The wave of Liberal opinion, which at that time invaded the highest ecclesiastical circles, derived its impulse from the idea of reconciling modern democracy to the Church, the early dream of Pio Nono, of whom, when Bishop of Imola, Gregory XVI. said, "In casa Mastai anche il gatto è liberale." (In the Mastai household, the very cat is a Liberal.) The Republic once established, was therefore loyally accepted by the Catholic Conservative party in France, and M. de Falloux took his seat among that brilliant phalanx of deputies of the Right, of whom M. de Montalembert was the leading spirit, and Père Lacordaire, in the black and white robe of St. Dominic, the most striking figure.

The Monarchy of July, founded upon chaos, had left nothing but chaos behind. The creation of one street *émeute*, the victim of another, it was swept from power by an outbreak, which, without the justification of a single social or political grievance, has been styled "an effect without a cause." M. de Falloux sees in it the disintegrating effect of the parliamentary rivalry between Thiers and Guizot, who, each bent on overthrowing his rival, were both in reality engaged in undermining the throne. In the dissolution of all social organization that followed, the reconstruction of the political edifice from its foundations proved a task too herculean for an Assembly in which the principle of cohesion among parties was wanting. Its redundancy of oratorical power was as conspicuous as its deficiency in administrative ability, and Lamartine, who first guided its counsels, is described by M. de Falloux, in an inversion of his own epithet, as "a poet who had strayed into politics," instead of "a politician who had strayed into poetry." The slave of his own eloquence, he exhibited in some of his rapid mental gyrations that plasticity of mind which enables the orator to advocate the most opposite views with the same apparent fervour and conviction. Thus, on one occasion, having urged on his colleagues in private conference the adoption of the red flag, he made, on being overruled by them, a brilliant oration against the measure he had, shortly before, as strenuously recommended. Well may M. de Falloux exclaim, in recounting the incident:—

To have the power of being able to speak without thought, or even contrary to thought, to be able to improvise, not only language but opinions, abandoning oneself in the same instant to the most opposite convictions, without the audience being able to detect in voice, accent, or gesture, a trace of effort, a shadow of hesitation—what a fatal gift! Fatal to its possessor, who is dazzled by it himself, still more fatal to the nation he fascinates and enslaves!

The stages of disorder by which all political power was transferred from the Assembly to the mob of Paris in a series of organized *émeutes*, shattered the basis of national prosperity and shook public credit to its foundations. The vote of December 10, 1848, by which Louis Napoleon was elected to the Presidency of the Republic, was rather a cry of despair from a society on the verge of dissolution, than an expression of revived Bonapartist enthusiasm.

“A bad government,” says a Mexican adage, which sums up the teaching of dearly-bought experience, “is better than a good revolution,” and France gave practical effect to the same sentiment when she confided her destinies to an untried adventurer, with nothing to recommend him but the fatal fascination of a name. The Catholic and Legitimist party had given the President a large measure of support, and in the earlier and tentative stages of his policy he was anxious to secure their continued adhesion. Hence, in the formation of his first Ministry, under M. Odilon Barrot, the office of Minister of Worship and Education was offered to M. de Falloux, who, under great pressure from his political friends in general and from the Abbé Dupanloup in particular, finally consented to accept it. His principal motive in doing so was fear lest the President's irritation, should he persist in his first refusal, stigmatized by him as tantamount to a declaration of war by the whole Clerical party, should vent itself in reprisals disastrous to the cause of religion, especially on two vital issues then at stake. The first of these was liberty of religious education in France, and for this, the law of 1850, prepared and elaborated by M. de Falloux, though passed after he had retired from the Ministry, was intended to provide. Although the subject of fierce attack in the columns of the *Univers*, it restored to the religious orders the care of the Catholic youth, and was doubtless the best solution possible under existing circumstances.

Of greater importance to the general condition of the Church, was the Roman Question, then raised by the triumph of the revolutionary party and expulsion of the Pope from his dominions. The French intervention on his behalf was mainly due to the presence of M. de Falloux in the Cabinet, and to his unceasing recommendations to the President to accept the task as an alterna-

tive to seeing it undertaken by Austria. The despatch of an expeditionary force to Civita Vecchia was accordingly resolved on, with the result of committing French honour to the siege and occupation of Rome.

The surprises of character which Louis Napoleon had in store for the world at large, were first experienced by his Ministers, who had not been a week in office ere making the discovery that his apathetic languor of manner veiled a despotic tenacity of will. A peremptory and almost insulting letter to the Minister of the Interior, demanding, in a tone of autocratic arrogance, the surrender of certain documents, produced a Cabinet crisis, and despite its retractation under the united pressure of the Ministry, left in their minds a sense of uneasy distrust.

We held ourselves [says our author] as forewarned, that the words of the taciturn are not always well-pondered in proportion to their paucity, and that the time spent without speaking is not necessarily passed in reflection. We knew thenceforward that the chief of the State might pass suddenly from apparent somnolence to violent action, and that we might, without transition, be shaken out of calm by a rude shock, perhaps even by an abrupt catastrophe.

With M. de Falloux, the personal relations of the Prince President were most harmonious, and the latter showed himself on all occasions full of courteous consideration for the feelings of his Royalist adherent. On entering the Council Chamber, he would address him with the latest news as to the health of the Comte de Chambord, and when he dined with him, expressed special gratification at the selection of the company from among the most prominent members of the Legitimist party. Nor did he resent the exclusion, on these occasions, of his cousin, Prince Jérôme Napoleon, although the latter was himself so mortified at the slight, that on finding himself seated next M. de Falloux at another person's table, he could not refrain from venting his feelings in the reproachful remark, "You see there are houses where it is thought possible to ask me to dinner."

The importunities of his relations were at this time a constant thorn in the President's side, and when taunted by the elder Jérôme with having nothing of the Emperor about him, he was said to have answered with the stinging retort, "You mistake, uncle, I have his family." This claimant was pensioned off with the governorship of the Invalides, but his son was not so easily provided for. Sent as ambassador to Madrid, he had no sooner crossed the frontier than he began to intrigue against the Spanish Government, openly proclaiming the necessity of expelling the House of Bourbon from every country where it was still in power. The Queen and her Ministers naturally demanded the recall of

this diplomatic firebrand, and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, at a meeting of the Council, sought with some circumlocution to bring so delicate a matter to the notice of the Prince President. The latter, however, cut short his hesitation, and saying that he knew his cousin thoroughly, and that he was "a monster," desired him to come to the point at once. The Foreign Minister, thus encouraged, went on to detail the doings of the erratic Prince, narrating how on his way through Bordeaux he had visited the cells of the political malefactors, and accompanied his promises to them of speedy liberation with unmeasured diatribes against the President. The latter undertook to render him harmless for the future, by sending an aide-de-camp to intercept him at Tours, with peremptory orders that he should leave France without passing through Paris.

The facile amiability of temperament which, combined with laxity of principle, was destined to bring so many disasters on France, is illustrated by an anecdote of Louis Napoleon's youth, which, though told by others in different ways, is recounted by M. de Falloux as he had it from his own lips. It was during his early days in Switzerland that, in his own words, he actually "stole in order to give away," abstracting a case of mathematical instruments from Dr. Conneau's room to bestow them on a necessitous young friend, crippled in his military studies for want of these essential requisites. The theft being discovered after the lapse of months, and laid to the charge of a servant, the real culprit was driven to confess, when his mother compensated Dr. Conneau for his loss, the young student being left in ignorance of the source of his acquisition.

The tortuous character of Louis Napoleon's mind influenced his dealings with his Ministers, and M. de Falloux's retirement, though necessitated by failure of health, did not take place before some straining of his relations with his chief had been occasioned by the duplicity and bad faith of the latter. They parted coldly, and the President, whose fears or necessities were then impelling him to lean principally on the Left, evaded a personal explanation by deferring it to a promised visit which he never paid.

Brief as was M. de Falloux's tenure of office, it yet left its mark on European history in the occupation of Rome, mainly decided on under his influence. Neither was it without a lasting effect on French legislation, since the educational law of 1850 was prepared under his inspiration, although not actually passed until after his retirement. And in another direction it was rendered at least equally memorable, by the appointment of Mgr. Dupanloup to the See of Orleans, for so many years afterwards made illustrious by his commanding character and talents.

Invalided for life at eight-and-thirty, by neuralgic sufferings

brought on by overwork, M. de Falloux had, nevertheless, too much energy of character to subside into total inactivity. He never, indeed, filled any public office again, but the second volume of his *Memoirs* shows him a stirring member of the Royalist party, and is a valuable record of its inner history during nearly a quarter of a century. In its pages we can trace the gradual closing in of the charmed circle drawn round the Comte de Chambord by a *coterie* of misguided enthusiasts, who eventually succeeded in isolating him from all influences but their own. To these political idealists the *ancien régime* was not yet a thing of the past, and the hands of the clock of time had stopped at the memorable hour when the people's representatives assembled in the racket-court and changed the destinies of man. How little the *de jure* monarch appreciated contemporary realities, even when he still showed some degree of pliancy to remonstrance and advice, is evidenced by an interesting conversation with M. de Falloux, who had gone to pay his homage to the exiled Prince, during a visit of the latter to Venice in the spring of 1851.

The Comte de Chambord [writes his faithful adherent] was then in the plenitude of his personal prestige. The head had all its nobility, the glance all its transparency, the voice all its resonance. His gait, by its ease and buoyancy, counteracted the defect left behind by a cruel accident.

The Comtesse de Chambord was tall, and of striking aspect. Her countenance expressed benevolence, but melancholy as well. It seemed almost as though she were under the influence of sombre presentiments, and felt oppressed by a sense of guilt towards the French in not having fortified the throne by its natural props.

The Dauphiness, daughter and heiress of Louis XVI., is described as "pathos personified." Devoted to her nephew, and with all her interests concentrated in his future, her influence, with all its benumbing associations, must nevertheless be counted among the pernicious ones which so fatally compromised his cause.

The royal circle was completed by the presence of the Duchesse de Berry, occupying an adjacent palace on the Grand Canal. Her husband, Count Lucchesi, her marriage with whom was one of the many suicidal blows dealt French royalty by royal hands, performed the functions of major-domo in her establishment, and never appeared to assume any save his official position. The Duchess, whose views on politics were very moderate, had little or no influence with her son.

The Comte de Chambord, ever royally gracious in manner, showed much solicitude for M. de Falloux's health, requesting him to follow any regimen prescribed for him when dining at his table, and pressing him in the evening to take a seat, when the other guests were standing. His political interviews with the

Prince took place in the morning, and their conversation on the first of these occasions is recorded as follows :—

“ You cannot, Monseigneur ” [began the narrator] “ have a more devoted friend than the Comte de Quatrebarbes ; but his lofty spirit attaches him sometimes to illusions. He always looks to the Vendée of the past, and cannot make up his mind to see the Vendée of to-day.”

“ Oh, I know that well,” replied the Prince, very frankly and gaily. “ Quatrebarbes is a true chevalier, but he regulates politics by prophecies.”

“ That is indeed his tendency, Monseigneur ; but, setting that aside, he is a very efficient agent, and a most expert member of the general council.”

From the Comte de Quatrebarbes to the Duc des Cars was but a step, and the transition was quickly made.

“ Do not be under any apprehension in that quarter, either,” said the Comte de Chambord immediately ; “ the Duc des Cars also encourages delusions which I do not share. He flatters himself that he could raise two hundred thousand men at a moment’s notice ; but I know perfectly well that he could scarcely raise half that number.”

My face betrayed my surprise at these words, and my momentary silence allowed the Prince to perceive how much it cost me to contradict or disappoint him. I then replied, slowly but firmly :

“ The Duc des Cars has no more one hundred than two hundred thousand men at his command, and it is well that Monseigneur should be absolutely clear on this point. The Duc des Cars may count four or five thousand men scattered through the West and South, willing to enrol themselves or be enrolled ; some ready to sacrifice their lives in the royal cause, some who will take time to reflect on it, and finally, a certain number of others much more effectually enrolled in the police.”

“ You exaggerate in your turn,” replied the Prince, but he did not break off the conversation, and it was agreed that on the following morning we should discuss the question thoroughly.

In the renewed dialogue, M. de Falloux put strongly before the Prince the necessity of choosing definitively between the opposite courses of an appeal to arms and a peaceable agitation working on public opinion within the limits of the existing constitution, pointing out to him that a policy halting between these two methods was inadmissible, as they were absolutely incompatible and reciprocally destructive. His arguments triumphed for the time, and he returned to Paris, having gained the Prince’s adhesion to M. Berryer’s policy in the Chamber, and his consent to modify the exclusive character of his personal surrounding by an invitation to two among the chiefs of the more moderate section of his party to make a prolonged sojourn at Frohsdorf.

The Royalists in France had at this time a regular and recognized organization, headed by a central Committee of about twelve prominent politicians, including M. de Falloux, with weekly

meetings for the despatch of business. But the action of this body was neutralized by the conflict of ideas among its members, and its energies were wasted in the friction of opposing views. Its selection, based on the principle of representation of all sections of the party, gave umbrage to the ultra Legitimists, who dreaded nothing so much as seeing their personal influence with the Prince undermined by their more moderate colleagues. Their policy bore fruit in the dissolution of the Committee, and the substitution for it of a Bureau de Renseignements in Paris, with branches through the departments, composed of members selected from the extreme section of the party alone.

The nation, meantime, had run through the recurring phases of the revolutionary cycle ; the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, 1851, with its subsequent plebiscitary sanction, had substituted the Empire for the Republic, and despotism was once more evolved from anarchy. At about the same date took place that further change in the relations of the Comte de Chambord to his party, which hurried on the disintegration of the latter. The Prince, increasingly impatient of counsel or contradiction, began to claim from his followers the blind obedience required of the subjects of an absolute monarch, enjoining on them total abstention from local or national politics under the new *régime*. The condemnation of the oath of allegiance required for admission to every representative body, from the Municipal Councils to the Corps Législatif, involved the forfeiture of all rights of citizenship, and the unwillingness of a large section of the Royalist party to acquiesce in this self-imposed ordinance of proscription created a profound schism in its ranks, disastrous not only to its own fortunes, but to the whole future of society in France. The voluntary ostracism of the hereditary aristocracy, attached by tradition and association to the cause of religion, involved its abdication of all social influence in favour of a mushroom nobility, recruited from among the parasites of the Second Empire, and, under their sway, Paris became the scene of that orgie of frivolity, luxury, and vice which has made it the moral plague-spot of the universe.

A confidential interview with M. de Persigny in 1852, enables M. de Falloux to give his readers a version of the political harlequinade then being enacted from the lips of one of the principal performers. The former Bonapartist conspirator, now Minister of the Interior, did not forget the friend of his adversity, and wrote making an appointment with him at breakfast in his own house. His host would naturally have abstained from the introduction of controverted topics, had he not himself invited a political discussion as follows :—

"I am ashamed to think that I am on the stage and you in the pit. But since it is the place you have chosen, tell me candidly what you think of us."

"I do not attach any great importance to this *lever de rideau*, I await the principal piece."

"Ah, of course, the Empire!" he replied. "Well, to you I will tell the simple truth. You do not then know what delays the Empire? It is the Emperor, and the Emperor alone. Ever since the 2nd of December, a vertigo of timidity has seized on him. He takes his ten years seriously, and without actually wishing to see them through, thinks it too soon to issue from their term, though all who surround him tell him the contrary. Morny and I, who are seldom unanimous, are perfectly agreed in this, and maintain that the Empire is the natural outcome of the plébiscite, the elections, and the wishes of France. We have not convinced him yet, but we do not allow ourselves to be discouraged. I made him candidate for the Presidency against his will, I made him hasten the *coup d'état* against his will, I shall make him Emperor against his will. He will shortly make a tour through France, and I will have him stunned with such shouts of 'Vive l'Empereur!' that he will have to yield and allow himself to have forced upon him what he ardently desires, without daring to grasp it. But in order to do this, I must remain six months longer Minister of the Interior."

"Six months longer!" exclaimed I. "What could undermine your credit with a Prince whom you have served with such fidelity?"

"Ah! two things: my character and that of the Prince. I am violent and incapable of subservience, the Prince is gentle, but greedy of adulation and personal domination. I go in to him with the firmest resolutions of repressing myself and flattering his weakness, which I know from old times, but at the end of a few minutes lose my self-control, fly in his face, and five times out of six, leave the Council, having quarrelled with everybody there, to the great delight of Morny. I think myself more of a statesman than Morny, but he is more subtle than I.

M. de Persigny's attachment was evidently more to the Imperial tradition than to the person of Louis Napoleon, for he went on to say:—

"You may take this as probable, and I would even say certain, the President will retain me in order to construct the Empire, and I shall do so. He will then dismiss me, and others will work him out, to their own profit. However, it matters little, provided he continue faithful to the Napoleonic traditions in domestic policy. The genius of the great Emperor was so vast and mighty that it will still bear two or three successors on its wings before letting them drop."

I objected to him several of the weak points of the President's judgment.

"Oh, yes," said he, "the Prince has these failings and many others

better known to me than to you, but he has the name and prestige of Napoleon. Be assured that the Empire, when reconstructed, will have only two possibilities of ruin: war and the Imperial family. He must beware of touching the great sword which he cannot wield, and which would infallibly cut his fingers. He must make haste to marry and have children, so as to thrust aside his relations, who are viler than any one can conceive. Let me be only heard on these two points, and everything else will arrange itself, with or without me."

A few months later the Emperor went to Bordeaux and pronounced those words of talismanic effect: *l'empire c'est la paix.*

M. de Persigny triumphed and disappeared. M. de Falloux's next interview with his quondam friend was when the latter, shortly after the proclamation of the Empire, came to announce to him his approaching marriage to Mdle. Ney, granddaughter of the Marshal, a girl of twenty, very piously brought up. He accompanied the announcement with a request for the prayers of the household, consisting of father, mother, and daughter, by way of a wedding-gift; but the latter was also sent, in the more material shape of a rosary for the use of the bride, specially blessed by the Holy Father and enclosed in a costly casket. The Emperor endowed the new *ménage* with the munificent donation of 500,000 francs—the only one, according to M. de Persigny, he had ever received from him. "I have never asked the President for anything, and I never will!" he exclaimed on a previous occasion when recounting how his persecution by place-hunters had gone to such a pitch that he had once put the expectant crowd in his ante-chamber to flight by appearing among them with a brace of loaded pistols and threatening to fire on them forthwith.

This singular being makes still another appearance on the pages of the Memoirs, in the character of a would-be penitent, who made M. de Falloux the confidant of his desire to resume the long-disused practices of religion, asking him to recommend a confessor capable of inspiring such personal sympathy as should smooth the difficulties of the step. The Abbé le Rebours fulfilled all the requisite conditions, and M. de Persigny, introduced to him at a pre-arranged meeting at a friend's house, learned from him the hours when he would be at his disposal for the momentous interview. An unfortunate fatality, however, intervened to prevent it. M. de Persigny, having vainly called on three successive days, and found the Abbé absent on other imperative business, relinquished his purpose altogether, while M. de Falloux, who had left Paris after thus bringing him to the door of the Church, only learned, some months later, the mischance which had prevented him from actually entering it. His good

intentions, frustrated at the time, bore fruit only on his death-bed, when the ministrations of a Jesuit father gave peace to the last moments of a tumultuous life.

A lengthy and important correspondence between M. de Falloux and the Comte de Chambord, throws much new light on the relations of the latter to his followers, and shows his tenacity in enforcing on them, in the teeth of their respectful but strenuous remonstrances, his own views as to the duty of political effacement incumbent on them. Meantime the divisions in their ranks became wider and deeper with the consolidation of the Empire, to which a portion of the Catholic party, represented by the influential journal, *l'Univers*, had now given its unqualified adhesion. *Le Correspondant*, on the other hand, was adopted as the organ of the opposite section of their co-religionists, and the genius of Montalembert and Lacordaire, the brilliancy of M. de Falloux, and the political sagacity of Augustin Cochin and M. de Broglie, were enlisted to illuminate its pages. Bourg d'Iré, where M. de Falloux had built himself a beautiful modern residence on the site of his ancestral château, was often a rendezvous of the contributors to the journal, with a view to the discussion and arrangement of its affairs, and here on one occasion the circle of brilliant Frenchmen just named was enlarged by the presence of a distinguished Irishman, Mr. Monsell, now Lord Emly, at that time Secretary of State for the War Department. The arrival of the newly-published number of the *Correspondant* was hailed one evening with special eagerness, for it contained a critique by Père Lacordaire, on M. Albert de Broglie's important work, "*L'Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire Romain au IV. Siècle.*"

We were all eager [says M. de Falloux] to hear it, and we begged M. de Montalembert, who read with incomparable spirit and nature, to give us the triple pleasure of enjoying such beautiful diction so admirably delivered, in the presence of the writer it so closely concerned. There we were, then, all eager and thrilled with genuine interest, gathered round a reader no less thrilled than we. At the end of a few pages Mr. Monsell's head droops in sleep, another page, and he is snoring; M. de Montalembert breaks off and exclaims, "Monsell! it is all very well for you to go to sleep, but it is too bad to snore!" Mr. Monsell wakes up with a start, and with a phlegm rather British than Irish, replies, "Why, my dear fellow, this is the hour of Parliament!" The phrase lingered in our minds together with a most affectionate memory of Mr. Monsell, and whenever any of us goes to sleep during reading, we say forgivingly, "This is the hour of Parliament!"

No part of M. de Falloux's reminiscences is more interesting than that which deals with the events succeeding the catastrophe of 1871, for never before had the imminence of a monarchical

restoration been so clearly made apparent, and the greatness of the opportunity, twice lost by the Comte de Chambord, so strongly put before the world.

It was when the fratricidal horrors of the Commune, supervening on the calamity of a foreign invasion, had united all the friends of order in France in the bond of a common alarm, that the fusion of the Legitimist and Orleanist parties was called for as the first step towards the recall of the dynasty. The Comte de Chambord, himself childless, showed a willingness to recognize the Comte de Paris as his natural heir, and the preliminary negotiations, both for a family reconciliation and political coalition on the above basis, seemed to present no difficulty. The personal participation of our author in their further stages dated from his arrival in Paris at the end of June, 1871. The visit of the Comte de Paris and Duc de Chartres occurred at the same time, and on Saturday, July 1, the two Princes dined with M. Thiers, and received the homage of their supporters previous to starting, on the following Monday, for Belgium, to pay their respects to the head of their house. M. de Falloux, pressed to be of the party to meet them, declined, on the ground of not wishing to appear among the worshippers of the rising sun, but requested his friends to give him the earliest report of the events of the evening.

Nothing, they declared, when they reappeared next morning, could have been more triumphantly successful. "It was the Monarchy" (in the words of one of them) "receiving under the roof of the Republic. The Princes" (he went on to say) "stood in the centre of the drawing-room, and people were presented to them by M. Thiers, who no longer seemed master of the house. Nothing was talked of during the dinner and evening but the reconciliation of the royal family. The Princes announced publicly their departure for Bruges, where the Comte de Chambord is now residing, and every one addressed them with the warmest congratulations."

"And what tone did M. Thiers adopt in speaking of it?" I asked, after having gloated over the most minute details as to the bearing of the Princes.

"Excellent, excellent!" replied M. de Meaux. "M. Thiers appeared delighted at the success of the Princes, and spoke in the best terms of the chief of the House of France. When one of us remarked to him, 'Your dinner wants only the presence of the Comte de Chambord,' he replied with animation, 'The Comte de Chambord would have been welcome, and I do not despair of that honour.'"

But the exultation in Monarchist circles was premature. On Monday, July 3, there was circulated among them a short and coldly worded note in which the Comte de Chambord, writing in the third person, informed his cousin of his presence in France for

a few days, and declined to receive his visit until he should have more clearly defined his own political attitude.

The step thus indicated was the fatal one of the adoption of the White Flag, which lost the crown of France to the House of Bourbon probably for ever. In vain did the adherents of the titular monarch, who rightly interpreted his ominous hint of coming action, try by the most passionate appeals to avert or even delay his decision; in vain did an influential deputation, their political weight reinforced by the authoritative eloquence of the Bishop of Orleans, hasten to Chambord, to try the effect on his mind of their personal representations. They returned to Paris in a mood of despair, expressed in the exclamation of one of their number, who said—"In twenty-four hours we have lost the fruit of twenty years of prudence."

On July 6, appeared the document known as the Chambord manifesto, because dated thence, which sealed the doom of French royalty by its negation of the national wishes. The white flag was declared indissolubly associated with the fate of the elder dynasty, which lay thenceforward to all intents and purposes buried beneath its folds. So strong and deep was the irritation caused by this pronouncement, that the members of his own party lost no time in seeking to dissociate themselves from the action of their chief. A counter-manifesto was immediately issued, in which the signatories, eighty members of the Right, declared that, while the Comte de Chambord's personal inspirations belonged to himself alone, and commanded respect from their sincerity, those attached to the principle of the hereditary and representative monarchy declined to separate themselves from the flag adopted by France, rendered illustrious by the courage of her soldiers, and become, in opposition to the sanguinary standard of anarchy, the emblem of social order.

The project of a Restoration thus rendered abortive, was once more revived, when a fresh crisis in public affairs was brought about by the fall of M. Thiers on May 24, 1873. The vote which drove him from office, a declaratory one, pronouncing Conservative interests insufficiently guaranteed by the composition of the existing Ministry, was an expression of discontent with his growing subservience to the Left, as well as of the profound distrust created by his avowal from the tribune on November 29, in the previous year, that he had, during the Commune, negotiated and treated with the most advanced representatives of the most violent and guilty faction.

The same sitting which received the resignation of M. Thiers, saw his successor elected by the unanimous vote of the majority, while the Left abstained *en bloc*, and a reluctant consent having been wrung from Marshal MacMahon to accept office as the sole

alternative to anarchy, he was forthwith proclaimed President of the Republic. Again did events seem ripe for a return to monarchical institutions, for which indeed, the elevation to supreme authority of the loyal soldier was generally regarded as only a cover. The reconciliation of the rival branches of the House of Bourbon, was, therefore, more than ever necessary, and the Comte de Paris, obeying no less a chivalrous impulse of personal devotion than the dictates of political expediency, hastened to Frohsdorf, where he was, on August 5, for the first time received by his august relative. The meeting, regarded merely as one of family reconciliation, was a most cordial one, but no agreement on matters of general policy resulted from it. The Comte de Chambord shielded himself against all approaches from this side behind his invariable formula, that ulterior questions could only be discussed after France had reaffirmed the monarchical principle and recalled its representative, forgetting that a Prince, in these latter days, is but the courtier of a nation. The younger Prince, however, came away from the interview with the impression that the Comte de Chambord, though somewhat obstinate in his adhesion to an imaginary standard of honour, regretted in his heart his last manifesto, and would gladly accept a compromise enabling him to retreat from an untenable position. The difficulty was to find some common basis of negotiation between the claimant to the throne, who would not stoop to purchase it by any previous concession, and the nation, who did not trust him sufficiently to restore him unconditionally.

Meantime, France, hoping for a solution of the temporary deadlock, was ready to acclaim the Monarchy. A large majority of the Assembly, invested by its constituent character with legal power to modify the Constitution, was unanimously in favour of a restoration, the Moderate Left, despairing of any other stable form of government, was content to acquiesce, and the Extreme Left, discredited and impotent, could do no more than enter a formal protest. The Executive was determined to carry out the decrees of the representatives of the nation, and the President Marshal answered for the army. Untainted by the ignominy of foreign intervention, unstained by the sanguinary blot of civil strife, never would a restoration have been accomplished under more favourable conditions. No one dreamed that such fair prospects would have been a second time blasted by a repetition of the same error that had been so fatal to them once before. The final word on the crucial question of the national flag had not indeed yet been spoken, but the future Sovereign encouraged his adherents by conciliatory, though, as it proved, delusive assurances, declaring that he was prepared with a satisfactory solution to be proposed at the proper time. As this was generally believed to be

nothing more than the modification of the tricolor by the emblazonment of the royal lilies on its field, little apprehension was entertained as to the result of the negotiations. The confidence of the royal exile's followers too was increased when it became known among them that he was making preparations in anticipation of his entry into Paris, and that the master of his equipages, Count Maxence de Damas, had been sent to inspect the Imperial stables at the Louvre, where he had offered criticisms and suggestions with an assumption of unquestioned authority.

The highest ecclesiastical influence had been brought to bear to allay any scruples of conscience that might have withheld the pious son of St. Louis from adopting the tarnished emblem of successful revolution, and the Papal Nuncio was despatched from Vienna to reassure him on this head. The Prince met him with a burst of royal magniloquence, declaring that while his Holiness, on propounding to him any dogma of religion, would find him the most docile of sons, his honour as a king was in his own keeping, and admitted of no dispensation. The Nuncio retired discomfited, and Pio Nono, on being informed of the result, exclaimed, in his racy idiom, *Si faccia friggere!* an Italian equivalent of the English slang phrase, "Let him fry in his own fat!"

To the solution of this question, in a form which, while sparing the self-love of the Prince, should give the nation a guarantee against future misconstruction, the deliberations of the Right were now directed. In a meeting in which our author took part, a document was drawn up which included, among various stipulations as to constitutional government, the following clause as to the flag, fondly expected to meet all the requirements of the case:—

"The tricolor flag is retained. It can only be modified by agreement between the King and the Assembly."

This ultimatum was conveyed to the Prince by M. Chesnelong, who returned in the full belief that it had been accepted by him. The letter, consequently, dated Salzburg, October 27, in which the Comte de Chambord, after months of evasion of the question, finally reverted to his original uncompromising attitude, came upon his followers like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. In this second manifesto, addressed to M. Chesnelong as the ambassador, he repudiates the idea that he could consent to become "the legitimate King of the Revolution," demands, with a rhetorical flourish, how Henri IV. (who showed himself pliant enough in the matter of religion) would have answered, if called on to renounce "the standard of Arques and Ivry," and finally asks why guarantees should be expected from him, when none were required from "the Bayard of modern times," as he grandiloquently styles Marshal MacMahon.

The effect of this publication [says M. de Falloux] was immediately disastrous. There was no difference of opinion amongst the Royalists, and the most ardent partisans of the Monarchy were the most earnest in their expressions of despair. On the following morning, at an early hour, all the Deputies of the Majority present in Paris hastened to the house of General Changarnier, President of the Commission of Nine (the body charged with the conduct of the negotiations), and in this numerous meeting, comprising all shades of the Right, not a doubt was expressed as to the impossibility of prosecuting the Monarchical enterprise. The feelings of all were expressed—first, in the tears which poured down the cheeks of General Changarnier, and next in the mournful exclamation of M. Chesnelong, in which personal protest was merged in patriotic affliction, “I appeal from the King to God!”

The first alternative suggested, the offer of the Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom to the Prince de Joinville, proved impracticable; the condition attached by him to his acceptance of the office, that it should be conferred on him by the Assembly and the Comte de Chambord, being tantamount to a refusal. The prolongation of MacMahon's powers for a term of seven years seemed, then, the only possible solution, and on the meeting of the Assembly on November 7, 1873, this measure was immediately proposed and carried.

But a dramatic interest was given to the closing scene of this interlude of history by the presence for the last time of the chief actor in the streets of his hereditary capital. Blindfolded to the consequences of his acts by the evil counsellors to whom he had long ago surrendered his judgment, the ill-starred Prince, had, we are assured, no previous conception of the inevitable effect of his fatal letter.

His surprise [writes M. de Falloux] was so great, and his disappointment so intense, that he resolved immediately to leave Austria and come *incognito* to France, in order to combat in person the impressions he had so ill-advisedly created, and to struggle face to face against any provisional expedient other than the recognition of his right and the re-establishment of his throne. He betook himself mysteriously to Versailles, to the house of M. de Vanssay, one of the men who possessed his confidence, and through M. de Blacas, requested a confidential interview with Marshal MacMahon. The Marshal replied that if any danger threatened the Comte de Chambord, he was ready in person to go and defend the Prince, even at the risk of his life; but that his duty to the Assembly and to his Ministry, rendered it impossible for him honourably to accept the secret rendezvous proposed. The interview consequently did not take place.

The Comte de Chambord saw only a few friends, to whom he appeared very anxious and almost irritable; he did not go out, in order to avoid being recognized, but heard Mass every morning in a little chapel improvised in M. de Vanssay's house, the officiating priest,

one of the Capuchin Fathers of Versailles, being deeply touched by the fervour in prayer and devoutly recollected attitude of the descendant of St. Louis.

So keen was the suspense and anxiety of the Comte de Chambord during the night sitting, which was to decide for or against the prolongation of the Marshal's powers, that it is said he repaired to the court of the palace, enveloped in a cloak, to await the result of the scrutiny, at the foot of the statue of Louis XIV. It is added that one or two of his confidants came and went every few minutes, to bring him reports of the speeches, incidents, fluctuations of the Assembly, and that when the final vote was irrevocably cast, and the Prince, so utterly misguided, and so utterly unfortunate, was informed that all, or almost all, the members of the Extreme Right had voted the Septennate, the bitterness of his despair was such that there broke from his heart the cry of anguish: "Great Heaven! is France not yet sufficiently punished?"

On the following morning he left Paris, to expiate in life-long exile the last error of a deeply erring race. Thus was a royal birthright a second time forfeited to folly, and the future of France, with that of her hereditary Sovereign, once again staked and lost. Nor can history even rank this *gran rifiuto* as a mistaken sacrifice of self-interest to principle; for if the head of the House of Bourbon held his personal honour pledged to conditions incompatible with the exigencies of the nation, he might at least, by a timely abdication, have waived his claims in favour of the next heir. He displayed, moreover, a reticence approaching to duplicity in the reservation of his final *non possumus* for a moment when he might have believed his followers too deeply committed to his candidature to be prepared with an alternative. Thus the last of the elder branch of Bourbon passes from the scene, self-obliterated in inglorious failure, to stand for ever pilloried in history as a royal *felo de se*, charged with the suicide of a dynasty.

M. de Falloux closes his record with the fall of the curtain on the last act of the Monarchist revival, but he lived to see these volumes printed twenty-two years later, and to recognize in the moral and political degradation of his country the realization of the worst fears with which he had laid down his pen. How much further the evolution of anarchy may proceed ere it reach its final term in some new phase of social or military tyranny the annalist of the future alone can tell; but those best acquainted with French political tendencies declare that the last chance of a Monarchical Restoration was lost with the once possible reign of Henri V., and that a deep-rooted feeling of national antipathy is expressed by the now sovereign populace in the frequently recurring cry of "Pas de Bourbons!"

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. III.—“BOROUGH ENGLISH.”

THE two great political parties which, by turns, take upon themselves to manage the affairs of our Empire, have each of them become pledged to alterations in those laws which regulate the succession to, and enjoyment of, property in land. It is probable that the change, when effected, will modify English life so very gradually that it will pass over, unrealized by the greater number of the land-owning class. Much of the land descends from generation to generation by will, and none, except a few wild theorists, at present advocate putting limitations to the absolute right of bequest. This right, or rather privilege—for abstract right, of course, there can be none—has been enjoyed by nearly every landowner for more than three hundred and forty years, and to many of us it has become so much a part of the nature of things that it requires a painful effort to comprehend the position occupied by our own forefathers in the Middle Ages, and a still greater stretch of the imagination to believe that our Continental neighbours can live happily under the land-laws which sprang up after the wars of the Revolution. Such land as is not dealt with by will is, in most cases, regulated by settlements. We believe that there are but few who advocate the abolition of settlements made in favour of living persons. The changes that are proposed will, therefore, affect only that relatively small portion of land with which deceased owners have neglected to deal. We are not in the secrets of either political camp; but it is a matter of public notoriety that it is intended that the real estates of intestates should pass in the same manner as personalty now does—that is, be divided in equal shares among all the children. On political grounds this may or may not be expedient. As a question of abstract justice even, there is much to be said both against and in favour of change. Viewed, however, from the standpoint of the student of history, when it comes to pass, it will be a revolution as great as any that has ever taken place, without violence, in this country. It will not be a change of front, but of basis.

We do not wish to be understood to affirm that such a mode of succession was an unknown thing, either here or over sea, in those centuries when modern institutions were shaping themselves among the ruins which encumbered Europe when the heathen Roman Empire crashed down in ruin. Gavelkind, we are aware, was never restricted to Kent; and we know that there was male gavelkind, where the succession was among the sons, to

the exclusion of the daughters, and gavelkind of a more absolute character, where sisters shared equally with brothers. There is evidence, were it required, to prove that these forms of succession were widely spread on the Continent.

Here in England we know that the methods by which succession was regulated were very varied, each one was, there can be no doubt, based on traditional customs of remote antiquity. The military defence of the land, in the opinion of those who, to use a somewhat misleading term, feudalized our institutions, made it needful that there should be, as far as possible, but one rule; so it came to pass that the form of succession prevalent among the great tenants who held directly of the Crown was, as far as might be, forced upon all classes. Thus, under the Norman and early Angevin kings, primogeniture had all the vitality that the presumption of the law in its favour could give. Or, to speak more correctly of a time when the principles of law were forming themselves, it was on almost every occasion favoured by the Crown lawyers, and very strong evidence had to be forthcoming ere any other form of devolution of land could be tolerated. Military service was not the only reason for this marked preference for primogeniture. Lawyers, from the very nature of their studies and employments, delight in uniformity. A set of hard-and-fast rules, which will work on all occasions with the accuracy of unintelligent machinery, appealed strongly to officials who had been trained mainly by study of the Imperial legists. They were perplexed and irritated at every turn by the varying customs of Teutonic and Celtic origin, which were to those, who had no means of seeing them in the perspective of historical development, mere relics of barbarism. Scotland and the Orkneys have had to undergo similar conflicts. The tribal tenures of the Highlands, and the Norwegian customs of the men of Orkney, were at once hateful and unintelligible to men trained to administer law as it was understood in the Lowlands.

In Kent and some few other places gavelkind possessed a vitality that it was impossible to stamp out, though it has been nibbled at by Acts of Parliament and legal decisions so as to have become but a shadow of its former self. Borough English has also survived, protected, as we believe, for their own purposes, by the manorial lords in the earlier time until it had struck roots deep enough to be able to live through the centuries when England was feudal, and to preserve a shadowy, ghost-like existence down to our own day. As the first Act of Parliament that is passed, dealing with the succession to real estate, is sure to sweep away this archaic custom, it will not be unprofitable to consider what it is, and, if it be possible, to trace its origin.

What then is Borough English? It is the custom by which

lands descend to the youngest son of the family instead of to the eldest, according to the provision of the common law. The custom, however, varies in different places; in some it is confined to the sons only, if there be no son, it is shared equally among the daughters; * in others the youngest daughter inherits.† There are some manors in which, if there are no children, the youngest brother inherits; in others the estate goes according to the rules of common law. There are places in which the copyhold land is Borough English, while the freehold follows the rule of the common law. In others both freehold and copyhold have the Borough English custom.

No little learning has been misspent on the discussion of the meaning of the term. That which seems obvious is, in this case, undoubtedly true. It was the English as distinguished from the French tenure, of this there can be no doubt; for we find that in Nottingham, in the reign of Edward III., there were two distinct kinds of tenure, in different parts of the town, called respectively *Burgh-Engloyes* and *Burgh-Frauncoyes*.‡ This affix, *burgh* or *borough*, has misled some persons. Towns having a mayor and corporation have arisen before their eyes. Aldermen in furred gowns, mace-bearers, and whatever else belong to municipal dignity, have flashed on their imaginations. They have not called to mind that the primary meaning of *burgh*, at least in England, was a fortified place, either a stockaded enclosure or a building, and hence, by an easily understood transition, a manor-house. Thus *burgh* or *borough*, in the sense in which we have to deal with it, has no connection whatever with a corporate town. This is proved by more than one line of evidence. For our present purpose, the names of villages such as Flixborough, Coningsborough, Fledborough, Flamborough, and a hundred other small places scattered over a great part of England, which have never been boroughs in the common meaning of the word, either by charter or prescription, are fully sufficient.

We are beset by far greater difficulties when we endeavour to discover how, when, and where, the custom we know as Borough English arose. The name is of native growth, probably, indeed, arose after the Norman Conquest, but the thing which it connotes is so widely spread that we cannot look for its origin in our own island. Before, however, we make inquiry as to these matters, we must dismiss, with all the contempt at our command, the stupid and malignant fables concerning the “*Mercheta Mulierum*”

* Kirton-in-Lindsey.

† Many manors in Sussex. See Corner's “*Custom of Borough English*,” pp. 18–29.

‡ Thomas Robinson, “*Common Law of Kent*,” 3rd ed., p. 386. “*Records of Nottingham*,” vol. i. p. 174.

which have been put forward to account for it. Dreamers and pedants have pressed this rubbish into the service, grave lawyers and historians, who ought to have known better, have dwelt upon it, and found therein an overwhelming proof of the savagery of the Middle Ages. Voltaire, and the obscene crew who followed him, naturally gloated over something which, if true, would have shown that society had been indescribably foul, and that the Church had neglected her divine mission.* It is difficult for even the most accomplished in the art of propagating slander to get falsehoods believed if there be not some little nucleus to which the various threads of falsehood can be attached. Such a point of vantage the calumniators found in the payments often made to the lords of manors on the marriage of women within their demesnes. The explanation is perfectly easy, and an entirely innocent one: the payment was made to the lord to recompense him for the loss of the woman's services. The children of bondmen had, in many cases, to work for their lords in harvest—to gather sticks, carry letters, and perform many other sorts of labour. When a woman married and became the head of a household she was often incapacitated from doing these services; she frequently also married some one out of her own lord's franchise, and then her services became entirely lost to her old lord. Strange as it may appear to us, who live in a mental atmosphere so absolutely different, it did not seem to the men of the Middle Ages that such payments were unjust. We do not remember any English instance where they were complained of at the time; they certainly continued to be paid as late as the reign of Henry VIII.,† and probably for some time longer. And this is absolutely all out of which a whole pandemonium of hideous fable has been evolved. Even a French philosopher, or an English law-writer, novelist, or playwright, ought to have known sufficient of the power of the Church over the most godless of the baronage, to have been quite sure that no such things could have had the force of law, or accredited custom, in any land within the limits of Catholic Christendom. Among the many evil things that have been said of them

* For an exposure of this vile calumny on our forefathers see Dr. Karl Schmidt's "Jus Primæ Noctis." Cf. Elton, "Origins of English History," pp. 87-404; Blackstone's "Commentaries," 15th edition, vol. ii. p. 83; Cosmo Innis, "Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities," p. 53.

† An entry from a court-roll of the manor of Scotter, of the year 1519, is worth quoting, as it shows what was the meaning of the word *merchet* when the feudal system, though weakened, was still alive. Scotter was a Lincolnshire manor belonging to the Abbey of Peterborough. This passage informs us that Alice Overye, "filia Willielmi Overye, nativi domini de Scotter," came to the Court "et petit licentiam se spontanie et voluntarie maritari, cui Dominus concessit licentiam per senescalum, et dat domino de marchato . . . 5s."—"Archæologia," vol. xlvi. p. 373.

by their enemies no one ever charged St. Gregory VII., St. Thomas of Canterbury, or Pope Innocent III. with being oowards. It is beyond the limits of possibility, if organized wickedness of the atrocious kind these fable-mongers tell of had been going on before their eyes, that their denunciations would not have rung through the world.

The area over which the custom the Germans call *Jungsten-Recht*, and for which the word *ultimogeniture* has been proposed, once extended, is a very wide one. It has existed in almost every country of central and northern Europe, in Hungary and the Ural mountains, and in Asia as far as the borders of China and Arracan. Scotland, and that part of England that was once the Northumbrian kingdom, seem to possess no traces of such a custom. Whether it never existed there, or whether, as seems more probable, it was stamped out so early that no record of its existence has been preserved, we cannot know. It is useless to speculate where there is not a scrap of evidence to guide us.

Two solutions of the problem which Borough English presents are worthy of consideration. Is it a custom descended from some race that has perished or been absorbed among subsequent invaders, or is it a form of succession which has been evolved among the races which at present occupy Europe?

As to the habits and ways of life of that very ancient gentleman, palæolithic man, our anthropological friends will pardon us for saying we know nothing. Many flint chips, a few bones, and still fewer bits of carved ivory, are all that he has left; everything about him is involved in controversy. His age is so much a matter of doubt, that those who are the most urgent in clamouring for his immediate admission into the human family, are the first to tell us that to fix any number of years back as the time in which he lived is a patent absurdity. He is a completely dateless being, and, for the present investigation, may be treated as non-existent. There is not the slightest evidence that any of the present populations of Europe can count on him as an ancestor. We must begin with the dawn of history then. As the darkness clears we find nearly the whole of Europe north of the Alps occupied by Celtic peoples. Into this not very compact mass the Teutons forced themselves. They are thought to have come by the way of the Danube, but it is highly probable that there were several streams of immigration separated by pretty long intervals of time. When the clear daylight begins, we find the Teutons in large masses, and we know that they pressed forward in more or less profusion into every corner of Europe, except perhaps Finland and Northern Russia. It is quite certain, however, that the Celts were not the earliest inhabitants

of the lands they retained, or those from which they have been dispossessed; an earlier wave of population had overspread the land, a race or races which gave way before the new-comers, and were either slaughtered or absorbed by the ruling population. Their grave-mounds, their axes and arrows of beautifully worked flint yet remain, and their bones have been found in sufficiently large quantities to justify specialists in assuming provisionally that these early folk were members of the Mongolian family. If this be so—and we see no reason for calling it in question—it has been imagined, with some show of plausibility, that Borough English may have been the Mongol tenure which has been preserved in those places where the old inhabitants were able permanently to hold their own and to establish village communities, which in time became, under the influence of feudal ideas, consolidated into manors. There is much that is specious and attractive in this idea, but so many objections occur that it must be declared false, or at least unproven. That customs like Borough English yet exist among the Mongols we know; if they were confined to them, the argument would have much weight; but as they are also found so widely scattered among Celtic and Teutonic peoples, we must conclude that from them or through them the custom has been handed down to us. It is highly improbable that this one remain of Tartar occupation should have survived at so many widely severed points, while every other trace of the people from whom it has been supposed to spring has passed away.

According to Mr. Elton, the custom of Borough English "was most prevalent in the south-eastern districts, in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, in a ring of manors encircling ancient London, and to a less extent in Essex and the East Anglian kingdom."* No part of England, not even Cambridge, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire, has been more thoroughly Teutonized. It is about the last part of the island in which we should expect to find the survivals of an ancient race. Place names should also lend their aid. If the manors where Borough English has been handed on are really settlements of pre-Celtic and pre-Teutonic folk, we should find in their names some remains of their language. The late Mr. Corner in his treatise "On the Custom of Borough English as existing in the County of Sussex," has given a list of the manors where this custom is followed: there are far more than a hundred of them. We have examined these names carefully. Interpretation of place-names is a difficult subject, which should in all cases be approached with modest reserve. The names of these manors present nothing abnormal; we believe that by far the greater part of them are

* "Origins of English History," p. 188.

Teutonic, though there seems to be a slight Celtic admixture. Unless we had in each case the oldest known spelling before us it would not be safe to generalize; we may say, however, that, with the reservation as to what a careful study of each name on its first occurrence in our early records might demonstrate, we see no ground for disbelieving that every single name was formed by people who spoke one of the two languages at present in use in the island. In the county of Lincoln there are seven manors where this succession has prevailed: Bennington (Long), Hibaldstow, Keadby, Kirton-in-Lindsey, Norton (Bishop), Thoresby, and Wathall. All these are evidently Teutonic; in fact, they seem, though this may admit of doubt, to be every one of them memorials of the last wave of northern conquest. We are unable to dissect the foreign place-names where the *Jungsten-Recht* has prevailed, but we have reason to believe that if this work were undertaken, as it surely ought to be, similar results would be arrived at. One example counts for little; but it may not be out of place to remark that this custom prevailed at Rettenberg in Westphalia.* If the Borough English manors were cases of survival marking the last stations of a conquered race, we should find them more commonly among hills and bogs than in the open plain. The open country in the neighbourhood of the spot where now stands London, is about the last place in which one would expect to find a conquered race making their last stand. It has been suggested that the Borough English manors show a tendency to cluster round the banks of rivers. Until some plodding antiquary is good enough to make a map showing where they are, it will not be easy to verify this. Should it turn out to be true, it is an additional reason for rejecting the Mongolian theory; for all the invading settlers of this island must have come up the rivers, and then, for the most part, fertile shores would be the first lands seized by the new comers.

If this theory, which we believe we have demonstrated to be untenable, be rejected, the opposing one—namely, that this right of the youngest has been evolved by the races which now inhabit Europe—is, if we are to have any explanation at all, the only one at present in the field. It, of course, does not follow that because no other key is forthcoming, this one will open the lock. To have any chance of doing so it must be one that has not arisen from narrow or local causes. A custom which we find in England, Wales, Brittany, Hainault, and indeed half the provinces of that State we now call France, which extended itself over many parts of Friesland, and the lands that lie on the banks of the Rhine, that is known in Silesia, Wurtemberg, Bornholm, and the territories which once belonged to the old commonwealth of Lubeck,

* G. L. Maurer, “Geschichte der Fronhöfe,” vol. iv. p. 348.

which we may even trace in the villages of Hungary,* and in southern Russia † must have its origin in some widespread feeling, some natural instinct, which had the force of law over large bodies of widely separated people.

That European social life formed itself not from the State but from the village community, is now admitted by all those who have given thought to our early history—records are the chief, but not the only, sources of our knowledge of the past. Within the last quarter of a century it has been proved, almost to demonstration, that the family, not the State, has been the root from which our civilization sprang. The Church, having her beginning at a time when the civilized world was locked fast in the vice of a terrible despotism, which made the State everything and the household nothing, except a mere unit in a vast, godless structure, had in this, as in so much else, not only clear vision of that which it was her divine commission to teach, but also prevision of knowledge which would be unfolded when ages had run their course. The Church consecrated the family; it was in the family, not from the State, that she sought her children; and now it has come to pass that historical investigators have made clear to us that the complex thing which we call civilization has arisen from no concentrated force, no social contract, no unlimited right of the strong over the weak, but from the family hearth.

When men began moving from Asia to Europe they may have been uncivilized but were certainly not savages. This is proved by the words for the necessities of life and common objects which are philologically identical among nearly all the Aryan races. The dream that we have sprung from savage ancestors so brutal as hardly to have more claim to be considered men than the beasts they hunted, was very dear to an older generation of philosophers. Modern discoveries in the science of language have given the death-blow to this unintelligent superstition in its old form. We may now contentedly believe that when our forefathers came into Europe they understood the use of clothes, valued the precious metals, kept domesticated animals, and realized the sacredness of family ties—nay, if we would not be thought blind to modern lights we must do so, with, of course, the reservation that these immigrant fore-elders, notwithstanding their intelligence and cultivation, were still sprung from an absolutely savage stock. Not to be considered an "obscurantist," it is still needful to place the savage, not the man made in the image of God, at the top of the family genealogical tree; but we are commanded to

* Elton, "Origins of English History," pp. 191-198.

† W. E. Hearn, "The Aryan Household," p. 82.

believe, on pain of being thought almost equally imbecile, to recognize the fact that the fathers and mothers of our people, when they first settled in these northern lands, were persons of whom no reasonable Englishman need feel ashamed. We admit the latter conclusion, and, registering our protest against the existence of the primæval savage, pass on.

As we have said, when the Aryans entered Europe they possessed domestic animals and metals, they knew the use of hemp and wool, and probably, though this is a matter of doubt, understood the cultivation of corn. Their family life was primitive but traced on moral lines; right and wrong were words which conveyed to them ideas at least as distinct as they do to the men we meet in the streets to-day. When they settled down each family had its own homestead, its own sacred hearth, where the family sacrifices were offered, and its own demesne, which was in the hands of the house-father, and into which an intruder came at his peril. Around was wild woodland, marsh or moor, on which the men of the family hunted and fished, from which they procured wood for building, domestic use, and fires. These separate family homesteads would be near together; the men who settled in one place, were, it is believed, near of kin, or if not so in reality, had a tradition of blood relationship. Surnames were unknown then and for long ages after, but tribal names came into being very early. We find them preserved in every place where the Teutons have made permanent settlements, and when a whole family group shifted from one place or country to another, the tribal place-name underwent transference also. Thus we have Massingham in Norfolk, and Masinghen, Mazinghem and Mazingarbe in Artois; Burringham in Lincolnshire, Burrington in Devonshire, and Böhringen far away in Germany. Examples of this kind might be multiplied to a great extent. While land was very plentiful it had, apart from the labour bestowed upon it, little or no value. It is only when a population reaches a certain state of density that the soil itself, apart from the human industry that has made it fruitful, becomes a valuable possession. In the earliest times, putting aside very exceptional situations, the unreclaimed land, being common to all, would have no value. It is evident, however, that as time went on the original settlements would become over-populated. At first, further clearings would be made, and the village community increase in number of homesteads by each son carving out for himself a new piece. This could not go on for ever. The good land would soon come to an end, for in a primitive state of agriculture land of third-rate quality is worthless; then the house-father would be compelled, before or at his death, to make provision for his sons by sharing the ancestral estate among

them. Here we have the origin of gavelkind—a form of devolution which has been more widely spread than even ultimogeniture. Gavelkind, however, when limited within a narrow area, can only be a temporary provision. As population increased it became an absolute necessity, if the inhabitants were not to starve, that the young men, as they grew up to man's estate and ceasing to be *pars domūs*,* became members of the village community, should find new settlements for themselves. Their fathers were not in a position to divide the private estate with them, and of new communal land none was to be had, it became an absolute necessity that they should seek homes elsewhere. This fact accounts in part at least for that vast shifting of population which took place when the Roman Empire fell into decay. The vast hordes of men which poured in from the East upon the decaying civilization of Italy and the lands beyond the Rhine, were considered by the elder school of historians as evidences of nomadic barbarism. We would rather say that they testify to a population too dense for their native lands to support; but whether to nomadism, or to a settled agricultural life, must depend on the evidence that is forthcoming with regard to each separate wave. As far as we have examined this intricate subject, we are inclined to the opinion that the tribes of Tartar blood were composed mostly of men who had been wanderers in the lands they had occupied, but that the Teutonic waves were mainly composed of those who came from settled homes.

It would naturally be the elder sons of a household who would depart on careers of adventure, to carve out for themselves homes in the West. If the dangers of travel and the chances of war did not cut him off, many an adventurous youth founded a new community, on the plan of the old home, the very name of which, as we have shown, might possibly be an echo of that which was left behind. When, however, the swarm departed from the parent hive, all the sons would not leave the shadow of the ancestral roof-tree. They would, in most cases, go one by one, as they were old enough to bear arms, when they had ceased to be *domus pars*, and had become what a Roman would have called a member of the *civitas*. But one, commonly the youngest, would be left behind; on him would devolve the duty of succouring his mother and unmarried sisters. To his lot would fall all the religious duties connected with the sacred hearth, and his would be the inheritance of the ancestral home, the plough land and enclosed meadow which surrounded it, and such rights of tillage and grazing on the public land, and such timber, firewood and pannage as the forest afforded. Among primitive peoples

* Tacitus, "Germania," xiii.

institutions grow slowly but strike their roots deep. When once formed they become a part of the furniture of their minds, and have much of the binding force that a direct moral precept has on those who have bowed before the cross. They become connected with the religious feelings which have gathered around the hearth, a part of that ancestor worship which had been evolved by the Aryan mind when the memory of the one true God had become dim. We do not believe that any fixed law of succession would grow up in a generation, or that this rule of the heirship of the youngest born sprang into existence at all the points where we find it at the same time. It would require in most cases centuries for a habit to develop into a fixed custom, giving a right, such as no father could set on one side, to his youngest son to succeed to the homestead. That such a right had matured itself ere Celt, Scandinavian, Angle or Frisian set foot on our shores is manifest by its existence here in such varied forms. We have no data by aid of which to make even a plausible guess as to when the Celtic occupation of what we now call England took place, and it is almost as rash to conclude that we possess trustworthy data as to the oldest Teutonic settlements. Those recorded in Bede and the Chronicle, which is so precious a monument of our speech in its early youth, must be received in the outlines, at least, as beyond question; but who will undertake to prove that Hengist and Horsa rode upon the crest of the first wave of German conquest that ever burst upon our shores? This conclusion has been called in question more than once. As regards one eastern county, it has been combated with an amount of learning and industry of which it is not possible to think lightly, and for which no satisfactory answer seems to be forthcoming.* A careful examination of the place-names of another shire washed by the German Ocean points to the conclusion that some at least of the place-names, of admittedly Scandinavian origin, with which it abounds, are of a date earlier than the Roman occupation. However this may be, if the conclusions we have arrived at are correct, and we see no line of argument by which they can be overthrown, we have, in the Borough English tenure, no creation of feudalism, no badge of a servile class, no testimony to Norman cruelty and wrong, but a memorial of the free life of a free people. A relic

Saved from the deluge storm of Time,

which testifies to us that our long-forgotten forefathers, though they wandered in the dark shadow-land of heathenism, yet revered the sanctities of the natural law; that the family and its

* Walter Rye, "History of Norfolk," pp. 3-22.

home were, above all things else, precious in their eyes ; that the house and the family acres were not mere property, like the iron spear or the golden armlet, but precious beyond all else, because around them were clustered home duties and home charities. It was the centre of the domestic affections, and therefore the inheritance, not of the eldest born, who might have wandered far away to strange lands, not to be rashly rendered useless by division among the whole family, but to be reserved entire for him—the youngest born—who had remained at home with the old people, tended upon them in life, and closed their eyes in death.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

ART. IV.—THE GREVILLE MEMOIRS.

The Greville Memoirs: A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV., King William IV., and Queen Victoria. By the late CHARLES C. F. GREVILLE, Esq., Clerk of the Council to those Sovereigns. Edited by HENRY REEVE, C.B., D.C.L., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. A New Edition, in Eight Volumes. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1888. Vol. I. to Vol. VI.

TO those in middle life, for whom the past holds as much as, or perhaps more than, the future promises, there can be no greater pleasure than the study of a carefully written retrospect of the years gone by—a retrospect in which historical events and past interests are recalled to memory, the secret springs of doubtful social incidents are revealed, and the mysterious details of many a political puzzle are made clear. It is this gratification which the five concluding volumes of Mr. Greville's Journal provide for us, those, namely, which tell the story of the present reign, from 1837 to 1860 ; and the appearance of a re-issue of the whole book may not unfittingly be made the occasion of some remarks on the contents of these important and attractive Memoirs.

Fourteen years have elapsed since the first three volumes of Mr. Greville's Journal were given to the world, and three years since the publication of the second three, whilst the two concluding volumes only appeared during the past year. The previous editions having been exhausted, the work is now published as a continuous whole, in eight uniform and cheaper volumes, and we have, in a convenient and readable form, Mr. Greville's impres-

sions of the political and social world of England from the year 1818 to 1860, together with his comments upon certain prominent events on the Continent during the same eventful period.

The first series, of three volumes, is concerned with the reigns of George IV. and William IV., and with these volumes we do not propose to deal. The events of those reigns may now be considered historical. The actors have disappeared from the scene, and we feel as if we were no more specially linked with those times than with any other period of English history, and our introductory remarks therefore can hardly be applied to them. With the following volumes it is different. The Queen, whose accession forms the opening feature of the first volume of the second series, still reigns over us. Many of us can remember the early years of her accession, and have followed with interest the chequered fortunes of her life, whilst there can be none for whom the various and manifold topics on which Mr. Greville writes have no interest.

Although published during the life-time of some persons who are mentioned in Mr. Greville's Journal, the judicious editor, Mr. Henry Reeve, has not too soon, we may feel assured, given us these pages. He allowed eleven years to elapse between the publication of the first and the second series; and, as if to deprecate the charge of over-hasty publication, the editor brings forward in the preface to the second series numerous instances, taken both from English and from French literature, and dating from the fifteenth century downwards to the present day, of Memoirs containing more or less of confidential matter, which were published during the life-time of many of those whose acts are therein recorded. He concludes with the example of the Queen herself, who, by placing in the hands of Sir Theodore Martin her own journals and correspondence, in order that her people might possess an authentic biography of the Prince Consort, has shown that, so far from objecting to the events of her reign having wide publicity, she was willing both to help and to contribute towards the true understanding of contemporary history. With so prominent a precedent in his favour, Mr. Reeve was right to delay the publication no longer; and we imagine that little pain will have been given, even to the sensitive, by these pages. Indeed, when a man enters public life he must be prepared to be criticized, to be misunderstood, and to see his character stand at the mercy of all who choose to attack it. To such as run the gauntlet of a daily and bitterly partisan press, the comments of such an observer as Mr. Greville can have but few terrors; whilst to the average student it is no small gain that by the help of these Journals, the Croker Papers, Lord Palmerston's Memoirs, and other books of the same character, the history of

the last half century can be mastered and the complete revolution which these years have witnessed may be observed and noted by all.

This revolution has been effected gradually. It is only by carefully watching the measures which, one by one, have changed our political status, or our social position, that we are able to realize the importance of each step as it was taken—an importance the whole fulness of which was not always perceived by those who brought it about, or who first witnessed it. Indeed, even in Mr. Greville's Journal it is oftener from the stray and half-unconscious remarks, which reveal more than is intended or suspected by their author, than from the matter formally recounted, that we see how far distant we are to-day both from the political position and from the whole tone of thought of fifty years ago. If the political changes have been great, those which have occurred in the material world have been not less momentous. The enormous physical changes of the last fifty years are apt to be forgotten, by those who have had no experience of life in England during the first years of this century. In some respects, our grandfathers had more in common with those living in classical times than with ourselves. To take but two instances. When Mr. Greville, in 1818, drove down from London to Brighton, or to Oatlands, he travelled in exactly the same manner, neither slower nor faster, than did our Roman conquerors of two thousand years ago. When the Journal ends, in 1860, he could with ease have dined at six in the evening at Brighton, and have been in a London theatre soon after eight o'clock. He gives us a description of his first railway journey, the *naïveté* of which is not a bad example of the value of Mr. Greville's occasional remarks which we noticed above. Travellers of to-day, to whom the incidents of railway locomotion are so familiar as to pass unnoticed, will be amused at reading the manner in which they impressed a man past forty years of age, when he first experienced them. For instance: In July, 1837, there being nothing specially to keep him in London, Mr. Greville starts on an expedition to see the "Birmingham Railway," which will take him to the Liverpool races. The first part of his journey he performs in the old-fashioned way; and he spends twelve hours in getting from London to Birmingham. There "he got upon the railroad," and tells us:—

Nothing can be more comfortable than the vehicle in which I was put—a sort of chariot with two places. The first sensation is a slight degree of nervousness, and a feeling of being run away with; but a sense of security soon supervenes, and the velocity is delightful. Town after town, one park and château after another, are left behind

with the rapid variety of a panorama, and the continual bustle and animation of the changes and stoppages make the journey very entertaining. Considering the novelty of its establishment, there is very little embarrassment, and it certainly renders all other travelling irksome and tedious by comparison (vol. iv. p. 11).

Again, when at the beginning of his official life, Mr. Greville was summoned to attend a Council meeting, or received the foreign intelligence on which he commented with so much care, the despatches came to him in the same form and at the same speed as King George received the news of the battle of Waterloo, and the Roman Senate that of the battle of Actium, so little had eighteen hundred years accelerated the pace at which news travelled. Before the close of his career, however, another great change, at one bound, was upon us, and Mr. Greville was discussing the events of the American Civil War at a shorter date after their occurrence than he had been able to discuss those which in Paris followed the dethronement of Charles X. No doubt the unexampled development of our wealth and social relations is mainly due to these two innovations, steam and electricity; and the changes which, regretted by some, welcomed by others, must yet be acknowledged by all, have naturally followed in their wake.

Mr. Greville started in life with great advantages. If he did not, as he himself is constantly lamenting—if he did not profit as he might have done by his unusually good opportunities, he did so more than many young men in his position would have done. Born at a time when high connections, if not absolutely necessary to official success, were yet of great service in procuring it, his near relationship to the aristocratic houses of Greville and Bentinck early brought forth fruit; and whilst it gave him access to the highest society, it was the means also of providing him with the liberal income necessary for its enjoyment. Before he was twenty, he left Oxford to become private secretary to Lord Bathurst; and not long after, his grandfather, the Duke of Portland, was able to obtain for him the Secretaryship of Jamaica. This was a sinecure, the duties of the office being performed by deputy. The Duke was, however, also able to procure for his grandson the reversion of the clerkship to the Privy Council, a very different post, and one which brought Mr. Greville into intimate relations and official contact with the leading statesmen of his day, and, to a less extent, with the Crown itself. He was actually installed in 1821, and he occupied the post for forty years.

It is perhaps mainly due to his holding this appointment in the Privy Council, that we owe the value of Mr. Greville's *Journal*. His position, as that of one who stood outside political changes and passions, whilst at the same time he moved in the

inner circle of high political life, was one which afforded unusual opportunities for knowing all that was passing, yet created no temptation to indulge in partisan predilections; and he was in consequence able to comment in an impartial spirit, and with painstaking accuracy, on important subjects of the day. As we noted above, Mr. Greville was free from pecuniary anxiety. The double salaries which he drew, both for the work which he actually did as Clerk of the Council in London, and for that which, by the recognized custom of the day, was performed for him amongst the less pleasant surroundings of the West Indies, were ample. He was, therefore, without the incentive to exertion which the fear of poverty engenders in many men. This may have been but a qualified advantage. Had Mr. Greville been driven to exert himself more, his undoubtedly great abilities, his power of careful observation and discrimination, his sober and sound judgment, might have enabled him to co-operate in the making of history, instead of merely recording its events. That he himself was conscious of greater powers than he ever put forth, these pages give ample evidence. He has been exposed to much severe and to some harsh criticism; but we doubt that any critic has dealt more hardly with Mr. Greville, than Mr. Greville has dealt with himself. He is constantly contrasting the society he might have enjoyed with that which he actually frequented, and lamenting the small use he made of the many opportunities which he enjoyed. Thus, after passing a week at Bowood in the society of Thomas Moore, Lord Macaulay, Mrs. Butler (Fanny Kemble), Rogers the poet, Lord John Russell, and many other literary and political notabilities, after admitting that he had never passed a week in which he had listened to so much good talk—and talk quite untainted by scandal, or gossip—he laments:—

And this is the sort of society which I might have kept instead of that which I have. I have had all the facilities I could desire for adopting either description of society, for spending my time among the cultivated and wise, or among the dissipated, the foolish and the ignorant; and, with shame and sorrow, I must admit that by far the largest proportion of my time has been wasted on and with the latter (vol. v. p. 72).

Racing, Mr. Greville's main interest, is a matter of far greater self-reproach and annoyance to him than of pleasure. He seldom visits Newmarket or attends race-meetings, without expressing the great dissatisfaction which a man with a capacity for better things would naturally feel at the society and surroundings to which, on the turf, he is forced to submit. Even when recording a triumph he achieved at Ascot, where, in 1846, he won the Emperor's Cup, and admitting that

there was a moment of excitement and joy when I won this fine piece of plate in the midst of thousands of spectators [he continues]:

But that past, there returned the undying consciousness of the unworthiness of the pursuit, filling my thoughts, hopes and wishes, to the exclusion of all other objects and occupations; agitating me, rendering me incapable of thought and reflection, and paralyzing my power of reading. All this is very bad and unworthy of a reasonable creature. I ought to throw off these trammels, and abandon a pursuit so replete with moral mischief to me (vol. v. p. 404).

Mr. Greville's life seems naturally to divide itself into the same three parts into which Mr. Reeve, on its first publication, divided his Journal. As the editor tells us, during the reigns of George IV. and William IV., Mr. Greville makes his appearance as a man of fashion and pleasure, plunged, as was not inconsistent with his age and social position, in the dissipation and amusements of the day. He was a great deal at Court and at Oatlands, the Duke of York's residence, and had the care of the latter's racing stables. This period of his life may be said to end with his journey into Italy and the death of William IV. The subjects commented on during these years are of less permanent interest than those discussed in the subsequent volumes. They are more "anecdotal" in character, and connected with the gossip of society, whilst the opinions expressed by Mr. Greville bear evidence of their author's youth, and were often corrected by subsequent experience.

In the second division of his career, which includes the first fifteen years of the present reign, Mr. Reeve tells us:—

He enters, with all the energy of which he is capable, upon the great political struggles of the time—the earnest advocate of peace, of moderation, of justice, and of liberal principles—regarding with a discriminating eye and with some severity of judgment, the actions of men swayed by motives of ambition and vanity from which he was himself free. This was the most active period of his life (vol. i. p. ix., preface to new edition).

But, as Mr. Greville advanced in years, he withdrew more and more from society. During the third and last division of his life, the infirmities from which he had always suffered increased; and many of the sources from which he had so often drawn information were no longer open to him. Hence, although the years were pregnant with events of much interest, he finds but little to say concerning them which is not already known to the ordinary student. In 1857, in speaking of his Journal, he writes:—

I have read over the few preceding pages, and am disgusted to find how barren they are of interest and how little worth preserving. They show how entirely my social relations have ceased with all those friends and acquaintances from whom I have been in the habit of drawing the information which the earlier part of this Journal contains, and

consequently my total ignorance of all political subjects. There was a time when I should have had a great deal to say upon passing events of interest or importance, but all that is gone by.

Again, three years later, he tells us, as a reason for writing no more :—

I have long seen that it is useless to attempt to carry this Journal on, for I am entirely out of the way of hearing anything of the slightest interest beyond what is known to all the world. I therefore close this record with a full consciousness of the smallness of its value or interest, and with great regret that I did not make better use of the opportunities I have had of recording something more worth reading.

It is therefore obvious, that the most valuable volumes of Mr. Greville's Journal are those which form the second series, and which treat of the years 1837 to 1852, and to these we propose, on the present occasion, to confine our attention. To give any adequate account of the whole Journal would simply be, to tell the story of forty eventful years of English history; whilst, even to annotate satisfactorily all that is mentioned of interest, or moment during the above-named fifteen years, would demand greater space than is placed at our command. There are, however, two subjects concerning which our readers will probably not object to hear the passing thoughts of a keen, discriminating observer of forty or fifty years ago. The first of these subjects is of interest to all of us. The other is of special interest to Catholics. We propose therefore to confine our attention, in the first place, to the character and action of our Queen when she ascended the throne; and then, to topics which more or less directly touch on the position of the Catholic Church in England.

With the Jubilee rejoicings still fresh in our memory, the deafening cheers almost ringing in our ears, and the bright illuminations only recently extinguished, we believe that our readers will turn with interest to a quieter scene fifty years ago, which contrasts in so marked a manner with the noisy, even if loyal, celebration of the other day. In the early morning of June 22, 1837, a young girl of eighteen was unexpectedly aroused from her sleep at Kensington Palace, and wrapped in a muslin dressing-gown and with slippers on her naked feet, appeared before the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Conyngham. She was addressed by the latter as "Your Majesty." Few can read this scene in Mr. Greville's pages without some degree of emotion, and without being struck by the contrast between the magnificence of the actual position and the simplicity of its outward manifestation. A young girl, without any obvious sign of royalty or power, having till now lived in quiet retirement, is met by the

salutation of "Your Majesty:" two short words, though telling a tale of world-wide empire, unimagined even by the proudest Roman Emperor. We gather that the almost child-Queen to some extent realized the dignity of her position, for Mr. Greville tells us that, "As soon as Lord Conyngham uttered the words, 'Your Majesty,' she instantly put out her hand to him," intimating thereby that he was at liberty to kiss hands, before he proceeded. He dropped on one knee, kissed her hand, and then proceeded to announce to Queen Victoria the death of King William

There can be little cause for wonder at the enthusiasm which the Queen excited in the first years of her reign. The position was dramatic in the extreme, and she seems to have met its requirements in a dignified and yet artless manner, which cannot but have charmed and captivated all who were brought in contact with her. As noted above, the sudden elevation of a young girl of eighteen, who had lived in strict seclusion, and had experienced what she herself describes as a "sad childhood," to one of the proudest positions in the world, is a contrast likely to lead captive the imagination of a whole people. In such an exalted station, a thousand mistakes would not only have been possible, but very natural. And yet, all the fault that so careful and acute an observer as Mr. Greville can find is that, for one so youthful, the Queen perhaps shows an excess of caution, adding at the same time:—

With all her prudence and discretion she has great animal spirits, and enters into the magnificent novelties of her position with the zest and curiosity of a child.

He describes her at one of her first balls at Buckingham Palace, and tells us:—

The Queen's manner and bearing were perfect. She danced first with Prince George, then young Esterhazy, then Lord Fitzalan. Before supper, and after dancing, she sat on a sofa, somewhat elevated in the drawing-room, looking at the waltzing; she did not waltz herself. Her manners are exceedingly graceful and blended with dignity and cordiality, a simplicity and good humour, when she talks to people, which are mighty captivating. When supper was announced, she moved from her seat, all her officers going before her—she first, alone, and the Royal Family following; her exceeding youth strikingly contrasted with their mature age, but she did it well (vol. iv. p. 95).

The Queen, on her accession, found Lord Melbourne and a Whig Government in office, and she at once gave her whole confidence to her Prime Minister. He was a man well suited to the interesting, though delicate, task of training his young Sovereign for her position as constitutional Queen. She had conceived a

high opinion of his worth during the previous year when, on the occasion of some dispute at Kensington between her mother and King William touching her own proposed allowance, Lord Melbourne, although he knew the King's life was closing, so far from showing any disposition to court the rising power, had taken the King's side as against herself. "She considered this to be a proof of his honesty and determination to do what he thought right." Lord Melbourne's manner to the Queen, and the Queen's manner to Lord Melbourne, strike all who see them together :—

His, so parental and anxious, but always so respectful and deferential ; hers, indicative of such entire confidence, such pleasure in his society. She is always talking to him, and let who will be there, he always sits next her at dinner. It is not unnatural, and to him it is peculiarly interesting. I have no doubt he is passionately fond of her, as he might be of his daughter if he had one. It is become his province to educate, instruct, and form the most interesting mind and character in the world. No occupation was ever more engrossing or involved greater responsibility. I have no doubt that Melbourne is both equal to the task, and that it is fortunate she has fallen into his hands, and that he discharges this great duty wisely, honourably and conscientiously (vol. iv. p. 135).

A little later, Mr. Greville spends a couple of days at Windsor, and gives us an account of the manner in which the Queen passes her day :—

The life which the Queen leads is this : she gets up soon after eight o'clock, breakfasts in her own room, and is employed the whole morning in transacting business ; she reads all the despatches, and has every matter of interest and importance in every department laid before her. At eleven or twelve Melbourne comes to her, and stays an hour, more or less, according to the business he may have to transact. At two she rides with a large suite ; Melbourne always rides on her left hand, and the equerry in waiting generally on her right ; she rides for two hours along the road, and the greater part of the time at a full gallop ; after riding she amuses herself for the rest of the afternoon with music and singing, playing, romping with children, if there are any in the Castle (and she is so fond of them, that she generally contrives to have some there), or in any other way she fancies. The hour of dinner is nominally half-past seven, soon after which time the guests assemble, but she seldom appears till near eight. When the guests are all assembled, the Queen comes in, preceded by the gentlemen of the household, and followed by the Duchess of Kent and all her ladies ; she speaks to each lady, bows to the men, and goes immediately into the dining-room. She generally takes the arm of the man of highest rank, but on this occasion she went with Mr. Stephenson, the American Minister (though he has no rank), which was very wisely done. Melbourne invariably sits on her left, no matter who may be there ; she remains at table the usual time, but does not suffer the men to

sit long after her, and we were summoned to coffee in less than a quarter of an hour. In the drawing-room, she never sits down till the men make their appearance. Coffee is served to them in the adjoining room, and then they go into the drawing-room, when she goes round and says a few words to each, of the most trivial nature, all, however, very cordial in manner and expression. When this little ceremony is over, the Duchess of Kent's whist-table is arranged, and then the round-table is marshalled, Melbourne invariably sitting on the left hand of the Queen, and remaining there without moving till the evening is at an end. At about half-past eleven she goes to bed, or whenever the Duchess has played her usual number of rubbers, and the band have performed all the pieces on their list for the night. This is the whole history of her day! She orders and regulates every detail herself, she knows where everybody is lodged in the Castle, settles about the riding or driving, and enters into every particular with minute attention (vol. iv. p. 152).

From the above we see how much time Lord Melbourne spent with the Queen, and how great was his influence with her Majesty. At this early age her mind must have been pliable; and if we have enjoyed over fifty years of the reign of a Sovereign who has so ably played her part, we ought not to forget that she probably learnt her lesson of constitutional monarch from her first Minister, and that we owe him a proportionate degree of gratitude. To Lord Melbourne is due the fact that the Queen has acted a difficult part without any serious differences having arisen between herself, her people, or either House of Parliament; and that she has allowed the nation to emancipate itself from all royal control in so unobservable and pacific a manner. Indeed, it is only by imagining ourselves led back to the first half of this century and endeavouring to realize the state of things at that date, that we perceive the vast political changes the last fifty years have worked in this realm. In 1837 there was little doubt that the Government was the *Queen's* Government; as little is there in 1888 that it is the Government of the *people*!

A year after her accession, the Queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey; and, as we read Mr. Greville's account of the state of London during the days before and following the event, we can almost imagine that we are reading a newspaper of last June. On June 27, 1838, he writes:—

There was never anything seen like the state of this town; it is as if the population had been on a sudden quintupled; the uproar, the confusion, the crowd, the noise are indescribable. Horsemen, footmen, carriages squeezed, jammed, intermingled, the pavement blocked up with timbers, hammering and knocking, and falling fragments stunning the ears and threatening the head; not a mob here and there, but the town, all mob, thronging, bustling, gaping, and

gazing at everything, at anything, or at nothing; the park one vast encampment, with banners floating on the tops of the tents (vol. iv. p. 109).

The day itself (June 28) was fine, "no rain, nor heat," and the multitude who thronged the streets were orderly and well pleased. Within the Abbey itself all was splendour, particularly the benches where the peeresses sat, blazing with diamonds. The Queen herself looked rather diminutive in stature, and seems to have been often at a loss, as to the part she was to play in the august function. No one, with the exception of Lord John Thynne—who acted for the Dean of Westminster—and the Archbishop of Canterbury, seems to have taken the trouble to master their part, and during the intricate ceremonial much confusion was the result. The Queen eventually turned in despair to Lord John Thynne, and said: "Pray tell me what I am to do, for they don't know." At the end of the service, when the orb was placed in her hand, she again turned to him, and asked what she was to do with it. "Your Majesty is to carry it, if you please, in your hand," was the answer. "Am I?" she said; "it is very heavy." By some unfortunate blunder, the ruby ring had been made to fit her little finger instead of her third, on which the rubric directed that it should be placed. She tried to induce the Archbishop to put it on her little finger, arguing truly that it was too small for the third finger; but as he insisted that the latter was the right place, the Queen yielded, took off her other rings, and allowed him to force it on. It hurt her much, however; and after the ceremony was concluded, she was obliged to bathe her hand in iced water to get it off.

Amidst all this splendour, the Queen's consideration and kindness of heart were evident. When Lord Rolle, a peer between eighty and ninety years of age, approached the throne to do homage, he stumbled and fell on the steps. She instantly rose, and asked: "May I not get up and meet him?" and when he again approached the throne she advanced, and came one or two steps towards him—an act of graciousness that was warmly appreciated.

Mr. Greville estimates that a million of people had a sight of the gorgeous procession, which wound its way from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey by a route that lengthened the distance into between two or three miles; the whole way was thronged with a dense mass of spectators. No doubt the numbers at the late Jubilee were considerably greater, for we were then told of an extra million of persons who had crowded into London for the sight. This is not unlikely, for not only must we remember the immense increase in the population of the country,

but also, how easy now has become the access to London. If, as Mr. Greville tells us, so much was done at the coronation to amuse and interest the people, the people then must have been mainly Londoners, whereas in 1887 they were gathered from every part of England. The sight of the vast and orderly crowds in the streets, and of the fair in the park, which was arranged for the amusement of the lower classes, were not without their effect on the foreigners who were present. In the evening Mr. Greville met Prince Esterhazy, and asked him what the foreigners had thought of the spectacle. He replied that they had admired it all very much. "Strogonoff and the rest don't like you, but they feel it, and it makes a great impression on them. In fact, nothing can be seen like it in any other country."

The coronation, however, was but the event of a day. We must now return to the political side of the Queen's early life.

Agreeable and, in many respects, suitable as was Lord Melbourne's close relationship with the Queen, it was not without its disadvantages. Lord Melbourne was but a Minister, and he was dependent for his position upon the favour of a Parliamentary majority. Should he cease to enjoy a majority, even at this date, the tie between the Crown and the Minister must be broken; the parting would then be painful, and their subsequent relations might be embarrassing to themselves and, possibly, the cause of jealousy to future Ministers. From 1837 to 1841, Lord Melbourne's tenure of office was precarious. As Lady Holland tersely said, the Ministry existed only by favour of "Paddy and the Queen." That is to say, it was only saved from constant defeat in Parliament, by the Irish vote; and from the natural result of having lost the confidence of Parliament, by the Queen's unwillingness to part with her favourite Minister. In 1839 a crisis arose. The Ministry met with so serious a reverse that they resolved to quit office. This resolution was entirely unexpected by the Queen, and threw her into such a state of concern and agitation that she was obliged to dine and spend the evening in her own room. Lord Melbourne advised her Majesty to send for the Duke of Wellington, which she consented to do on the following day. By this time she had regained her wonted composure, and the Duke was much pleased by the frankness and good sense displayed by the Queen. Owing to his age and deafness he was not himself able to serve her, but he suggested that she should apply to Sir Robert Peel, the leader of the Tory party in the House of Commons. Although the Queen disliked him personally she made no objection to taking this course. Sir Robert Peel, therefore, was sent for and was commissioned to form a Ministry, and the Tories were rejoicing over their victory

and their speedy advent to power. Their rejoicing, however, was premature, for an unforeseen difficulty arose. The young Queen, as is well known, absolutely refused to part with the ladies of her household. For a girl of nineteen, she undoubtedly showed an unusual amount of self-will and determination. Both the Duke and Peel failed to influence her decision. She was not only resolved not to give way, but she met their arguments at every point, and was prepared with answers to all they could urge. As the Queen would not yield, so neither would Peel; and he informed her that, under these altered circumstances, he must again consult his party. Meanwhile the old Ministers, still the *de facto* Government, called a Cabinet meeting, at which Lord Melbourne laid before them a letter from the Queen, written in so true an Elizabethan spirit that, had that spirit retained all its fire and been often exhibited, the history of the last fifty years would probably have been different:—

Don't fear [she writes] that I was not calm and composed. They wanted to deprive me of my ladies, and I suppose they would deprive me next of my dressers and my housemaids. They wished to treat me like a girl, but I will show them that I am Queen of England (vol. iv. p. 209).

After various suggestions for a compromise from different members of the Cabinet, which all fell to the ground, they composed a letter for the Queen, in which she simply declined to place the offices of the ladies of her household at Peel's disposal. On the receipt of this communication, Sir Robert Peel resigned his commission to form a Government. As Mr. Greville truly says, this episode

Is a high trial to our institutions. The wishes of a Princess of nineteen can overturn a great Ministerial combination, and the most momentous matters of Government and legislation are influenced by her pleasure about her Ladies of the Bedchamber. The Whigs resigned because they had no longer that Parliamentary support for their measures which they deemed necessary, and they consent to hold the Government without the removal of any of the difficulties which compelled them to resign, for the purpose of enabling the Queen to exercise her pleasure, without any control or interference, in the choice of the ladies of her household (vol. iv. p. 214).

At first, Mr. Greville was disposed to think that the Queen had been harshly dealt with by Peel. On further inquiry, however, he qualified this opinion, and came to the conclusion that a great part of the difficulty had arisen through a misunderstanding, and that Peel had been wanting in no proper consideration for his royal mistress. The circumstances were difficult. He was about to take office, without any assured majority in the

House of Commons; and he could not, at the same time, face a Parliamentary minority and a Court entirely hostile to himself. At this juncture, Mr. Greville endeavours to play the part which, as years advance, he more and more often fills—namely, that of mediator between the two Parliamentary parties, and of elucidator of any misapprehensions that may prevent the adjustment of difficulties. He endeavours to arrange that the Queen should again see the Duke of Wellington, and from him learn the exact extent of the sacrifice which Peel had demanded from her, and which Mr. Greville believes she greatly exaggerates. If she were reassured, he hopes that the Queen will again place herself in Peel's hands. On this occasion, however, Mr. Greville's negotiations fail, and the Whigs resume office.

Mr. Greville heard directly from Lord John Russell, that the Queen had told her version of the whole story to himself and to Lord Melbourne, and had concluded with the words: "I have stood by you; and you must now stand by me." To this they consented, and they resumed the reins of office without having acquired any more substantial power than they previously possessed, and with the additional disadvantage of having an Opposition greatly and bitterly exasperated against them.

The decay of loyalty in the Tory party, owing probably to the favours shown by the Queen to the Whigs, is a remarkable feature in the early years of this reign. Mr. Greville writes: "No opposition was ever more rabid than this is; no people ever treated or spoke of the Sovereign with such marked disrespect." So strong was this party feeling, that about this time at a great Tory dinner at Shrewsbury, the company refused to drink the health of the new Lord Lieutenant of the County, the inoffensive Duke of Sutherland, merely because the Duchess, his wife, was the head of the Queen's household. We have a still more startling instance of disloyalty in a speech made at Canterbury by a certain Mr. Bradshaw: "A tissue of folly and impertinence and a personal attack on the Queen, of the most violent and indecent kind;" which yet, at a Conservative dinner, was received with shouts of applause. This speech had remarkable results. Mr. Horsman, a strong Whig, publicly denounced Bradshaw, as having "the tongue of a traitor, and the heart of a coward;" and, in consequence, he was called to account for his words by the latter. The episode ended in a duel between Horsman and Bradshaw, when, after an exchange of shots, neither combatant being touched, Bradshaw makes "a stinging apology for his insults to the Queen, and Horsman apologizes for his offensive expressions towards Bradshaw."

Although there can be little doubt of the Queen's popularity on the whole, these were unpleasant features; as also, in contrast

with the demonstrations of to-day, was the absence of all outward marks of respect when she appeared in public. Thus, at Ascot, in 1838, though the Queen was tolerably well received, but few hats were lifted as she passed. "This mark of respect," says Mr. Greville, "has quite gone out of use, and neither her station nor sex procures it; we are not the nearer a revolution for this, but it is ugly" (vol. iv. p. 106).

A year or two later, however, all the loyalty to the Crown which existed in the country was awakened by an attempt being made on the Queen's life by a half-insane youth. As she and Prince Albert were driving up Constitution Hill, the lad fired two shots at the royal carriage. Neither shot took any effect; but the courage and self-possession exhibited by the Queen were remarkable. Fearing lest some rumours might reach her mother, she drove straight to the Duchess of Kent's, to assure her of her safety; after which, she continued her drive in the Park. By this time, the danger to which the Queen had been exposed, having become widely known, she was most enthusiastically received by the crowds that had assembled to see her. The equestrians in the Park formed themselves into an impromptu escort, and attended her back to the Palace, amidst vociferous cheering. When, a little later, she was at Ascot, the same gratifying evidence of loyalty was manifested; in fact, the act of this madman had the effect of making her Majesty extremely popular. Perhaps, partly influenced by the widespread interest and joy shown at her escape, she now began to make her Court less exclusive, thereby creating a better feeling between herself and the Tories, and this result must have been welcome to all. But we are slightly anticipating.

Those who have only known the Queen of late years, may perhaps feel surprised at the amount of independence and self-will which were noticeable to observers in her youth. She soon frees herself from even Lord Melbourne's influence. His sister, Lady Cowper (afterwards Lady Palmerston), expresses to Mr. Greville her fear of the serious consequences which are likely to result from her determined character. This proved to be an unfulfilled apprehension; for since the early days of which we have written, we can recall no instance in which the Queen has allowed her own wishes to interfere with the constitutional position she has always maintained. The occasion on which Lady Cowper notes this independence of character, was that of the Queen's own arrangement of her marriage with Prince Albert; and this, without any consultation, or even without any frank communication with her Minister, Lord Melbourne. It is perhaps not too much to surmise, that, when once she was safe in the hands of the wise and honourable man whom she married, her husband's influence

may have been successfully used to prevent any farther indiscretion on her part.

Mr. Greville was present at the Council meeting at which the Queen's engagement was formally announced :—

All the Privy Councillors seated themselves, when the folding-doors were thrown open, and the Queen came in, attired in a plain morning gown, but wearing a bracelet containing Prince Albert's picture. She read the declaration in a clear, sonorous, sweet-toned voice, but her hands trembled so excessively that I wonder she was able to read the paper which she held. Lord Lansdowne made a little speech, asking her permission to have the declaration made public. She bowed assent, placed the paper in his hands, and then retired (vol. iv. p. 255).

The Queen had seen the Duchess of Gloucester on the previous day, and had told her that she was about to make the declaration of her marriage to her Privy Council. The Duchess asked if it was not a nervous thing to do. She said: "Yes, but I did a much more nervous thing a little while ago." "What was that?" "I proposed to Prince Albert."

The years which are annotated in Mr. Greville's Journal are those which witnessed the emancipation, progress and development of the Catholic Church in England; and the Church and her position are matters with which Mr. Greville constantly finds himself confronted. Of the actual Act of Emancipation we do not propose to speak. The subject, of course all-important to Catholics, is threadworn; and though Mr. Greville already in 1829 duly kept his Journal, he was still a comparatively young man, and his remarks are therefore less weighty. As years advance, however, the Catholic Church and England's relations with Rome occupy and interest him more. In 1841 he mentions a meeting with Cardinal (then Dr.) Wiseman, whom he describes as a "smooth, oily, and agreeable priest," and whose conversation, though entirely on topics connected with Catholicity, he seems to have enjoyed. Dr. Wiseman, even then, was able to inform Mr. Greville of the great increase of his religion in this country. This increase he attributed neither to the Puseyites, though that party was then at its zenith, and still able to boast amongst its members many of the great men who subsequently helped to swell the triumph of Catholic progress in England; nor to the fresh life awakened within the Church herself, by the freedom which she had lately gained, by the annulling of the penal laws, nor to the efforts of missionaries; nor to the influence of writings;—but, rather, to the violence and unscrupulosity of the Protestant Association and of its itinerant preachers. Dr. Wiseman says, that the advent of these agents of the Society was always

hailed with satisfaction by the priests in the districts through which they passed, as a good harvest of conversions was the result of their visits. In fact, that Balaam like, they proved a blessing to those whom they came to curse. Such retribution need not surprise us, when we remember the usual style of invective of ultra-Protestant addresses. The natural reaction against such violence would be, a feeling in favour of the Church.

How little the spirit of the religious Orders was known at this date, even to an exceptionally well-informed Englishman, is evidenced by the astonishment which Mr. Greville expresses at hearing that the Order of the Jesuits was still governed as absolutely, and that its General was still invested with the same authority, and exacted the same obedience from his subjects, as in the early period of its foundation. As an example, he tells us, he learns from Dr. Wiseman that—

When the Pope gave the Jesuits a college at Rome, the General sent for Professors from all parts of the world, summoning one from Paris, another from America, and others from different towns in Italy, and he ordered them simply, on the receipt of his letters, to repair forthwith to Rome (vol. v. p. 26).

Such prompt obedience, which to us is a mere matter of course, is evidently phenomenal in Mr. Greville's eyes.

We find Mr. Greville again in communication with Dr. Wiseman in 1847, when he had much talk with him about Rome and the Pope's recent Rescript concerning the colleges in Ireland. The misunderstanding which arose on this question is assigned to the old and still present difficulty, of there existing no diplomatic relations between England and the Holy See; and the consequent necessity under which the Pope lay of gathering his information from sources which are not always impartial or trustworthy. The result of Mr. Greville's interview with Dr. Wiseman is, that the former undertakes to speak to the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, on the matter, and promises to try and persuade him to send Lord Normanby, at this time Ambassador at Paris, as English Minister to Rome. Lord John's reply was short, and to the point: "He had ordered a Bill to be drawn up to legalize our intercourse with the Pope." We conclude that this refers to the ill-fated "Diplomatic Relations with Rome Bill," of which Mr. Greville says more later on.

This subject, a few years later, is again brought prominently to the front by the storm which was aroused in England, during the latter part of 1850, by the re-establishment in this country of the Catholic Hierarchy, or, as it was popularly called, the "Papal Aggression." In November, Mr. Greville writes, that all topics, great and small—from the probable war, which was then likely

to distract Germany, down to the rank and precedence which is to be accorded to the young Duke of Cambridge—give place to, and are uninteresting compared with, the “No Popery” hubbub, which was then raging through the length and breadth of the land.

Although untainted by the fanatical madness of the majority of his fellow-countrymen, Mr. Greville is much exercised by the tempest which has arisen. He criticises the action of Pope Pius IX. as severely as he condemns the folly of his Protestant opponents:—

The Pope has been ill-advised and very impolitic; the whole proceeding on the part of the Papal Government has been mischievous and impertinent, and deserves the severest censure. . . . On the other hand, the Protestant demonstration is to the last degree exaggerated, the intention misunderstood, and the offence unduly magnified. A “No Popery” cry has been raised, and the depths of theological hatred stirred up very foolishly, and for a most inadequate cause. John Russell, who acted prudently in declaring his Protestant sympathies, joining the public voice in condemnation of the Pope’s proceedings, and clearing himself and his Government from any suspicion of being indifferent to them, nevertheless writes a very imprudent, undignified, and, in his station, unbecoming letter. He might have said all that it was necessary to say without giving any offence; he might have taken the movement into his own hands, and satisfied the Protestants, and at the same time not dissatisfied the Catholics, pouring oil on the waters, and moderating the prevailing effervescence. But his letter has had a contrary effect. On one hand it has filled with stupid and fanatical enthusiasm all the Protestant bigots, and stimulated their rage; and on the other it has irritated to madness all the zealous Catholics, and grieved, shocked, and offended even the most moderate and reasonable (vol. vi. p. 375).

After nearly forty years’ experience, few will agree with Mr. Greville that both parties in this matter deserve blame. We feel fully convinced that the Holy Father knew his own business a good deal better than this cultivated English gentleman, who sat in judgment upon him; and that his conduct deserved none of the severe strictures which the latter passed on it. The object of the Papal action was, of course, the consolidation and advancement of the Church in this country, on the one hand; whilst, on the other, it gave to the faithful adherents of Rome, to those who, through evil report and through good report, had remained steadfast to the old faith, the gratification of seeing their religion once more occupying its right position, and enjoying the full dignity of a territorial hierarchy. By the side of such objects, which assuredly deserve the epithets neither of “impertinent,” nor of “mischievous,” his Holiness was little likely to be influenced by the

dread of an irrational outbreak of bigoted Protestantism; nor, indeed, to take much count of the manner in which his favours were received by those outside the pale of the Church. Seeing that in the then temper of England, however cautiously he had acted, the outcry would probably have been much the same, such consideration would have been labour lost. The effect might possibly have been simply to add a new accusation of cunning craftiness to that of uncalled-for interference. Of course, however, we cannot now affirm what would have happened had the Pope acted differently to the way in which his Holiness did act. But we can, at this date, fairly well judge of the success which has followed his efforts, and compare it with the failure which followed the action of his angry and clamorous enemies.

The first Catholic Directory that comes to hand affords good evidence of the success of the "Papal Aggression" from a Catholic standpoint. We have but to compare the number of our churches, colleges and schools, of our monasteries and convents, and other institutions, to-day and in 1850 respectively, in order to gauge the measure of our increase. There stand very tangible evidences of our progress: proofs in stone, which may be looked on either as a sufficient reason for, or as the result of, the Pope's having given to the Church in England a local status, and of having taken advantage of the tide which, as we heard above from Cardinal Wiseman, had for some years been running in our favour.

On the other hand, what can our opponents show? Little besides a vast amount of unchristian-like temper, which found expression in an abortive and ridiculous attempt at petty persecution; which, whilst it wholly failed, and did not even attempt to touch the root of the matter, prevented a real office from being designated by its real name; an attempt, too, which, after some years of absolutely futile existence, is quietly snuffed out by the power that created it, and expired without a serious remonstrance from its promoters, and without a sign of triumph from its opponents; an attempt which, even as we write, we see described by a weekly Protestant contemporary as "the cheap religious Chauvinism of the silly Ecclesiastical Titles Act" (*Spectator*, May 5). But we must return to 1850.

As the agitation proceeded, Mr. Greville becomes more and more annoyed at the sorry spectacle presented by his countrymen. He writes in November:—

The Protestant agitation has been going on at a prodigious pace, and the whole country is up; meetings everywhere, addresses to bishops and their replies. . . . A more disgusting and humiliating manifestation has never been exhibited; it is founded on prejudice and gross ignorance. . . . In the midst of all this, Wiseman has put forth a very

able manifesto, in which he proves unanswerably that what has been done is perfectly legal, and a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, with which we have no concern whatever. . . . His paper is uncommonly well done, and must produce a considerable effect, though of course not capable of quieting the storm that is now raging (vol. vi. p. 377).

The futility of the agitation naturally annoys a sensible man of the world like Mr. Greville. He sees clearly that the Government will find it equally difficult either to act effectively or to do nothing. Lord John, by the letter already referred to, had made some action imperative; and yet any action that was likely to have serious results was so completely out of harmony with the spirit of the age, as to be certain merely to play into the hands of those whom it was hoped to crush.

Although the agitation was mainly the work of bigots and fanatics, some, who ought to have known better, made use of this folly to serve their own ends. Even Lord John himself, Mr. Greville feels assured, does not *really* care about the matter, and affects far more Protestant indignation than he feels. The *Times* also, that usual abettor of all that is illiberal, and which of course was playing its usual part, and "blowing the coals for the sake of popularity," in the person of its editor, Mr. Delane, told Mr. Greville that "he thought the whole thing gross humbug and a pack of nonsense." In spite of its hollowness, Mr. Greville does not consider the agitation the less mischievous; and, a few weeks later, his patience is exhausted. He could stand no longer, without protest, the torrent of folly and violence which the newspapers, he tells us, day after day poured forth. Accordingly, he wrote a long letter, which was published in the *Times*, and signed "Carolus," for even Mr. Greville did not venture to put his name to an able and moderate appeal to the common-sense of his countrymen, common-sense being then at a discount. Although the editor felt obliged to publish his letter, so strongly was the paper committed to the opposite side, that he did so unwillingly; and Mr. Delane told Mr. Greville that he must attack him. "Accordingly they replied to the article they published, but in very complimentary terms and with very feeble arguments." Of the weakness of the arguments we may feel assured, for Mr. Greville's position was one which it was impossible successfully to assail. His main object was to insist on the difficulty which is for ever confronting statesmen—the difficulty, namely, of crushing a spiritual power by purely material means. It was encountered by the Roman Empire nearly two thousand years ago, and again to-day was met by the strongest and proudest military power of our age; and before this difficulty each in turn has been equally obliged to recede. Mr. Greville, it is true, again

refers to what he considered the ill-advised and extravagant action of the Pope; but, granting all that his fellow countrymen can urge as justifying their indignation, as he truly says, noisy and angry resentment which results in no action, becomes, when given way to by a whole people, slightly ridiculous. "We shall assuredly look exceedingly foolish," he says, "if all the hubbub should turn out to have been made without some definite, reasonable, and, moreover, attainable object." As he pertinently asks, are the English people prepared to follow, to its legitimate result, the indignation they profess to feel at the encroachment on the Queen's prerogatives? He continues:—

We cry out, that an insult has been offered by the Pope to the English Crown and nation; that the ecclesiastical constitution which he has promulgated, is illegal and unconstitutional, and that it shall not be endured. When the Queen of England is insulted, or her subjects are injured by any foreign Power, she demands redress, and failing to obtain it, she exacts it by her armies and her fleets. Are we to hold the Pope, in his temporal capacity, responsible for his merely spiritual acts, and deal with him by demands and threats, and by armaments to enforce them? I apprehend that no such extreme measures will be adopted (vol. vi. p. 495).

What then can be done? Parliament may pass all the enactments and prohibitive laws it chooses, but it cannot touch the voluntary obedience which constitutes the only real power the Pope can count on:—

Your statutes will have no more effect at the Vatican than Papal Bulls at Westminster Hall. [And again]: All the lawyers in England would fail in devising prohibitory laws as to spiritual matters which the objects of them could not find means to evade (vol. vi. p. 495).

It is evident that the whole power of England cannot touch the Pope himself, nor can it unfrock his bishops; whilst to wage war with the dioceses would be to fight the empty air. Mr. Greville admits that they may enact fresh laws against ecclesiastical titles, though he deprecates such measures as a lame and impotent conclusion to so great an agitation. How absolutely inoperative the law which was enacted would prove, however, even he does not suspect.

Mr. Greville believes that, although to Catholics the Pope's nominees may be *de facto* bishops, no Protestant will ever recognize their high position. He instances Dr. Ullathorne, the respected prelate whom we fortunately still have amongst us, and tells us, that although he may exercise all spiritual authority over his co-religionists, should he venture to assume the title of "Bishop of Birmingham," in the ordinary intercourse of society, he would meet with "merited contempt." This prophecy has proved to be

false. The English people have shown themselves less churlish than Mr. Greville anticipated, and the title of bishop is usually given to-day as courteously and unsuspectingly to a Catholic bishop, as that of lord to the younger son of a duke or a marquis. We can indeed give an instance of all but official recognition of the exalted standing of our Cardinal Archbishop, in the prominent place his name occupied in the announcement of a Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the poor.

We feel that some of our readers may think that we owe them an apology, for dwelling at such length on what they may deem "a trumpery matter, arising from trumpery feelings." But when a whole nation runs mad on a subject nearly touching ourselves, Catholics may be forgiven for enlarging upon it; and we only record the facts stated above as welcome indications that our countrymen have again recovered their ordinary sobriety of mind.

As we noted some pages back, Mr. Greville believes that much of the mischief on this and other occasions when Rome and England have come into contact, has arisen from our having no diplomatic relations with the Holy See. An attempt to establish such relations had been made; but, through the timidity of its promoters it proved completely abortive, and instead of conciliating had offended the Pope. It was a characteristic instance of the peculiar perversity which seems to attend our efforts to secure direct communication with his Holiness. The English are disposed to flatter themselves that they, of all people, are the most uncompromisingly straightforward and plain spoken. Yet, whenever it is a question of Catholicity, or the simple recognition required at their hands that the Church is the greatest spiritual force in existence, the unworthy and almost childish subterfuges to which they resort would be amusing, were they not so humiliating an exhibition of the power of prejudice. An English Protestant cannot endure the thought, that millions of his fellow-subjects and hundreds of millions of his fellow-men pay a willing and implicit obedience to the Pope of Rome. They therefore adopt the somewhat ostrich-like attitude of ignoring the fact, apparently hoping thereby to annul its effects; and this, with results from which they themselves frequently suffer grave inconvenience. The object of England ought to be to establish such relations with the Holy See as would enable both parties to discuss in a friendly spirit the interests of the Pope's spiritual children in this kingdom, in the sister island, and in our Colonial Empire. That the Holy Father, as a fact, has spiritual authority over Catholics wheresoever they may be, cannot be denied; but it can be ignored by ostrich-minded people, and this was done in the above-mentioned Bill. It was clear to all, that the secular concerns of England required as little attention from

the Pope, as that the spiritual interests of Catholicity in this country required a great deal; and yet, to satisfy the unreasoning prejudices of bigotry, the Bill was so drawn as to pretend to acknowledge the former and actually to deny the latter. The House of Lords refused to his Holiness the title of Pope, or even of Sovereign Pontiff; and insisted that the ruler with whom it was proposed that relations should be opened, should simply be styled "Sovereign of the Roman State." Their lordships then proceeded to prohibit the Pope from sending an ecclesiastic to England as his emissary—which was exhibiting much the same spirit as would be shown by France or America, were either Republic to refuse to receive a peer as ambassador from the Court of St. James. This was an offensive, and, under the circumstances, an impossible condition, to which the Pope would naturally refuse his assent. As Mr. Greville truly says, the Bill was a sham. Its real object was to communicate with the Pope in his spiritual capacity. Yet, so anxious were its promoters to make it appear that no recognition of the Pope's spiritual authority was intended, that between the two incompatible conditions—viz., those of denying on the one hand that the power existed, and on the other establishing relations with a ruler who wielded the power, the whole matter ended in failure. We, therefore, stand to-day pretty much where we always stood. All the difficulties which existed in 1850, from the want of intercourse between the two Courts are still present in 1888; and our communications with the Pope continue to be made in a manner which Mr. Greville describes as being as underhand and clandestine as it is undignified and unsatisfactory. When the Holy Father wished, in Mr. Greville's day, to restore the English hierarchy, a project which might well have been arranged in an amicable spirit with our Government, there was no authorized agent on either side with whom to work, and the result is:—

That the nation is now convulsed by a paroxysm of wrath and indignation. . . . The great City of London is going up in solemn procession to lay at the foot of the throne its superfluous protestations of allegiance, its fanciful complaints of injury, and its vague demands for redress. And how is redress to be obtained? After so much has been *said*, what is to be *done*? "Ay, there's the rub!" (vol. vi. p. 498).

It is satisfactory to think that England has advanced somewhat in liberality since 1850, that a more tolerant and reasonable spirit is now, as a rule, not only to be found amongst her statesmen, but is also exhibited by the ordinary run of her people. If we Catholics are now better liked by our Protestant fellow-countrymen, we believe it to be because we are better known; and this knowledge has mainly come from the more prominent

and open position which the Church has assumed, since the establishment of the English hierarchy.

Had we further space we might enlarge on many other topics which Mr. Greville discusses. As we before said, his *Journal* is very discursive; and he has a word for every man of note, for every lady of political position, and for every prominent subject of the age in which he writes. But, we have exhausted our limits, and may say no more. Should we, however, by the above slight sketch, induce any of our readers who have not yet perused the first edition of the *Greville Memoirs* to read the second, we feel certain that they will thank us for some hours of pleasant and instructive recreation.

ART. V.—CATHOLICS AND COUNTY COUNCILS.

IT was said in one of the newspapers, a few weeks ago, that Mr. Ritchie's Local Government Bill means the "downfall of the territorial aristocracy." The saying is inaccurate, as are most of the utterances of the "newspaper wittlings," the "pert scribbling folk" who claim to guide, or to form, what is called public opinion. In the first place, the county justices are not an aristocracy at all, in the sense in which the word was employed by the journalist. As Professor Freeman has recently pointed out, "it is quite a mistake to suppose that a Court of Quarter Sessions is wholly a body of landowners, with large estates and long local pedigrees: smaller landowners, and commercial men, are coming in faster and faster." And, in the second place, there is no good reason why the great majority of those who are most active and useful at Quarter Sessions should not be equally active and useful on the new county councils. What Mr. Ritchie's Bill does mean is, that popular voting will be substituted for official selection as the means whereby the administrators of county business will be appointed. Whatever alterations may be made in the details of the measure, whatever delay there may be in its enactment, we cannot doubt that its main provision will become law. This change is certain. Whether any public good will result from the change is, to say the least, extremely doubtful. Indeed, so far as my own opportunities—which have been fairly extensive—enable me to judge, no expectation of such good is cherished by any set of politicians. There are, of course, those who hope to

reap party or personal advantages. But it is matter of experience that such advantages are almost invariably purchased at the expense of the community. *Plectuntur Achivi* is the last word, and the true explanation, of many a so-called reform. Certain it is that the system under which county business is at present transacted, works well. It is efficient. It is economical. It places power in the hands of those who from social position, education, and leisure are best qualified to exercise power. If ever there was a system of which Lord Melbourne's famous query, "Why can't you let it alone?" might be pertinently asked, it is this system. But neither Liberals nor Conservatives can let it alone. And the reason is not far to seek. "He whom the devil drives must go." The unclean spirit of Rousseauian Liberalism has entered into the age. His political theory is the chief motive power in the European public order. And one of its cardinal principles is what Hegel has called "Atomism": the doctrine of "the government of the people, by the people"—"people" meaning, in the first half of the phrase, the whole community, and, in the second, the majority of adult males told by head; or, in other words, the doctrine that the only legitimate source of public authority is the mandate of the populace. Let me not be mistaken. I have no sort of quarrel with popular election, in itself, as a mode of designating those who are to be charged with the conduct of public business. It may be a good mode or a bad mode. That will depend, in great measure, upon the amount of wisdom and virtue possessed by the electors. The doctrine which I do deny, and which, as I conceive, cannot be too often refuted, or too strongly denounced, is this: that there is an inherent right to command, in a majority; that a peculiar sanctity attaches to the will of half the community plus one, to the odd man's volition; that all political power, not obtained by delegation from this source, is illegitimately held. M. Gambetta summed up the doctrine in a once famous speech:—

Political philosophy [he insisted] demands that the people should be considered as the exclusive, the perennial source of all rights. . . . All authority (*la toute puissance*) has its seat in the national sovereignty. The will of the people must manifest itself directly, openly; it must have the last word; all must bow before it; else national sovereignty has no existence, and the people are sold (*le peuple est joué*).

That the will of the numerical majority—what they call the people—is the supreme test of right and wrong; that nothing is sacred against it; that the laws made by the Legislature, the policy pursued by diplomatists, the judgments delivered by the tribunals, derive from it alone their validity, and must be

dictated by it, or at all events conformed to it—such is the philosophy (what a profanation of that august name!) insisted on by the school of publicists, of whom M. Gambetta was a worthy type. As though any number of “citizens”—as the phrase is—by enjoining pravity could convert the same into rectitude; as though from the empirical consensus of multitudinous individuals could be derived the true principles of social order; as though objective freedom could consist in anything else than in a willing obedience to those eternal laws which are the necessary relations of things, the laws of right in itself; as though, in Coleridge’s words, it were “the abstract man, and not the abstract reason alone, which is the sovereign and legitimate lawgiver.” “Their Liberalism is not liberal,” said Burke of the Jacobins of the last century. The dictum holds good of the Liberalism of their successors in our own days. The Rousseauian political theory is nothing but a new, and far more noxious, version of the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience usually supposed to have been long discredited by the common-sense of mankind, the majority being substituted for a single autocrat. The dogma, I say, that in the will of one man, or of many men, is the source of right, of justice, of law, is absolutism. And absolutism, which is merely materialism in the public order, is fatal to all that is good and great in national life. Democracy! By all means give us democracy, if it really is democracy. But do not attempt to palm off upon us a counterfeit which has hardly anything in common with it but the stolen name. “Democracy is a very ancient word in the world, and has hitherto borne a definite sense, as descriptive of a system of government well known to the student, whether of ancient Greece or of mediæval Europe. But the democracy of Athens or of Florence is one thing: the so-called democracy of this nineteenth century is quite another. Whatever may be urged against that Attic democracy for which Thucydides has put so magnificent an apology into the mouth of Pericles, it was the nurse of individuality, the bulwark of law, the mother of civic virtue. To me, I own, it seems, upon the whole, the highest achievement of the ancient world. In the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages I recognize the noblest and purest type of national character attained during the Christian era; the realization of Milton’s grand idea of a free commonwealth, ‘where they who are greatest are perpetual servants and drudges to the public at their own charges, neglect their own affairs, and yet are not elevated above their brethren; live soberly with their families, walk the streets as other men, and may be spoke to familiarly, without adoration.’”*

* “Chapters in European History,” vol. ii. p. 197.

so-called democracy of our own days—its proper name is ochlocracy, for it means the rule not of the *δημος* or *populus*, but of the *ὄχλος* or populace—is founded upon a doctrine* of man and society at which the Athenian citizen or the Florentine burgher would have stood aghast; a doctrine which is destructive and dissolvent; the direct negation of that essential law of reason whereby alone is possible any true organization of the State and of real freedom within it. And to my mind the real significance of Mr. Ritchie's measure lies not in the change which it will immediately work, but in the evidence it affords how deeply that doctrine has affected our ways of thinking. The change which it will bring about will probably be, on the whole, not very considerable; at all events for a time. We shall have, for the most part, the old administrators under other designations. Here and there, no doubt, charlatans who trade on the passions and prejudices of the multitude will find and use their opportunity. But the balance of mind, the political instincts, the public sense, engendered among us by centuries of rational freedom, will usually suffice to prevent the new county councils from becoming the happy hunting-grounds of those hungry demagogues, whose notion of "guarantees for the people," is something snug for themselves.†

But although the effect of Mr. Ritchie's measure may not be to dispossess generally the present administrators of county business, is it not likely to lead to the displacement of most of those among them who are Catholic? The Lords-Lieutenant—I hardly know of a single exception—are uninfluenced, in their nominations to the commission of the peace, by religious predilections or animosities. Catholics who are duly qualified, are, as a rule, placed upon the magisterial bench as readily as Protestants. But is there not reason to fear that in the new elective county councils, Catholics will find a difficulty in obtaining seats? The question is worth considering. To answer it we must ask two others.

In the first place, then, is there now among the people of this country such a strong anti-Catholic feeling as would be likely to operate largely in disfavour of Catholic candidates for the county councils? For my part, I do not think there is. Twenty-eight

* For a detailed consideration of that doctrine, I must refer the reader to the seventh of my "Chapters in European History," entitled "The Principles of '89."

† CHAFFION. Qu' est-ce que le peuple veut, après tout? Il ne veut que de garanties, ce pauvre peuple.

BABAGAS. Quelles garanties?

CAMERLIN. Quelque chose pour nous.

Babagas.

years ago a very able contributor to the *Rambler* wrote, "The positive prejudice which disqualifies Catholics, as such, in the general English mind from posts of honour and trust is still powerfully operative. . . . The blind unreasoning bigotry of the bulk of the English middle class is unimpressible and unassailable: to attempt to extract fair concessions from them, when the Pope is in the case, is, as Sir John Fortescue would say, to go 'scheryng of hogges,' with the old result of 'moche cry and little wole.'" But he added, "Catholics have no cause to despair of being able ultimately to work round free institutions, more to their advantage than they seem to be at present,"* and the event has shown that he was right. That during the last quarter of a century the old No-Popery feeling, still pretty vigorous in 1860, has greatly diminished in intensity, we all know. That it still lives and works in degrees varying in different sections of society and in different parts of the country, many of us have occasion to know also. So far as I am personally concerned, evidence of it comes before me only too frequently, in the offices of the Catholic Union. Still, even in those classes which were once its fortresses, its influence is weakened. Take the middle class, for example, where, as the writer in the *Rambler* judged, its power is "unimpressible and unassailable." Take even that section of the middle class which Mr. Matthew Arnold called "the Lower Middles," where the adherents of the various sects of Protestant Nonconformity are most numerous. It is a pious—or impious—opinion with these religionists that the Pope is "that Man of Sin," spoken of by St. Paul, and the Catholic Church the "Scarlet Woman" of the Apocalypse. But notwithstanding this, we are beginning—nay, more than beginning—to get fair treatment from "the dissidence of Dissent, and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion." At the Conference of Catholic Guardians recently held by the Catholic Union, some very striking and very satisfactory statements were made to this effect. Thus—to quote only two of them—Mr. Stout, of Birmingham, testified that in that town "the Dissenters were the first to do justice to the Catholic poor;" and Mr. Farrell, of Hull, told us that his board of guardians, "composed mainly of Dissenters, is exceedingly anxious to meet all the just requirements of Catholics." And similarly, at the half-yearly meeting of the Catholic Union in February last, Mr. A. Wilson, a very active guardian of the Wandsworth and Clapham Union, spoke of "the Dissenting clergy" as being "among his most active supporters." I could largely supplement these statements by facts within my own knowledge if it were necessary. But I hardly

* *Rambler*, March 1860, p. 384.

think it is. It may be sufficient for me to say that what comes before me in the offices of the Catholic Union leaves no doubt on my mind that even in the most anti-Catholic portion of the community there has been, during the last decade, a signal diminution of Catholic prejudice; that notwithstanding outbreaks of the old Protestant bitterness here and there—outbreaks which we must expect and which we must meet, according to the circumstances of each case, with quietness and confidence—there is a general disposition to judge of Catholics, like other members of the community, on their individual merits, and apart from their religious creed. Whether the causes to which this decay of Protestant zeal must be attributed are such as we can contemplate with unmixed satisfaction, is an inquiry that need not detain us here. It is enough for my present purpose to record my conviction that Catholics may obtain their due place in the new county councils, with little, if any, more difficulty than other members of the community, if they will.

“If they will.” But will they? That is the second question to be considered. We must not forget that there is a long tradition against us. Nor can we, in this connection, lose sight of the potent influence of heredity. The disabilities under which Catholics suffered for so many generations have passed away. But can it be said that the effect of those disabilities does not, to some extent, still remain? It is a very delicate subject to be dealt with by one who has not the happiness of being a Catholic by birth. Perhaps I may be allowed to employ regarding it words of my own, which were well weighed when they were written, and which I do not know how to better:—

The Catholic body in England, in 1829, when the Act of Emancipation was passed, was hardly in a condition to profit, to any large extent, by that great measure of justice. Far be it from me to write one word sounding in disparagement of men for whom I entertain a reverential admiration, which no words can adequately express. Who, indeed, can but revere and admire the indefatigable fidelity of that heroic band of hereditary confessors? No Englishman, surely, can fail to be touched by it. But I suppose it is an unquestionable fact of history, that the political, educational, and social disabilities of centuries had told disastrously upon the Catholics of England. How could it have been otherwise? For generations they had dwelt in darkness and in the shadow of death, and the iron had entered into their souls. *Sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber, sicut vulnerati dormientes in sepulchris*, is the true description of the state in which they found themselves when they were once more admitted to their constitutional rights (“Ancient Religion and Modern Thought,” p. 82, 3rd edit.).

Of course, this state has largely passed away. It would be impertinent and invidious to mention names. But we can all point to representatives of our old Catholic families who have "come to the front," as the phrase is, and have assumed their proper place in public affairs with equal credit to themselves and advantage to the country. Then again, "the fresher zeal, the wider cultivation, the uncramped energies of the band of proselytes whom Cardinal Newman headed," were given to the service of Catholicity at an opportune moment, and have unquestionably done much to make the position of Catholics very different from what it was forty years ago. But can it be said, even now, that British Catholics, as a body and on the whole, take their due place in this country? I must own I do not think this can be said. Certainly, I should be the last person to join in those general charges of inactivity and want of public spirit sometimes brought against us. Indeed, writing in this *REVIEW*, two years ago, I thought myself bound to protest against an indictment preferred against our Catholic young men, as being "mere grown-up boys, with no sense of the obligations incumbent upon them worthily to uphold the august name of Catholic among a people separate from the unity of the faith, with no feeling of the responsibilities attaching to the position of an English gentleman, intent only on idle amusements and the frivolous gratifications of the passing hour." * While conceding that "the loss is immense which a young Catholic gentleman suffers who is debarred from participation in the quite unique advantages of a University training," I felt bound to say, "to me, the wonder is that the youths trained in our Catholic colleges hold their own so well." "It is my duty to testify," I added, "that those young men of our leading Catholic families with whom I have the pleasure to be acquainted—and I do not believe that my experience is exceptional—are, for the most part, by no means deficient in zeal for the Catholic religion, in patriotism, or in skill and energy in the conduct of affairs, public or private." I do not think this was too strongly said. I see no cause to unsay it in any degree. But, after all, there is another side to the medal. There are those among our young men—a minority, as I think, but a numerous minority—there are too many among our older men, wearied, it may be, by the burden and heat of life's day, in whom the feeling of public duty, of public responsibility, in a word, of the debt which we owe to our country, is by no means so strong as it ought to be. This is a great and grievous loss to us, circumstanced as we are in this country. We may well

* *DUBLIN REVIEW*, July 1886, p. 81.

echo the lament of Bishop Hacket: "We want public souls: we want them." And those of us who are brought much into connection with public affairs have reason to feel how much we suffer from the want. This feeling was generally expressed at our recent Conference of Catholic Guardians, and by no one perhaps more forcibly than by Mr. Farrell, in his very suggestive paper on "Catholics and Public Life." "One of our chief drawbacks," he observed, "is that we have not sufficient material to fall back upon. Very few of our people are sufficiently experienced in administrative business to induce them to test their abilities in that direction. The lack of interest Catholics themselves take in public affairs is the reason why the Catholic body of this country is not better represented in public life." And at the half-yearly meeting of the Catholic Union in last February the same theme was dwelt upon by several speakers, among them being Colonel Lenox Prendergast, whose great experience, and unwearied, self-sacrificing activity, lend special authority to his words.

Now, in the event of a great extension of Local Government [he said], have we got the men familiar with public life, and fit and able from experience of it to undertake their proper share in the work? I put it to anybody here present whether that is the case. This is a matter of very great anxiety. I have been passing some little time in Italy, and have had communications with those with whom we sympathize in that country; and I can assure you that men of the highest experience have told me that the last seventeen years of exclusion from public life there has had the most disastrous effects upon their young men. Here is a whole generation of young men, whose opinions sympathize with ours, but who are absolutely without any experience of public life. Where are statesmen to turn to for assistance for the coming generation if they are not brought up to it? That is precisely, though not so strongly, the position in which we shall find ourselves if people will not take the trouble to obtain the experience. It is a great trouble and a most disagreeable task—I see those in this room who know from experience what it is—but we are not worth much if we cannot make up our minds to undergo some trouble and to perform some disagreeable duties in order to take our share in the public life of the country. I do hope that members of the Union will do what they can, so that we may largely increase the numbers of Catholic representatives on the different public boards throughout the country, for I honestly think it to be one of the most important duties that can fall to our hands at this moment.

To which let me add the following extract from a letter recently addressed to me by a Catholic gentleman in the West of England, an active magistrate and a distinguished public servant:—

I confess that I do not remark in this county any special zeal on the part of Catholic magistrates to take a share in administrative duties. Some whom I could name, rarely, if ever, attend Quarter Sessions, a circumstance which may perhaps be partly owing to their names not being on any of the various committees, such as Police, Finance, Highways, &c., which really transact the business of the county. I should rather, however, assign the reason to the diffidence of entering upon public duties which has been engendered by many generations of enforced abstention from them. But whenever a Catholic evinces a wish to take his share in such work, I think he may count upon willing co-operation from others; at least, that has been my experience both as a county magistrate and as a chairman of a local board. It is obvious, moreover, that it is only by close communication that we can expect prejudices against us to die out. I am at the same time conscious that it will demand some moral courage on the part of many Catholics to present themselves at the portal of popular suffrage to obtain an entrance to the county councils, but it would be a neglect of duty in those who are really competent, to abstain from doing so, if not debarred by age or other valid reason. If such Catholics hold back, their influence will be much less than it is at present. In fact, the public status of local Catholic magnates will be nearly annihilated unless they condescend to take a share in county business.

I would beg the earnest attention of our Catholic country gentlemen to these words, the more so as they entirely accord with the views of the Catholic Union. It has been the endeavour of the Union, from the first, to bring home to its members, and, as far as possible, to the Catholics of Great Britain generally, the duty incumbent upon us, of strenuously taking part, according to our opportunities, in the public affairs of the country. The purpose and intention of Pius IX., in sanctioning and blessing the formation of the Catholic Union was—to quote the words of the Cardinal Archbishop—“not to found any political organization, or any organization of Catholics that should in any way dabble in politics. It was to promote the solemn union of faithful and earnest Catholics, who should learn how to serve our common welfare, not by engaging in conflicts in the Union itself, but by studying the relations of the Catholic Church to the commonwealth in which we live, and how they can be useful to the Church and the commonwealth with the greatest intelligence and the greatest force.” And so the President of the Union, speaking in Willis’s Rooms, in February 1885, reminded the members “It would be a great mistake to look upon the Union as simply an aggressive body taking up this or that Catholic grievance: the Union cannot do better work than to inculcate upon the minds of all young Catholics the duty of taking their

proper place in the public life of their country, and of carefully watching and always using every opportunity of utilizing the advantages which the justice of the country has now placed in their power." These remarks of the Duke of Norfolk were taken up and expanded by the Vice-President. "The Catholic Union," Lord Ripon said, "is in many respects doing a very useful work by watching the administration of the law, by offering advice to those who think they have reason to complain, and by doing its utmost to remedy any of those practical grievances which in the best political system will from time to time crop up. But heartily as I approve and cordially as I agree with the objects which this Union has in view, I commend them in no spirit of narrow isolation. I do not desire—on the contrary, I should earnestly deprecate—that the Catholic body should hold itself aloof from the interests of their fellow-countrymen. I entirely concur in what fell from my noble friend in the chair, when he urged upon you the necessity and importance of Catholics throughout the country, in all ranks and positions, taking up their full and proper share in the management of public affairs. We have all some duties which we may do for our fellow-citizens, some share which we may take in promoting their interests. As country gentlemen, as dwellers in the towns, as electors of one description or another, we all have public duties, and I would earnestly add my voice to that of my noble friend, though it is not necessary to add anything to the authority of his exhortation. Still I cannot help saying how earnestly I would impress upon this Union and its members the importance of Catholics taking their full share in public affairs, for we have our part in the interests of the country and the well-being of our countrymen as fully as any other portion of our fellow-citizens. It is because I believe that the Catholic Union is in its action promoting not only the interests of Catholics as a separate body, but also that greater and wider object to which I have just alluded, that I take so deep an interest in the work in which it has been engaged."

Such is the spirit in which those in whose hands the administration of the Union is placed have, from the first, worked. And it cannot be doubted that their efforts have obtained a considerable amount of success. A very competent judge, Mr. John Austen, M.P., told us, at our annual meeting of last year: "It is a great satisfaction to me that Catholics are taking their proper place—and that place is freely open to them—in public affairs; and that this is so, I believe to be due in no small degree to the Catholic Union." We have made a good beginning, and there is no reason why we should not go on. "He who begins has half finished." Catholics throughout the country have shown themselves ready to respond to the call made upon them on behalf of

our poor whom misfortune or improvidence has forced into the workhouses. The number of elective guardians has steadily increased, and, what is of even more importance, their efficiency has steadily increased. I cannot doubt that what has been done by Catholics in respect of boards of guardians, will be done also with regard to the—I do not like to say more important, but—more dignified bodies which are to be charged with the administration of county business. “We want public souls; we want them.” We want Catholics to come forward for the county councils who, as Canon Duckett well said, at our Guardians’ Conference, not “only have the means and leisure to perform the duties, but also the public spirit to make the sacrifice which the performance of those duties involves.” I cannot think that the descendants of those who kept the faith through centuries of persecution, will shrink from the easier tasks of a time of peace; that those who, at greater or less sacrifice of worldly advantages, have embraced the faith, will fail to find in it the strongest incentive to patriotism and all civic virtue. Most fortunately, most providentially for us, we British Catholics are as widely divided in party politics as we are closely united in religious profession. In all parties we have friends, while it is happily impossible that we should ourselves form a party. Our faith is one thing, our political opinions are another. We seek the suffrages of our countrymen as members of the same civil order as loyal and dutiful subjects of the same Sovereign, as patriotic and law-abiding children of the same country. We assert that we are not worse but better Englishmen because we are Catholics: for our allegiance to the powers that be is part of our religion. What then—if I may adopt certain words of Cardinal Newman, spoken in a somewhat different connection thirty-eight years ago, but very much in place here:—

What are our duties at this moment? With what practical remarks and seasonable advice am I to conclude? Oblige men to know you; persuade them, importune them, shame them into knowing you. Make it so clear what you are, that they cannot affect not to see you, nor refuse to justify you. There is but one step between you and success. It is a steep step, but it is one. Look at home—there lies your work; what you have to do, and what you can do, are one and the same. Let each stand in his own ground; let each approve himself in his own neighbourhood; if each portion is defended the whole is secure. Fall back on yourselves, you are your own fast and sure and sufficient friends. ‘There is a time for silence and a time to speak.’ The time for speaking is come. What I desiderate in Catholics is the gift of bringing out what their religion is; it is one of those “better gifts” of which the Apostle bids us be “zealous.” You must not hide your talent in a napkin, or your light under a bushel. And one immediate

effect of your being able to do all this, will be your gaining that proper confidence in self which is so necessary for you. You will no longer be dispirited or irritated at finding difficulties in your way; in being called names, in not being believed, in being treated with injustice. You will fall back upon yourselves, you will be calm, you will be patient. Ignorance is the root of all littleness; he who can realize the law of moral conflicts, and the incoherence of falsehood, and the issue of perplexities, and the end of all things, and the Presence of the Judge, becomes, from the very nature of the case, philosophical, long-suffering, and magnanimous ("Present Position of Catholics," pp. 373-393, 4th edit.).

W. S. LILLY.



ART. VI.—RECENT WORKS ON ST. AUGUSTINE.

1. *St. Austin, and his Place in the History of Religious Thought.* By W. CUNNINGHAM, B.D. (The Hulsean Lectures, 1885). London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1886.
2. "*The Fathers for English Readers:*" *St. Augustine.* By EDWARD L. CUTTS, B.A. London and New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
3. *St. Augustine, Melancthon, and Neander.* By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1886.
4. *The Teaching and Influence of St. Augustine.* By JAMES FIELD SPALDING, Rector of Christ Church, Massachusetts. New York. 1886.
5. *Vindiciæ Augustinianæ.* By Cardinal NORIS. Paris. 1877.
6. *Veritable clef des ouvrages de St. Augustin, &c.* Par P. MERLIN, S.J. Paris. 1874.
7. *St. Augustine: A Historical Study.* By a Priest of the Congregation of the Mission. Second Edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.

IF we were seeking an example of the strength of prejudice, innate or acquired, against the force of rigid reason, combined with an overwhelming mass of clear, incontrovertible evidence, it would be found in the manner in which Protestant divines approach the study of Catholic history and theology. Whether the new awakening to the importance of these subjects proceeds from a Catholic instinct, that has been quickened from

its dormant state by the interest attaching to modern controversies, or whether it is the result of that latitudinarian spirit which is so characteristic of Protestantism at present, it cannot be denied that the most thoughtful minds in the Protestant communion, rising above the petty and ephemeral works of local and transitory literatures, are concentrating reflection and research on the master minds of the Church, and seeking with fear and hope to reconcile the doctrines found in their writings with the traditional beliefs which a thousand circumstances have made very dear to themselves. This movement unquestionably argues three things: (1) a spirit of liberalism in religion, which is eminently praiseworthy, inasmuch as it seeks information on subjects, which, in past years, the Protestant mind could not rest on without grave scruple; (2) an utter dissatisfaction with the semi-religious, pseudo-philosophical conjectures that have been deluging the book-market these past few years; (3) a craving for some well-defined authority on vexed and perplexing questions, which no living voice, either in the Church of England or kindred communions, either affects or assumes to possess; and which their members will not yet acknowledge to be the peculiar and divinely conferred prerogative, which belongs exclusively to the Catholic Church. It would be well if we could end here; but alas! we must attribute to these timid seekers after truth either a most profound ignorance of the sources whence might be derived a clear, comprehensive view of the authors whose teachings they would reverence, or a disingenuousness in their studies, as if they dreaded the light that is thrown on the great authors by Catholic commentators, and would seize eagerly on any authority, no matter how weak or obscure, that might lend the least sanction to their errors. This is especially true of the study of St. Augustine by Protestant divines. It is notorious that Canon Mozley, one of the ablest teachers of the Church of England in our century, has derived most of the opinions embodied in his work,* which was criticised in this REVIEW, March 1856, from the condemned work of Jansenius; and although later writers, as we shall see, have advanced by "leaps and bounds" from the Calvinistic interpretations of thirty years ago, they still remain in profound ignorance of the vast labours expended by Catholic theologians during fourteen centuries to make plain the meaning of that wonderful Saint and Doctor, who, knowing but little of the Greek language, was endowed with more than Grecian keenness and subtlety; and whose scrupulous precision about every word and phrase, which made him in his last years the unsparing censor of his own works, has

* "The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination." Murray. 1855.

yet not been able to save him from being coerced into the service of sects whose doctrines he would have anathematised.

We shall limit this article to a review of the Protestant works which have lately appeared on this subject; and, after showing how closely they approach to the teachings of Catholic commentators, we will trace their divergence from Catholic traditions to causes, which, on the supposition of good faith, can easily be removed.

It is not necessary to dwell at all on Mr. Cunningham's Hulsean Lectures, as they have already been fully noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1887, and other Catholic organs; but, though he examines the Protestant tradition from a rationalistic point of view, we cannot regard his opinions otherwise than as a clear indication of advance towards a right appreciation of St. Augustine. He completely ignores Dr. Mozley, whose works, although written by a professed High Churchman, have been generally regarded as the text-books of the Calvinistic element in the Church of England; and for this he, Mr. Cunningham, is severely taken to task by a writer, apparently of the Low Church School, in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1887.

The little volume, issued from the pen of Mr. Cutts, and under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, would be very admirable, were it not for the two chapters which treat of doctrinal subjects, under the headings, "The Augustinian Theology," and "The Appeal to Rome." The former is simply a series of quotations from Canon Mozley's work: "The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination." In one of the few sentences in which the author ventures on an original remark, he has included within the small compass of four lines as many doctrinal and historical errors as were ever compressed in so limited a space:—

The Augustinian theology [he says] excited little attention in the Eastern Church, which continued to hold the traditional belief.* In the Western Church, though never authoritatively sanctioned, it had a deep and widespread influence, and in the theology of the schoolmen—*e.g.*, of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the Middle Ages. Calvin, with his logical and systematizing French mind, revived it, with certain exaggerations, at the Reformation.

In chapter xxi. p. 201, he falls into a mistake, similar to that

* If Mr. Cutts would consult "St. Augustine contra Julianum" lib. i. Nos. 6, 15, 16, 19, 22, 25, 30; lib. ii. No. 7; lib. vi. No. 70; he would see that there was no difference of belief between the Eastern and Western Churches. Under No. 19, St. Augustine quotes sixteen Greek writers to show how fully he was in union, not only with the West, about which there could be no question, but with the East as well. This was quite conformable to his doctrine ("Opus Imp." iv. 112) that the uniform teaching of the Fathers was final.

already made by Milman, and refuted in the DUBLIN REVIEW of Dec. 1854 (pp. 433, 434, 435). Dean Milman had asserted that Pope Zosimus had made "a rash concession to Pelagianism," and that "he had annulled at one blow all the judgments of his predecessor, Innocent." The Reviewer proves that:—

- (1) Pope Innocent's condemnation of the doctrine taught by Pelagius and Celestius was final.
- (2) His personal sentence on themselves was made dependent on their contumacious maintenance of these doctrines.
- (3) That a full retraction of these doctrines was made on the part of both, conveyed in writing by Pelagius, and in his own person by Celestius, who repaired to Rome for this purpose.
- (4) Therefore, if Zosimus had absolved them, which, as we shall see, St. Augustine's words disprove, Pope Zosimus did merely what Innocent had fully determined to do.

We take up the controversy where the Reviewer has left it, and give Mr. Cutts' own words:—

Zosimus, the bishop of Rome, was won over to believe in the orthodoxy of Celestius, and after having held a Council, at which Celestius disavowed all doctrines which the Roman See had condemned, he wrote a letter of reproof to the Africans, blaming them for listening too readily to charges against good men. The African prelates, assembled in synod at Carthage, *asserted their independence of Rome*; declared that their condemnation of Celestius must stand till he had clearly retracted his errors; and passed nine canons, which were afterwards generally accepted throughout the Church. . . . The civil power now intervened, probably at the solicitation of the Africans.

It is quite clear that Mr. Cutts has not seen the correspondence that passed between Rome and Africa during the year, March 417–May 418, for which period of time the controversy, at the request of the Africans, was left open. Neither has he read the very remarkable words of St. Augustine on this subject (*contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum*, No. 5; *De peccato originali*, Nos. 7, 8). We give the last reference in which St. Augustine commends the firmness and gentleness of the Pope:—

The venerable Pope, Zosimus, in possession of this declaration (of Celestius), treated with this man, who was puffed up with the pride of false doctrine, as with a madman, who, being gently soothed, might be calmed down; but who was not as yet thought worthy to be absolved from the bonds of excommunication.*

* Hanc ejus prælocutionem, venerabilis Papa, Zosimus, tenens, egit cum homine quem falsæ doctrinæ ventus inflaverat . . . atque ita velut phreneticus, ut requiesceret, tanquam leniter fatus—a vinculis tamen excommunicationis nondum est creditus esse absolvendus.

These words prove that the Africans had no idea whatever that Zosimus had revoked the condemnation of his predecessor Innocent on Pelagius and Celestius. And certainly, it was not at their dictation that he renewed that condemnation. For during the whole year in which the question was left undecided, correspondence was passing from Rome, not only with Africa, but also with Jerusalem, Antioch, and the other churches of the East; and in the Encyclical in which Zosimus pronounced the final condemnation of the heresiarchs, he quotes not only the African Synods, but also St. John Chrysostom, Paulinus, and others. Moreover, that *Encyclical* was issued prior to the Council of Carthage, whose nine canons, Mr. Cutts thinks, gave the death-blow to Pelagianism; for that Council did not commence its sittings until the 1st of May 418; and the Rescript of Honorius (which was issued, *not at the solicitation of the Africans, but in consequence of, and subsequent to, the Papal condemnation*), is dated April 30, 418. The words of Possidius are final on this subject:—

But these bishops (Innocent and Zosimus) of so great a See, having, each in his own time, pointed out those men, and having issued letters to the African Churches of the West, and to the Oriental Churches also, came to the conclusion that these (Pelagian heretics) should be anathematised and avoided by all Catholics. And this judgment of the Catholic Church of God, having been heard and followed by the most pious emperor, Honorius, he ordained that by his own laws as well, they should be condemned and regarded as heretics.*

This writer, also, ignoring all that has been written on the subject of the appeal of Apiarius to Pope Zosimus, repeats the assertion: "That the affair of Apiarius gave occasion to a solemn reassertion of the independence of the African Church, and placed the great name of St. Augustine beside that of Cyprian as the defender of the independence of individual churches against the usurpations of the See of Rome." In trying to prove this assertion, the writer falls into errors of date, and of the sequence of events; and he suppresses collateral circumstances, which go far to show the obedience of the African Church to Rome, and the perfect union that existed between St. Augustine and the Roman See, as the following facts will show:—

(1) At the Synod of Carthage, opened 1st of May 418, a canon

* At illi tantæ sedis antistites (Innocentius et Zosimus) suis diversis temporibus eosdem notantes, datis literis et ad Africanas occidentis, et ad orientis partis Ecclesias, eos (Pelagianos) anathemandos et devitandos ab omnibus Catholicis censuerunt. Et tale de illis Ecclesiæ Dei Catholicæ prolatum iudicium, etiam piissimus imperator Honorius, audiens et sequens, suis eos legibus damnatos inter hereticos haberi debere constituit (ch. xviii.).

(the 17th) was enacted, forbidding *priests or any of the inferior clergy* from appealing to any tribunal beyond the sea. (2) St. Augustine went straight from this Synod, accompanied by Alipius and Possidius to Cæsarea, "whither necessity led us, arising from an ecclesiastical injunction from the venerable Pope, Zosimus, Bishop of the Apostolic See."* (3) This same year, Apiarius, a priest of Sicca, suspended by his bishop, Urbanus, a disciple of St. Augustine, appealed to Rome, and was absolved by Zosimus. (4) This offended the African bishops, although their new canon was a proof (if instances were wanting, but they are not), that such appeals were usual in Africa. (5) On hearing this, Zosimus sent a legate, Faustinus, to Africa, and Aurelius summoned a council of his province to meet the legate this same year 418. (6) Faustinus set forth the claims of Rome to hear such appeals, citing the general canons of Nicæa, but relying principally on two of Sardica, which were quoted as of Nicæa, as Sardica was the complement of Nicæa. (7) Out of respect for Rome, the assembled prelates wrote to Zosimus to say these canons should be observed, pending an investigation into their authenticity. Meanwhile Zosimus died, December 26, 418, and was succeeded by Boniface, who immediately wrote to the Africans through his legate, April 26, 419. (8) On May 25 of the same year, a Synod of 217 bishops met at Carthage, and again an appeal was made by the legate to the same two canons. The first of these, not being found in the archives of Carthage, Alipius proposed that it be observed, pending further inquiry at Rome, Alexandria, &c. Faustinus objected to any inquiry in the East, as it might give rise to a suspicion that there was disunion amongst the Western Churches. The second canon was then read, and Augustine proposed that this too be observed pending an inquiry; the whole Synod approved of this. A Synodal letter communicated the proceedings of the council to Pope Boniface, and also informed him that Urbanus had obeyed the injunction of Pope Zosimus regarding Apiarius. We have here then, the acceptance of a Papal legate, the acceptance of the decrees of Nicæa and Sardica, the acceptance of the Papal decision by Urbanus, and two Synodal letters to Rome, informing the Pope of the proceedings of the Council. As a further proof that there was not a shadow of disunion between Rome and the African Church, we find Alipius at Rome towards the close of this year, lodged in the Pope's palace, treated most affectionately, and returning to Africa with two Pelagian letters, sent by the Pope

* Quo nos, injuncta nobis a venerabili Papa, Zosimo, Apostolicæ sedis episcopo, ecclesiastica necessitas traxerat (Ep. 190, No. 1, written in the same year).

to Augustine to be refuted. Augustine wrote the refutation in his "Four Books to Boniface," in which he says: "I have addressed these books to your Holiness, not with a view to teach your Holiness anything, but to have them examined, and, if you should see fit, corrected." Finally, in 424, a few bishops (15) out of a province which contained 160, addressed an expostulation to the Pope, against the action of Faustinus, who imprudently insisted on the restoration of Apiarius after a second suspension and a second appeal; but this expostulation in no wise questioned the right of Rome to hear appeals—it was couched in respectful language, and concluded with the words: "May the Lord God long protect the Pope, and may the Pope pray for the Africans." The subsequent history of the African Church proves that the right of Rome remained unquestioned.*

Dr. Schaff's work affords a remarkable proof of the decline and almost utter disappearance of the Protestant tradition. He is silent on St. Augustine's teaching on the Church, the Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Eucharist, Miracles, Papal Supremacy, Vows, Fast and Abstinence, Lent, Confession, Confirmation, Exorcisms, Traditions, and almost every distinctive doctrine of the Catholic Church. He is an Evangelical, and seems to have written with the fixed intention of conveying to his readers the impression that St. Augustine was a co-religionist of his. He makes the singular admission that—

St. Augustine is responsible for many grievous errors of the Roman Church; he anticipated the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and his ominous words, "Roma locuta est, causa finita est," might almost be quoted in favour of the Vatican decree of Papal Infallibility (p. 98).

Yet he is gently reminded by the *Church Quarterly Review* (July 1887, p. 260) that his projected edition of the Fathers "would look down upon him from their shelves with a certain reproach so long as he continued a member of a sect." Nothing daunted, however, Dr. Schaff tacitly assumes that the Church is the aggregate of all Christian communities, and thus, like so many other teachers, as we shall see, he claims St. Augustine as a co-religionist, and ignores the custom that universally obtained in St. Augustine's time of marking as heretics those who did not belong to the unity of the Church.

Dr. Schaff proposes to bring out in America an English edition of St. Augustine's works. We shall point out a few inconsistencies in his estimate of St. Augustine's teachings later on. Might we ask him to translate afresh a passage which he has

* See Hefele's Councils, vol. ii.; Hist. Study 193-257.

misinterpreted,* and to correct this misstatement about the convent presided over by St. Augustine's sister?—

On one occasion he (St. Augustine) assured his congregation that he could not easily find better, but had also nowhere found worse, people than in these cloisters (p. 83).

For St. Augustine did not refer to the nuns, but used the words (Epist. 78, No. 9) in reference to a scandal which had taken place in his own house. And might we ask him further to re-examine the statement he makes in p. 93: "They (St. Augustine's Manichæan writings) defend the freedom of the will against fatalism; afterwards he changed his opinion on that subject;" and his repetition of the statement in p. 103, where he discusses the "Augustinian system," without coming to any definite conclusion; for if there be any point in the Saint's teaching better established than another, it is that he never changed his opinion on that particular point? †

The evidence, however, afforded by Mr. Spalding's work in support of our contention is the most valuable, inasmuch as the volume purports to be not a biography, but a critical examination of the writings and influence of St. Augustine. We may fairly presume, therefore, that the author has carefully digested the evidence which has led him to traverse and reject the Protestant tradition. He is of opinion that on all points, except that alone of Papal Supremacy, the Augustinian doctrines are incorporated in the teaching of the Church. He is most candid in his interpretations of St. Augustine's very remarkable sayings on faith and authority, and the canons of Scriptural exegesis; and is almost indignant at the attempted identification of St. Augustine's teachings with those of Luther and Calvin:

Others again, he says, referring to the claims of the sectaries, both in the Church, and in the dissenting bodies, have a more or less mistaken conception of this great Saint and Father—they almost take away his individuality, and identify him in their minds with Luther or Calvin or Jansen; while they think of his teaching as some dreadful notions of predestination, original sin, and eternal punishment. Both these classes need to gain a knowledge of St. Augustine (p. 8). . . .

* "Nam neque in iis precibus quas tibi fudimus, cum offerretur pro eâ sacrificium pretii nostri, jam juxta sepulcrum posito cadavere, priusquam deponeretur, sicut illic fieri solet" (p. 73).

† For, neither in those prayers which we poured forth unto thee, when the Sacrifice of our ransom was offered for her, when now the corpse was by the grave's side, as the manner there is, previous to its being laid therein," &c. &c.

The loose paraphrase of Dr. Schaff runs thus:—"After the corpse had been buried, and the holy Supper celebrated on the grave, according to the custom of the age," &c.

† See *DOBSON REVIEW*. March, 1856.

The modern world should never be suffered to forget that what is Lutheran or Calvinistic is not necessarily Augustinian (p. 103). . . . In the reaction of our day from the mischief of so-called Calvinism, we may observe with trained vision both a recoil from a narrowing and base bondage, which God never appointed, and also a desire for a freedom, which is lawlessness and licence.

And alluding to those who think it necessary to reject St. Augustine with Luther and Calvin, he says:—

Nor can we consider the rejection of his teaching anything less than perilous to the best interests of Christianity (p. 106).

These admissions are so novel and important, that we can almost forgive Mr. Spalding for cherishing that pet assumption of the High Churchmen, that the Catholic Church is the aggregate of the Greek Church, the Anglican, and what they are pleased to call the Roman. We have seen how Dr. Schaff makes a similar claim to Catholicity, but is reminded by the *Church Quarterly* that he is a sectary; and Mr. Spalding, as an Episcopalian, speaks of the "Church and the dissenting bodies around us" (p. 8), and again of "the historic Church of Christ, and the outside world of sect and dissent" (p. 105). He apparently forgets that St. Augustine regarded the Donatist *Episcopal* Church as a sect cut off from Catholic union; and whilst he admits that St. Augustine always held the necessity of external organic union with the Church, and not a mere invisible and spiritual connection, and that he also taught the primacy of St. Peter, he seems to think that the Saint regarded unity with Jerusalem and Carthage as indispensable as union with Rome. (p. 44). Mr. Spalding gives two references in support of this contention, "De Baptismo," ii. 2, and "Con. Lit. Petil," ii. 118. The first makes no allusion whatever to the subject. The second runs as follows:—

But even if all Catholics throughout the entire world were such as you most foolishly represent, what has the Chair of the Roman Church done to you, in which Peter sat, and Anastasius now sits; or the See of Jerusalem, which James filled, and John now fills; with whom we are linked in Catholic unity, and from whom you, in wicked fury, have separated yourselves? Why do you call the Apostolic See a chair of pestilence? If it be on account of the men whom you think preachers, and not doers of the law, did our Lord Jesus Christ, on account of the Pharisees of whom He said, "*they speak and do not,*" offer any injury to the chair in which they sat? . . . If you would consider these things, you would not, on account of the men, whom you defame, blaspheme the Apostolic See, with which you do not communicate.*

* Veruntamen, si omnes per totum orbem tales essent, quales vanissime criminariis, Cathedra tibi quid fecit Ecclesiæ Romanæ, in qua Petrus sedit,

This is an *argumentum ad hominem*, addressed to the Donatists, the force of which will be seen when we mention that, like the sectaries of to-day, they maintained that they were not cut off from Catholic unity, merely because they denied certain truths held by the universal Church; and also objected that no sacrament could be validly administered, nor sacred dignity inherited, by an unworthy minister. They contended, therefore, that the Popes were *traditors*, and therefore not legitimate successors of Peter, since Pope Melchiades had admitted Cæcilian to his communion. St. Augustine answered by asking them to name a single church in Christendom that would acknowledge the orthodoxy of their doctrines, or the justice of their revolt; just as to-day we challenge English Ritualists to show the validity of their position by an acknowledgment from the Churches of France or Germany that they are in visible union with them. And against the second argument that the unworthiness of a minister invalidates the acts of his ministry, he quotes continually the text (Jer. xvii.), "cursed be the man that trusteth in man," and reminds the faithful that they must rely upon their pastors, not as "men but as ministers of Christ." There is therefore in this passage no equalization of the claims of Jerusalem and Rome as Apostolic Churches. To prove this fanciful theory, Mr. Spalding should show that St. Augustine proved the legitimacy of bishops by a list of the bishops of Jerusalem, similar to that which he gives of the Roman Pontiffs; and should also prove that St. Augustine ever demanded union with a church not united to Rome as a proof of its incorporation with the mystical body.*

We see, then, that in the latest Protestant writers, the venerated Protestant traditions have been reduced to two points—viz., that St. Augustine was anti-Papal, and that he did not hold the Catholic doctrine of freewill. Dr. Schaff practically abandons the first (p. 98); Mr. Spalding reduces the second to a mere doubt, (pp. 28, 29, 68); Mr. Cunningham asserts both, not, however, in the dogmatic style of Milman and Mozley, but in a hesitating and rationalistic fashion. Whilst, however, we cannot but feel pleased at this wonderful change, it is impossible to close our

et in qua hodie Anastasius sedet; vel Ecclesiæ Jerosolymitanæ, in qua Jacobus sedit, et in qua hodie Joannes sedet; quibus nos in Catholica unitate connectimur, et a quibus vos nefario furore separastis? Quare appellas Cathedram pestilentiæ Cathedram Apostolicam? Si propter homines quos putas legem loqui et non facere, numquid Dominus noster Jesus Christus propter Pharisæos de quibus ait, *dicunt enim, et non faciunt*, Cathedræ in qua sedebant ullam fecit injuriam? . . . Hæc, si cogitaretis, non propter homines quos infamatis, blasphemaretis Cathedram Apostolicam, cui non communicatis?

* "Historical Study," pp. 126, 410.

eyes to the fact that in one and all of these books, and in the whole pile of literature which has issued from the Protestant press on this and cognate subjects, the same faults of style and spirit are equally discernible. We think we shall be doing a service to these writers, and, indeed, to Christian literature in general, when we state our reasons for considering these volumes superficial and uncritical. Protestant writers seem to regard St. Augustine's works as written without purpose or unity, a mere magazine of haphazard opinions, capriciously assumed, and quite as capriciously rejected, without the least consideration for consistency of thought, for preserving harmony with the teachings of the Universal Church, or for the consequences that might result to weak intellects from the facile acceptance, and equally facile rejection, of most important articles of faith. From the storehouses of thought which the genius of these great teachers has accumulated, every succeeding generation is quite at liberty to select whatever doctrinal opinions may suit the prevailing religious feeling; for it is supposed that there is neither unity of purpose nor homogeneous thought in St. Augustine, and what is agreeable may be accepted, and what is unpleasant may be rejected, without the loss of veneration for the august character of the Saint, or for his marvellous intellectual powers, and without being committed to the rest of his philosophical or religious opinions which may not suit present propensities or the temper of the times. This mode of action may be liberal, but it is not logical; and it proceeds from the groundless assumption, which more than once St. Augustine indignantly repudiated, that the living Church of Christ is an invisible abstract body, consisting only of the just or the elect, without any external indications of its concrete visibility, without any "links of union in the bond of peace" amongst its members, without a visible teacher to direct, or a visible authority to govern, and with no dogmatic definitions to test its living and united from its dead and severed members. It may be very well for Protestant students and divines, who apparently take but a literary interest in these matters, and who study the Fathers just to fill up a course of lectures or sermons, to exercise this elective privilege, and to use this mighty sun to light their tiny lamps of learning; but it implies in our Saint a facility for change, or a dullness of perception, or a fatal eclecticism in these questions of supreme moment, which we would much prefer to attribute to themselves. No one knew better than St. Augustine that there is no room in the Catholic Church for Socratic license of discussion, or for an Academia independent of her councils; that the body of defined doctrine, the deposit of faith, committed by Christ to His Apostles, and left by them to the Church, can know no change or diminution;

that within the rigid lines of these doctrines there may be freedom and elasticity enough for controverted opinions and purely scholastic disquisitions ; but that no one from the beginning has tampered with its definite teachings and remained its member. His constant and nervous appeals to tradition and authority, his inflexibility in supporting the unity of the Church against schismatics, and his wonderful clear-sightedness, which, with a kind of natural infallibility, separated the true from the false both in persons and opinions, are sufficient proof of this. Yet writers such as we have quoted see no disrespect whatever to St. Augustine in imputing to him doctrines which they reject as narrow and reactionary ; and they ridicule, whilst they admit, his teaching on subjects so exclusively Catholic as the veneration of relics and the invocation of saints, and triumphantly deny his adhesion to articles of faith, the rejection of which, at any period of the Church's history, would have placed him at once outside her pale. They write of the "Augustinian system" as they write of Platonism or Zenoism, discuss and debate it as a purely literary or philosophical question, reject what they consider untenable, and adopt whatever is concordant with their own views, without the least reflection of the awful bearings of such questions on general Christianity, and the interests of immortal souls. Could anything be farther from the mind of St. Augustine than this? With all his enthusiasm about the Church, his reverence for her august institutions, his perfect repose in her simple and divine doctrines after his sublime discontent with Platonism, his love for the distinctively Christian teachings, his "ominous" words about the authority of Rome, his tenderness, his mysticism, his ecstasies about God—is there not something irreverent in making him the mere precursor of a sect, in representing him as fallible and inconsistent because independent of Church authority, ignored and suppressed on those points, where beyond all controversy he is at one with the Church, and ignobly lauded whenever an ambiguous expression in the hands of loose and illogical thinkers seems to place him in antagonism to her teachings? The few examples already quoted will go far to prove this ; but these works abound with such conceits and irreverences. We have already cited Dr. Schaff's very candid admissions about the Saint ; we now quote him with a different purpose. In p. 67 he writes : "The solemnity of the festival was still further heightened by two circumstances—one connected with superstition and relic-worship, the other with the effect of hymns upon the heart." That is, St. Augustine was superstitious, and yielded to the "current belief of that credulous age ;" for Dr. Schaff gives the Saint's own words in a note, from Conf. ix. 7, in which the Saint plainly announces his belief (1) in a vision to St. Ambrose,

by which (2) the bodies of Gervasius and Protasius, martyrs, were discovered incorrupt, through which (3) the fury of a woman was repressed, demoniacs were healed, and sight restored to a blind man ; and to put it beyond doubt, St. Augustine refers to the miracle again ("De Civ. Dei," xxii. 8), as having occurred in the presence of an immense multitude. Yet, with this declaration from so great an authority, Dr. Schaff says sublimely :—

The subject of post-apostolic miracles is involved in inextricable difficulties. Augustine himself is not consistent on this matter. But see Schaff's "Church History."

Again in quoting the words of St. Monica (p. 71), Dr. Schaff in his text translates them :—

Once there was a reason why I should wish to live longer, that I might see you a *believing* Christian before I die ; [but he subjoins in a note] Or more strictly, after the original, Conf. ix., 10, "*Christianum Catholicum,*" a *Catholic* (or orthodox Christian), in distinction not merely from a *Paganus*, but also, and particularly, from a *Christianus hereticus* and *schismaticus*, which Augustine had been.

The translation in the text is not quite ingenuous ; but what will Dr. Schaff say to the *Church Quarterly*, which calls him a schismatic or heretic ; and what exactly made a sectary *then*, when *now*, according to the most recent Protestant theory, the Church consists of the aggregate of those who call themselves by the name of Christ ? And again, whilst translating correctly the touching valediction of St. Monica :—"Tantum illud vos rogo, ut ad Domini altare memineritis mei ubi fueritis ;"* and immediately subjoins :—

This *Thanksgiving* and prayer for the dead can be traced in its innocent form as far back as the second century, and became the fruitful source of the doctrine of Purgatory. Neither Monica nor Augustine grasped the full meaning of St. Paul's assurance that "it is very far better to be with Christ."

But it is tiresome to follow out these presumptuous comments. Dr. Schaff is so exceedingly candid, that on every page we meet historical truths and contradictory and gratuitous assumptions side by side—*e.g.*, St. Augustine was vigorous and masterful, then superstitious and reactionary ; he was a thorough ascetic, yet opposed to the narrow bigotry of monks ; his system is not Calvinistic, but gave birth to the strongest thinkers amongst Jansenists, Huguenots, Calvinists, Puritan Covenanters, and

* "This only I request, that you would remember me at the Altar of the Lord, wherever you be."

Pilgrim Fathers; he is responsible for many grievous errors in the Church of Rome, yet has also an Evangelical Protestant significance; he was so scrupulously exact and conscientious that he revised during his last years every line he wrote, but then he became illiberal; he is the father of scholasticism and mysticism, but is free from the Pharisaical self-righteousness and bigotry which connect themselves so readily with monastic piety; and Dr. Schaff finally quotes Dr. Bindemann, "one of the best Protestant biographers of St. Augustine," as saying: "The first place amongst the Fathers is due to St. Augustine, and at the time of the Reformers only a Luther was worthy to stand by his side. He forms the mightiest pillar of Roman Catholicism, and the leaders of the Reformation derived from his writings, next to the study of the Holy Scriptures, those principles which gave birth to a new era." And, as if to emphasize the importance of this testimony, Dr. Schaff gives a page of notes, containing the most profane and scurrilous passages from Luther's writings against the Fathers, and very disparaging remarks about St. Augustine himself. And this is not a mere popular work, where loose and incorrect reasoning might be overlooked; it is a work written for theological students and dedicated to them, and Dr. Schaff is Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

From this illogical and arbitrary treatment of so great a teacher as St. Augustine, it will be easily concluded that these writers' study of St. Augustine is unscientific in method, and opposed to the best canons of criticism. The first fault proceeds from the shifting, unstable, and ill-defined tenets of Protestantism; the latter from the absence of scientific theological training in their colleges and universities. It has been the fashion for modern liberals to decry and ridicule the old scholastic system of syllogistic reasoning, and the gradual process of thought from definition to proposition. The rejection of the Aristotelian logic, brought about by Bacon and Descartes, has admirably suited the development of those vague and unsubstantial systems which we are asked to accept in room of those religious and philosophical principles which have stood the most rigid tests of twenty centuries; and its most fatal effect is discernible in the loose and unconnected habits of thought it has generated amongst men who have enjoyed a liberal education. Now the scholastic system cannot be set aside or neglected without grave detriment to habits of exact thought; and even admitting that it sometimes gave rise to puerile subtleties and distinctions, it cannot be superseded, because absolutely there is no substitute for it. It is necessary in the study of St. Thomas Aquinas, whose system of reasoning is mathematically exact. It is still more necessary in the study

of St. Augustine, who wrote when theological subjects were debated in intermittent controversies, and had not yet been incorporated into a science. Victorinus, a contemporary of St. Augustine's, traces the obscurity of writers to either of three causes: "Vel rei magnitudini, vel doctoris imperitiæ, vel audientis duritiæ." * St. Augustine himself admits that some of the subjects he treated were involved in darkness and mystery. In that difficult question of Divine prescience and human freewill, where the Stoic philosophers had to fall back upon Fate, and Cicero denied the foreknowledge of God, the great Christian teacher recognized an apparent antinomy, where human reason might confess itself at fault. In his *Epist.* (214. No. 6) ad Valentinum, he calls the question of efficacious grace, "difficillimam et paucis intelligibilem;" and (cap. 47, de gratia Christi) "ad discernendum difficilem;" and in his fifth sermon, de Verbis Apostoli, when he was preaching on grace, he said, "Habeo propter obscuritatem rerum difficilem disputationem." Yet non-Catholic writers, instead of admitting this difficulty and their own inexperience, attribute their imperfect knowledge, and sometimes very singular misconstructions, of St. Augustine's writings, to the traditional explanations of Protestant historians and commentators. They declare that he was so imbued with Platonic modes of thought that he was essentially a Christian mystic and transcendentalist, to whom the ordinary language of men was quite inadequate to convey the lofty thoughts which filled his mind; that if he had abandoned Platonism as a religion, he was yet unconsciously influenced by it; that therefore there is mystery, and prefiguring, and foreshadowing everywhere to his mind; that even the simplicity of the Gospels concealed for him meanings which never could have occurred to an ordinary mind. Singularly enough, he is accused of excessive subtlety, side by side with this idealism, and that he often attenuates his arguments by distinctions, until they become almost unintelligible. This supposition applies to a very small portion of St. Augustine's writings—viz., the *Confessions*, the *Sixth Book on Music*, the work on the *Trinity*, portions of "The *City of God*," and some homilies and enarrations. It does not apply at all to his controversial works, than which, in language and reasoning, nothing can be more clear to an experienced student. We have no hesitation in admitting of St. Augustine, as of all the early writers, that there are involutions in thought and term in his works which can only be unravelled by scientific methods of criticism. With his wonderful enthusiasm, he was in the habit

* "The greatness of the subject, the inexperience of the teacher, or the indocility of the pupil."

of throwing himself, heart and soul, into those controversies in which from time to time he was involved; and in the heat of battle, his terminology, which was clear enough to his contemporaries, but was not limited by such scientific distinctions as were afterwards made by the schoolmen, became enigmatic to those, in after times, who would not trouble themselves to discover his real thoughts by following the simple method of context and parallelism. Thus he drew a distinction between *certainty* and knowledge ("De Utilitate Cred." xi.; "Retract." i. 14), saying of notorious facts, he was *certain* of them, but did not *know* them, meaning the knowledge of intrinsic evidence, apart from the certitude that comes from human evidence or otherwise. Yet it is clear that this distinction might lead in after times to much misinterpretation. Again ("Enchir." c. 30) he says: "By a bad use of freewill, man has lost himself and it." By freewill, he there means that of our first parents before the Fall—not that of fallen man. In fact, in his whole controversy with the Manichæans, he appears to have used the term indiscriminately of the freedom before and after the Fall, because he had to contend against their assumption that sin arose from a principle of evil, and from natural necessity. He was also fond of using that mode of reasoning, called the *argumentum ad hominem*, and his favourite method of instruction was that of his master, Plato, by dialogue. It will be easily understood how errors have been attributed to him in this form of argument, which he merely recapitulated in order to refute. And finally, he spoke, under the "Discipline of the Secret," which prevented a full, comprehensive statement of doctrines and practices, and the complete forgetfulness of which has misled Protestants in their attempts to reconcile the practices of their creeds with the customs of the early Church. There was no expression so familiar to the people of Hippo as that used by St. Augustine, "The faithful will understand."

We have stated those difficulties, to which Protestant writers never even advert, as the chief causes of the misinterpretation of the mind of St. Augustine. It is needless to say that they are never brought under the notice of the students of patristic literature in non-Catholic colleges, nor is there the least attempt at scientific examination of Church authorities, whose writings, after all the changes of fourteen centuries, might be fairly presumed to be more involved and intricate in thought and language than the theological writings of to-day. Yet there can be nothing half so certain as that St. Augustine himself had no fear whatever of the absolute conformity of his writings to the general teaching of the Catholic Church. After a most scrupulous and searching examination, made two years before his death—so

severe that he characterizes as "declamation and levity" a simple statement* in his Fourth Book of Confessions—in his controversial writings against the Pelagians he found but two errors to be corrected: (1) that in lib. v. contra Jul. he gave as certain the name of a physician, which he afterwards discovered to be doubtful; and (2) that in his work, "De Natura et Gratia," following a quotation from Pelagius, he ascribed to Pope Sixtus a book that was edited by Sixtus the Philosopher. And with very clear insight into the future, he makes an almost pathetic appeal against being misunderstood:—

But let those who think that I am in error, reflect again and again, lest perchance they themselves might be led astray. But I acknowledge God to be most merciful to me, inasmuch as I become not only better informed, but more accurate, through the services of those who read my works; and this I always expect, especially through the Doctors of the Church, if my writings should reach their hands, and they should deign to consider what I have written.†

On which very humble appeal Cardinal Baronius remarks: "The dignified modesty of St. Augustine, and his humility of soul, combined with such admirable submission, show plainly, even if it could not otherwise be understood, that he wrote under the influence of the Divine Spirit; since God Himself hath testified by His prophet, than on no other than on the humble, gentle, and trembling word, does the Divine influence descend."

Hence it is that we consider that the most valuable chapter in the only Catholic work‡ we can notice in this article, is that where the learned author lays down and exemplifies the rules of criticism which readers of St. Augustine ought to follow, and every one of which the Protestant writers we have mentioned have violated. After laying down the ordinary canons of judging by parallelism and context as internal rules of interpretation, and contemporary circumstances and history as external rules, and having shown by two glaring instances the bad faith of Calvin and Gibbon, the author proceeds to the application:—

Suppose we wish to ascertain what was St. Augustine's doctrine or opinion on some point, how are we to proceed? If the subject was

* "I said that our souls, being in some sort one, I feared perhaps to die myself."

† Qui vero errare me existimant, etiam atque etiam quæ sunt dicta considerent, ne fortassis ipsi errent. Ego autem, cum per eos qui meos labores legunt, non solum doctior, verum etiam emendatior fio, propitium mihi Deum agnosco, et hoc per Ecclesiæ doctores maxime expecto, si et in ipsorum manus venit, dignenturque nosse quod scribo.

‡ "An Historical Study." Dublin: Gill & Son. This little work has been commended as an excellent biography by the Protestant writer in the *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1887.

controverted in his time, and he was engaged in the controversy, we must obviously turn to his controversial writings. If he had no controversy, but wrote a special work on the subject, we must, of course, read that work. If the subject be one of the great fundamental truths, such as the end of man, &c., or again, some vice to be denounced, or some virtue to be encouraged, we must turn to his conferences and sermons. If we want to know his explanation of some text of Scripture, we must consult his Scripture Commentaries. So far there is little need of rule or compass But if our subject be one that was neither controverted in his time, nor specially treated in his works, we must only consult his occasional references to it in his books, sermons, or letters. It is chiefly here that we shall feel the need for the rules of interpretation. For, in such references, a writer is less on his guard in the selection of his words, especially when addressing friends or persons not likely to misunderstand him. We must also keep always in mind that in his public writings and discourses, St. Augustine was subject to the "Discipline of the Secret." Nor, should we forget that some of his writings, indicated by Possidius and himself, have perished, and that others have come down to us in a mutilated state; this will account for many omissions (p. 334).

It may be safely said that this sound sense as well as scientific advice is grossly violated in each of the works we have chosen for criticism. The fault did not arise from defective or unsafe editions, for there are large quotations from very excellent issues of the Saint's works—notably from the Benedictine edition; but there is an absence of any evidence of original research, or even of close reading. In Mr. Cutts' work, for example, the only doctrinal chapter is a reprint of quotations from Canon Mozley's work, "The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination," and one allusion, on quite an indifferent matter, to the valuable work of M. Poujoulat. The author quotes once from Milman, whose testimony is eminently untrustworthy; once or twice from Gibbon, once from Döllinger, and once from Mœhler's "Symbolism." Dr. Schaff is worse. Nearly all his quotations are taken from the "Confessions," there is no evidence of more extensive acquaintance with St. Augustine; there is hardly a reference, if we except one to Baur's "Church History," and one, of course, to Gibbon; we are referred very often to Schaff's "Church History," and he dismisses the "Augustinian System" in three pages. Mr. Spalding's is the most scientific work of the three, and is professedly a critical examination into the writings and influence of St. Augustine. But although it shows an intimate knowledge of the Saint's writings, there is not one reference to the Fathers, not one to the numberless Catholic commentators, who for fourteen centuries have been lovingly studying the works of our Saint under circumstances more favourable to scholarship than students of our century can command. Milman and Nean-

der, Mozley and Owen, Trench and Maurice, Owen and Fremantle, and the *Church Quarterly Review*, are quoted largely; and of these, two at least are mentioned incidentally as supporting the charge of Agnosticism against our Saint (pp. 78-79). Not a word of Cardinals Noris, Berti, Perrone, Tournely, Merlin, &c., who approached this difficult study in a more serious manner, and with far different appreciation of the importance of their task. Not even a word about the philosophers who have long since settled the vexed question of Freewill and Predestination on the lines laid down by the Catholic Church.

Yet, if with such misleading, those writers have found their way through the tangled paths of prejudice almost to the threshold of the Catholic Church, what might we not expect if they would read St. Augustine in the clear light of Catholic comment and history? If Mr. Spalding is almost able to form a right judgment on that perplexing question of Freewill, can we doubt but that he would have acknowledged St. Augustine's adhesion to the See of Peter, if only he had read generously the overwhelming evidence on that subject? Not that we are unwise enough to cherish the idea that the most convincing proofs of St. Augustine's attachment to Catholicity would have the least effect on thinkers of this school in leading them to any practical steps towards the truth. The day has gone by when Patristic teaching was regarded as identical with the teaching of the College of Apostles, and when dogmatic belief was considered a necessary condition of union with the mystical body of Christ. The High Church School, in its adoption of the branch theory, has unconsciously co-operated with Broad Church latitudinarianism in breaking down the barriers between Deism and Christian orthodoxy; for when the motive of faith is denied by rejecting a visible authority, the dogmatic factor in religion is removed, and nothing remains but such vestiges of Christian teachings as sect or conventicle may capriciously approve. But even on the supposition that our opponents admitted the total identity of St. Augustine's teachings with the deposit of doctrine once delivered to the Church, it would by no means follow that they would imitate him in seeking shelter within its fold. Literary research, historical knowledge, keen criticism, even a mind open to receive the truth, are yet very far from that "donum perfectum desursum descendens a Patre luminum," which we call the gift of faith. Calm and even minds have reached the threshold of the Church by patient and laborious investigation, then turned away sadly and for ever. When Dr. Pusey could write as he did about authority,* yet refuse to recognize its existence in a living church, what

* See Notes to translation of "Confessions."

further proof do we need to show that intellectual illumination is not faith; and that if mental conviction does not always precede conversion, neither is the latter its necessary imperative sequence? In saying, therefore, that we welcome new workers in that wide field of investigation which the writings of St. Augustine open, we do so because literary labour in so high a sphere of thought must always be productive of good, even though it be not the highest. And surely it is a gain to find at last that our Saint is no longer identified with doctrines which he abhorred, nor quoted in support of creeds he would have detested; that future generations will be spared the pain of seeing so glorious a name linked with dark, unchristian teachings, that were utterly foreign to his spirit of gentleness and love; and that we are not likely to hear again of independence of thought, which he would have regarded as riotous license, nor of freedom of opinion, which his fidelity to the Church would have characterized as treason, nor of a system, which he would be the first to condemn, if it condoned sin by the pretext of fatalism, or clashed with the high voice of conscience and the traditions of the Christian Church.

P. A. SHEEHAN.

ART. VII.—“THE QUARTERLY REVIEW” AND THE
CHURCH IN ENGLAND.

The Roman Catholics in England. The Quarterly Review,
January 1888. (Art. II.).

IT is now over fifty years since this REVIEW contained an article upon “The Present State and Prospects of the Anglican Church.” The occasion of this article was a long and very elaborate essay in the *Quarterly Review*, which our Reviewer of 1837 thus introduced to his readers: “With greater eloquence and more extended views, a writer in the last number of the *Quarterly Review* has appealed to the Protestantism of the Empire. . . . The following passages we are satisfied will command the admiration of all our readers; and, by their Catholic beauty, will justify the length at which we quote them.”* The main aim of the writer was to show what a national church ought to be, and how far short of his ideal the Protestant Establishment in

* DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1837, p. 495.

this country had ever and confessedly been. Referring to the cathedrals, he said (p. 235): "When we stand beneath those vast and gloomy columns, and see how few are gathered together, and those, perhaps, the paid ministers of devotion, the thought suggested is, not that religion is a form and its service hypocrisy, but that in all its beauty and all its splendour it is *alien* to the heart of man." And at the same date wrote Dr. Pusey: "Discord and insubordination and irreligion are preying upon the very heart of the country, and Romanism is steadily waiting till she (the Established Church) is weakened by the contest, to recover her members under its dominion."*

With such admissions as these, and their number will be found to be legion by such as care to look up the ecclesiastical history of England during the present century, it seems strange that any person, certainly any writer in the *Quarterly*, should be unprepared for great development in the way of progress and position on the part of the "Roman Catholics in England."

That Dr. Pusey's remarkable prophecy has been verified by facts is clear to most people as noonday—to none probably more clear than to those who, like the *Quarterly* Reviewer of 1888, affect to ignore or explain them away. And this is the simple way in which the present state of things has been brought about. The Establishment proved a failure. When almost alone in the land and triumphant, with the vast resources in wealth and buildings our Catholic forefathers had bequeathed, not to them, but to the Church Catholic, she proved herself utterly unable to play even the respectable *rôle* of a mere imitation in outward observance. As for care or spiritual provision for the souls of our people, directing their aspirations towards the life to come, sacramental grace and sacerdotal power, so far as the national custodian of all these treasures was concerned, there was an end unto them all; as none more loudly testify than the small but earnest minority at present in the Established Church, who are deluding themselves with the fond notion that she may yet be revived into a living "branch" of the one great tree of spiritual life. Thus writes the *Quarterly* Reviewer of ecclesiastical affairs in his day. The Church in England would "have been broken into fragments of dissent, both as to its form and the truths which it had to guard, but for a few counteracting influences." Among these, the power of the Spirit of Truth "to keep her in all truth" is not even alluded to. "It has been held together by old hereditary prejudices in favour of the Church of our fathers, by political passions, by local associations, by the natural aristocratic spirit of

* Pusey on Cathedral Establishments, p. 160 (quoted DUBLIN REVIEW, p. 499).

Englishmen," &c., &c. * And his lamentable but truthful conclusion is: "In all this there is very little, or rather nothing, of that loyal, dutiful patriotism to the Church and its parental authority, apart from the authority of its ministers, which is the true spirit of Christianity." † "And men's eyes are open to the fact." "Scarcely any man out of the bosom of the Romish Church now dares to speak as if he were sure that he is right." ‡

This being the common feeling and the common admission amongst those who thought much of the Church, how could they fail to turn their eyes first, and later on their steps, to the "city erected on a hill," to the pillar and groundwork of Truth? The Establishment stood revealed in its true poverty and nakedness. It was a heresy, a schism; the first great, and from a worldly point of view the only successful, kind of dissent. The inherent weakness of her nature had become manifest in time. St. Ephrem, we believe, had branded schismatics as a class who "dared not anathematize;" and upon the authority of the *Quarterly* we have it, that "scarcely any man out of the bosom of the Romish Church now dares to speak as if he were sure that he is right." In spite, however, of the sad pass to which things had confessedly come, men need not despair. The one old true Church is there still confronting the usurper. And with the truth in which the Spirit of God ever preserves her, she shows forth to the world the first mark of her infallible mission; she asserts, as the one true Church is bound to assert, and as the Catholic—the Roman Catholic—Church alone in the world has dared, and does dare, to assert, that within her pale alone is salvation to be found. What marvel, then, that the contest has brought things to their present acknowledged position? That Dr. Pusey's prognostications have come undoubtedly to pass? And that "there is still disquiet felt in many quarters at the progress of the Roman body in England?" §

The ill-concealed aim of the writer just quoted is to allay this "disquiet." And to effect his purpose with security, he bears himself throughout the task in hand with the lofty air of one who is so thoroughly alive to the folly of the said "disquiet," that he can afford to be generous in his concessions when in close quarters with the case. It is a clever attempt to pooh-pooh the whole question, or at least to incite people to try and do so. And with an air of being all things to all men, weak with the weak, fearful with those that fear, rather than with the slightest misgiving as to the contents of his brief, he condescends to run over in an offhand, desultory way a few points bearing upon the question.

* DUBLIN REVIEW, 1837, pp. 500-1.

† *Ibid.*

‡ p. 504.

§ *The Quarterly Review*, January 1838, p. 32.

And all comes out in the end clearly enough and just to his mind: "the facts we have here marshalled," prove failure all along the line. Good old English Protestantism need not be alarmed: all that was reprehensible or shortcoming in the Establishment has "disappeared in the process of Church revival in England, which has silenced objections by removing abuses and defects;"* and the "disquiet" as to Catholicism is groundless: *trepidaverunt timore ubi non erat timor*.†

Nevertheless, this essay, with all its jaunty and affected absence of gravity, is one that has its serious aspect. For it is an insidious attack upon the only English portion of the one true Church of God; a libel upon the spiritual Bride of Our Lord; and the most recent attempt to hold souls back in schism, whose hearts are yearning for the truth, and whose eyes have long been turned with longing to the sole teacher of divine truth. And hence, without irreverence we may compare the fear that underlies it to that of Our Lord's own enemies. For there are those among the ministers of the Church by law established, who would fain take some step to assail the position and put a stop to the progress of Catholicity in this country. Their predecessors complained one to another: "What do we, for this man doth many miracles? If we let him alone so, all will believe in him, and the Romans will come, and take away our place and nation."‡ And so the leaders of the religion that robbed, and by secular violence beat down, Catholicity, take counsel, as we read in the reports of Church congresses and convocations, among themselves, and seldom fail to keep alive the remnant of anti-Popery passion by adroit hints as to the danger *our* nationalism is encountering. "Do you not see," they continue, "that we prevail nothing? Behold the whole world is gone after him."§ And so on, and so on. "But one of them . . . said to them, 'You know nothing.'"|| And Caiphas forthwith propounded the scheme which was to put everything in its proper place. In the same spirit, some modern Caiphas intervenes, and plainly tells his fellows: "You know nothing;" and in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* tells the story which has so thoroughly brought conviction to his own mind, that its mere narration must have a like influence upon every other sensible man. His style throughout, too, gives him a certain advantage. For the most innocent of aggrieved men is somewhat powerless when he is attacked by innuendoes, sneers, sarcasm, and all that species of neatly devised rudeness—"the shrug, the hum, or ha." Hence in personal matters people of plain sense and some strength of mind usually let the thing pass.

* *The Quarterly Review*, January 1888, p. 62.

† St. John xi. 47-8.

§ *Ibid.*, xii. 19.

‡ Psalm xiii.

|| *Ibid.*, xi. 40.

Time will, they consider, set all pretty well to rights. The aggressor, whose intellectual livelihood is aggression, must pass on to some one of a more combative turn, and will sooner or later meet his match, as did the boor in the fable, who had hit Æsop with a stone :

The silence often of pure innocence
Persuades, when speaking fails. *

But when it comes to insidious underminings of the status of God's Church in these realms, to an effort to divert men's minds from "the city seated on the hill;" the cause of truth, zeal for our country's conversion, however much the *Quarterly Reviewer* may ridicule such aspirations and vainly strive to prove them baseless, impel one to stretch forth the hand and join in tearing away utterly and entirely the remnants of the veil of prejudice that has been hanging, alas! too long, between Englishmen's eyes and the claims of the Catholic Church.

We must refrain, however, from permitting our attention to be too exclusively fixed upon the many particulars adduced by the Reviewer, and invested with an importance by no means their due. At the outset it may be conceded that in many details he is rather unusually remarkable for a petty species of accuracy. And what is more, he is quite aware of this and of its desired and probable effect. Yet he has the naïveté to pose as one studiously unostentatious. He would carry his reader on with a careless ease and a treacherous pleasantry to absolute and unhesitating confidence in his honesty, and so beguile him into acceptance without question, doubt or misgiving, not only of his allegations and conclusions, but above and beyond all of his insinuations :

This honest creature, doubtless •
Sees and knows more, much more, than he unfolds. †

And it is against this "much more," insinuated or assumed more frequently than directly expressed, that the candid reader must be on his guard. It is with this we have to contend: always a difficult task, but one in which the difficulty presses with extraordinary unfairness, when the author cunningly warns us against himself: begs us not make too much of this or that adduced fact, and so smuggles in that which is often no fact *at all*: cautions us against drawing too stringent a conclusion, and so dextrously hides the bold but utter irrelevancy of the one he with this charming affectation of strict impartiality strives to establish. Here are two instances of his manner. In the first, he is working out a problem which has for its foregone solution the inconsider-

* "A Winter's Tale."

† "Othello."

able English element in the Catholic body in England. He turns to our "Catholic Directory" for facts. And writes:—

A perusal of the roll of Priests of Great Britain in the "Catholic Directory" shows an enormous percentage of Irish and foreign names, attesting their exotic character. The letter O is of course not a fair one to take as an average example, but none the less is it noticeable that there are only twelve presumably English surnames in the hundred and thirty classed under it. The letter R is a much more favourable one, but of the hundred and sixteen names under it, forty are certainly Irish or foreign, and in all probability as many more, whose nationality is not indicated by their forms (p. 48).

Now, a fair-minded investigator, guided by the principles ostentatiously and with cunning prepossession propounded by himself at the outset—that "*à priori* considerations go for little towards a solution," and that "the inductive and comparative method of inquiry alone can lead to trustworthy conclusions" (p. 33)—such an investigator would have let the letter O completely alone. He would not merely have admitted that it was an unfair one for average, but for *all* practical purposes; much less would he, after such admission, have used it for any purpose that savoured of an average consideration. Yet this is precisely what the Reviewer does. He, of course, knows as well as any one that to meet "a presumably English surname" commencing with an O is a matter of extremest rarity, whereas an Irish or Scotch name so commencing is a matter of most recurrent frequency. And hence his only logical deduction from the number of names commencing with O should have been that this letter makes directly against his thesis. There are actually under it no less than a dozen "presumably English surnames." Yet this is how he words this conclusion: "But none the less is it noticeable that there are only twelve presumably English surnames in the hundred and thirty classed under it" (p. 48). Relying, of course, upon ninety-nine confiding readers out of a hundred never stopping to consider that one such surname out of ten is far more than might have been anticipated.

But this way of his comes out into higher relief when he deals with "a much more favourable letter"—R. And, to begin with, let the reader notice how one assumption is adroitly made the basis of another. O having been characterized as "unfair for average example," whereas it was unfair for any and every example, R, in comparison, would be readily admitted as differing from it in this, that deductions founded upon it would be more reliable, and hence it might be described as a fair letter for average example, and more favourable to the cause of truth. Yet the context makes it out to be "more favourable" to the Reviewer's opponents, and hence predisposes his readers to magnify

any conclusion that favours his view, and to minimize any that turns out adverse to it. But to a close observer the reason of all this discovers itself. To fall in with and confirm the Reviewer's dictum as to the English element forming but one-third of the entire Catholic population (p. 35), it is obvious that the whole number of priests with surnames commencing with R should be but one-third of the whole number. This whole number he puts (roughly) at one hundred and twenty; so "the presumably English surnames" should amount to forty. Yet here is his own acknowledgment, his own conclusion: "Forty are either Irish or foreign" (p. 41). And this in face of, and as a proof of, his own discovery that "a perusal of the roll of priests of Great Britain in the 'Catholic Directory' shows an enormous percentage of Irish and foreign names, attesting their exotic character" (*Ibid.*). Of course, amongst ourselves, we Catholics can readily see and understand that this letter test should not have been resorted to. The Reviewer's utter ignorance of us and our ways and history could alone have led him to introduce it. In the first place, the position of the great bulk of our Catholic immigrants was such, by reason of the poverty that drove them hither, that few comparatively of their children found their way to the priesthood. In the second, amongst the more settled and indigenous portion of our body, the greater number of Church students did not, for many years, proceed from our larger towns missions. And it was in these that the Irish and foreign element prevailed. One by one they were sent to college from small, isolated English country congregations, where the good old missionary picked out his most docile and promising altar-boy, and out of his own modest savings, aided by the squire and a few of his parishioners, started the future cleric upon his educational career.

There is another and more important instance of this specious, but most fallacious and unfair, method of reasoning farther on. The Reviewer takes up the published statistics of crime, or rather he professes so to do, but in reality does nothing of the kind, except in regard to Canada and the United States, with which countries we have, of course, nothing in the world to do. The question in hand is England, and "The Roman Catholics in England." And it bears a very suspicious look that, instead of keeping steadily to this one point, he deserts it at the very outset, and so betakes himself to the New World for what it is thus very apparent he cannot find to his satisfaction in the Old. Any statistics bearing upon crime among the "Roman Catholics in England" would have helped, or not helped, him in his attack upon us. No one could have questioned the right of such testimony on whichever side it might lie. And as such an unmistakably hostile critic abandons the subject as singularly unfruitful

in results that would chime in with his preconceived *idea* we might fairly apply the ordinary legal maxim to this portion of his contention against us: *De non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est ratio.*

Considering, however, the poverty of the vast majority of those Irish Catholics who flocked for many years to our Western shores, and the difficulty, mainly owing to this poverty, of giving their children a religious education, one might have expected to find a larger proportion of criminals calling themselves Catholics than others. Indeed, upon the face of the thing, we were quite prepared, at sight of the figures with which our Reviewer's page (60) bristled, to yield somewhat upon this question of facts, and had set ourselves to take the sting out of the reproach by a few words upon the abject condition of the bulk of our poor.

Luckily, however, it occurred to us that the Reviewer was our Reviewer of the *Quarterly* still, and that just one more serious blunder might manifest itself upon a careful examination of his statistics. The American and Canadian figures so abundantly quoted on the one hand, and the utter absence of any figures of any authority in reference to the state of crime in England: the magniloquent assertion as to "the entire failure of the Roman Catholic Church in the function of moral guidance" (p. 61), struck us as being singularly of a piece with antecedent "inductive and comparative methods of inquiry;" and seemed to indicate that a little close examination of his statements would exhibit this dextrous gentleman in the same light-handed career as heretofore. And so it proved. The only figures he gives are those which indicate our numbers in relation to the whole population. This has, of course, to be minimized in order to set off the terrible excess of the percentage of criminals. So he puts us at "4.13 per cent. of the whole population" (p. 60). But having admitted (p. 35) that we are in round numbers about a million and a half, a reference to Whitaker's Almanac, or to any other such popular and accessible volume, would have enabled him to discover that this number is over 6 per cent. "of the whole population." Hence, when he concludes (p. 60) that "it would be reasonable to look for so low a ratio as 3 per cent. of Roman Catholic prisoners," he makes the evident and simple mistake of reducing the criminals we ought to be credited with by one-half. Beyond this one item, he abstains from all quotation, and judiciously lets the published returns of England and Ireland completely alone. And as these could not well be handled too often in the usual fashion without risk of detection by even casual or partial readers, he hies him off to the New World, and works away with a will at their returns. Statistics which have nothing to do with the matter in hand he clearly

prefers to none at all, or to such as are glaringly adverse. We prefer, however, to stand a little longer by our text, and to take an independent dip into these terrible and tell-tale figures, which the Reviewer so rashly consulted and so rapidly deserted. His hurried retreat from them under cover of America and Canada makes us hopeful as to results of a thorough and honest examination of them.

And it turns out precisely as we had anticipated. Whitaker and Hazell for the year 1888 reveal to us that the latest returns give for non-Catholic England some 45,000 indictable offences (*i.e.*, crimes of a more serious nature) as against 7000 in Catholic Ireland. Whereas, the proportion between the two populations would lead us to expect 9000. As to minor offences, under the heading of summary proceedings, the proportion is against Ireland; for her numbers are 200,000 as against 600,000 in England. Her proper figure should have been but 120,000. But the same authorities inform us that nearly three-fourths of these offences were so trivial that they were punished simply by a fine. For, frequently in the comparison, this essential point is lost sight of. It is not so much the number of offences that place a nation high or low in the scale of morality as the quality of them. And it is mainly this quality combined with quantity that indicates the direction to cast our eyes, if we wish to see a Church that fails "in the function of moral guidance."

But it is time to return to the position of "the Roman Catholics in England." Position is a compound of many ingredients. Territorial and other sources of wealth; literary undertakings and successes; general culture; the lead in social, political, or any other prominent public capacity; legitimate increase in numbers; good round numbers, even if but stationary; extraneous additions; all these with many other items combine to form or give or increase what we call and understand by position to any religious body; or, for the matter of that, to any body of persons whatsoever. The *Quarterly* Reviewer confines himself rather too exclusively to numbers, and is extremely unfair in his treatment of them. Indeed, our numbers and our converts are the only two items with which he deals at any length, and consequently with an elaborate inaccuracy. But as he touches upon many others indirectly and *en passant*, we must be similarly discursive in our attempt to meet and expose him, having usually but to mention facts patent to every thinking man at all conversant with the religious history of our times.

And, as already intimated, there is no necessity to dispute his figures, useless where their contradictory nature compels us to make a choice between two or more sets. For many of his statistics, as they first appear, and previous to his manipulation of

them, are derived from unexceptionable sources. He is unhappy in blending these with results of historical study, as this puts in no respectable appearance until *The Catholic Directory*, *The Month*, and *The Tablet* yield up their terrible secrets to his resolute research. For these are "publications which the general public never see" (p. 52). The Reviewer quotes an increase in the Catholic priesthood from 250 in 1596 to 780 in 1635 (p. 33). We question if the Reviewer would have conceded such an increase, had he not for the nonce been bent upon proving to anxious Protestants that such upward movements as the great Oxford secession are but spasmodically normal. They have occurred before, and the conversion of England remained as far off as ever. Our own time has witnessed the most remarkable of them. They may, probably they will, occur again; but with the same futile result. They will come and go, and leave England unconverted still. Especially would he have hesitated to admit of such an increase had he foreseen that a few pages farther on it would suit him to take up precisely a contradictory position, and admit that "very little success was achieved by the Roman missionaries in the reign of Elizabeth and James I." (p. 35).

But as we were set up for a purpose, so when the thesis requires it we must be let down, and so suddenly that even the Reviewer confesses the retrogression to be unaccountable. Nevertheless, justice compels him to give the figures. Justice, we mean, to the end in view—to wit, a sedative to agitated Protestant nerves. Our numbers are then set forth as in 1746 having fallen to 56,635 laymen, ministered to by 322 priests (p. 33). The inference is plain. Action is inevitably followed by reaction: movement upwards by movement downwards; or, to come to troublesome particulars, the Oxford secession of 1840–1851—"stampede," as with ill-concealed irritation he terms it—has already been succeeded by "leakage" among the co-religionists of the seceders. Nay, far from yielding to despondency, the Protestant public has cause to make merry over a victory: a victory gained less by the exertions of the Establishment than contributed by the folly of her opponents. Here is the passage, and it is certainly amusing; for in spite of his having penetrated into literary lairs "which the general public never see," the Reviewer is utterly unconscious of the fact that the Jesuits had no more to do with the matter than the editor of his own *Quarterly*. "If the Jesuits had but waited a few years, it is quite conceivable that the stampede which followed upon the Gorham Judgment, might have been repeated on a far larger scale under the still more serious provocation of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, intended to enforce the Privy Council findings in the Mackonochie and

Purchas cases, and to drive the advanced High Church school out of the Church of England" (p. 45).

Happily, we can now come to closer quarters with this critic; for once he quotes and sticks to figures that can be dealt with. Fastening upon some surmises of a writer in *The Month* for July 1885, he gathers from him that the Catholic population of Great Britain in 1841 was 800,000. To this number he adds a percentage of his own. Then comes another estimate that our influx from Ireland was 780,000. Finally, that 280,000 must be added, as representing the number of children born of these Irish parents. The sum total works out into a number that, if correct, would be all that the writer required. For it would point inevitably to a decadence. We ought at the present moment, assuming an increase of Catholics proportionate to the general increase of the population of the kingdom, to number nearly two millions and a half. In exact figures, 2,360,000. And yet no "rational calculation" puts us down as, at the highest, more than one million and a half. In exact figures, 1,354,000. We are a million to the bad. Here is his table:—

Roman Catholic population in 1841	800,000
Increase at 62 per cent.	500,000
Irish-born residents	780,000
Children of Irish-born residents	280,000
	<hr/>
Total	2,360,000

We will take each item and reduce it to its proper proportions, aided by, and in some instances depending upon, previous figures of the Reviewer.

Roman Catholic Population in 1841—800,000. This statement on the part of the *The Month* must have proved quite a godsend, but it looks as though the Reviewer had not met with it until after he had penned pp. 33 and 34 of his article, where the real truth comes out. He there tells us that from a report to Propaganda in 1804—that is, thirty-seven years previously to 1841—the Northern District, in which an immense increase had taken place, numbered 50,000, and, ten years later on, the London District under 70,000. Putting the increase in the North during these ten years at the large number of 20,000, we have, twenty-seven years prior to 1841, the number of Catholics in the two most Catholic districts at 140,000. The two remaining districts had probably not 60,000 between them. Hence, at the outside, and including large immigrations from Ireland even in those days, we cannot allow that the 200,000 in 1825 had reached more than 500,000 in 1841. And of these probably half, or say 200,000, were Irish.

Increase at 62 per cent. (that being the rate of increase of the general population)—500,000. This number the Reviewer arrives at easily enough. Sixty-two per cent. upon 800,000 comes, in round numbers, to about what he has set down—viz., 500,000. But first of all we must insist on the percentage being taken upon our estimate, which is based mainly upon his figures (pp. 33 and 34), and not upon those of the article in *The Month*. This estimate, and it was a most liberal one, gives us but 500,000 Catholics to begin with. But farther: before the percentage of increase is taken, we must subtract the 200,000 Irish, who belong to the next item, and whose increase is included in the one that follows that. Instead, therefore, of 500,000 being set down as our increase, the figures should be 62 per cent. upon 300,000 only—say 180,000.

Irish-born Residents—780,000. Here again we are more or less at one with the Reviewer as regards numbers, but with the Reviewer of p. 35. He there tells us, and we are disposed to agree with him, that 80 per cent. only of the census returns of Irish domiciled in England were Catholics. So, to begin with, we must—if merely for the pleasure of coinciding with him—knock off 150,000 from his estimates (p. 52). Then, again, these Irish-born residents must not be counted twice—*i.e.*, first of all in our Catholic population in 1841, and now in the Irish-born residents. We must again therefore strike off, and this time to the tune of 200,000, our estimated number of Irish in our Catholic population. Thus, then, we have Irish residents reduced to 430,000.

Children of Irish-born Residents—280,000. Here we can only subtract 20 per cent. of these children, as a set-off against the incorrect cent. per cent. of p. 52, in place of the more correct 80 per cent. of p. 35 in regard to the parents. That would justify a reduction of the 280,000 to 230,000. So here is our table in the same number of lines with his:—

Catholic population in 1841 . . .	500,000
Increase at 62 per cent.	180,000
Irish-born residents (since 1841) . . .	430,000
Children of all Irish-born residents . . .	230,000
	<hr/>
Total	1,340,000

These figures, which are for the most part those of the Reviewer himself in the earlier portion of his article, bring us out precisely at the point we should, it is here contended, estimate our numbers. And against this estimate he has nothing of weight to advance when directly at work in the way of reducing them. Indeed, he accepts it, but with the rider that it ought to be one million more

And yet this figure is only fairly reached by conceding that, apart from the Irish and foreign influx, the Catholics of England have increased at the same extraordinary rate as the general population of the kingdom.

As to our losses, called "leakages," there is so much to be said, and that in our humble judgment needs saying, that we purpose dealing with them separately in a subsequent paper. Two remarks in connection with them are alone necessary for our present purpose.

In the first place, it is clear that in spite of our losses we have kept pace with the general population. And if we examine the way this grand result has been obtained, we gain an insight into one of the causes of improvement in our position. For the leakage is from below; our additions are at the top. Our losses are mainly among the poor and poverty-stricken, and hence too frequently from among the classes which furnish criminal and disreputable specimens. True enough, that each of these poor souls was as dear to the Church and the Sacred Heart as that of the wealthiest or most intellectual convert brought by God's mercy within the fold. But this is not the point. We are just now on the question of position. This the Reviewer has striven pertinaciously to minimize; and, in opposition to him, our endeavour is to account for the existence of what he tacitly admits, or the article under notice would never have been written. Now, position is strengthened and amplified by wealth, by learning, by noble blood. And these converts of power and consideration have certainly replaced others, which have too often, alas! depressed and injured rather than elevated the position of Catholics in England.

In the second place, the worst is over. Figures quoted by the Reviewer (p. 31) prove this to demonstration. A remedy has for some time—that is, since 1870—been steadily applied to the terrible canker which had eaten its way into our body corporate. In 1850 our school children, or rather the children in Catholic schools, numbered but 24,000; in 1888, there are 280,000. It is to the element of compulsion in the Education Act of 1870 that we owe this astonishing improvement. There is no gainsaying it, we Catholics have derived and are deriving more benefit from these compulsory clauses than any other religious body. And simply for the reason that the great poverty of our people was an irresistible barrier to regular attendance at schools on the part of the children. Practically, we may happily regard the main source of "leakage" as closed for ever.

It is time for us now to deal with the convert question, for to this our critic devotes his bitterest and most irritated attention. And it is here that we meet with the most astounding piece of argumentation in the whole of his performance.

He commences by concluding without any premisses that the old Catholic element is too insignificant for notice. "An inquiry, then, into the later fortunes of the Anglo-Roman communion is, for all practical purposes, an inquiry into the annals of the convert element only" (p. 42). So one other step alone is necessary for our annihilation. The convert element must be minimized, and the old Catholic element kept well out of sight during the process. The published list of the former contains some 3000 names; but "there are names inserted which have no business there, and some names of little children are set down as though they were adults. But no name has been left out that could be got hold of, and the humblest claim to social position, such as kinship to an attorney, has been held sufficient for admission to the honours of the list." Without any explanation as to the process by which he cuts down this 3000 to 1900, suffice it to say that he does it: and these are the items that compose that figure. Our converts "consisted in 1878 of 335 clergymen, 765 laymen, and 716 ladies." "Since that time some ten or a dozen more clergymen have seceded, and perhaps as many lay folks as will bring up the total clergy and laity to 1900, about as many as could be got into the one church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields" (p. 43). In other words, our number of converts in this year of grace 1888 stands thus: previous to 1878, clergy 335 ladies 716; from 1878 to 1888, clergy 12, laity 72, total 1900. That is, some eight and a half individuals received into the Church throughout England per annum during the past ten years, against some 40 per annum during the previous fifty years. A decided falling off from even the insignificant increase that preceded it; and hence much solace to every good Protestant who will but look carefully into the matter and not be frightened off by silly rumours. For certainly eight and a half converts per annum for the last ten years—throughout the whole of England (not each Catholic parish in the country)—is certainly nothing to boast of on our part. The serious nature of this state of things we cannot, however, stop to consider; but must hie us on whither-soever our impulsive Reviewer pleases to lead us.

All told then, high and low, simple and gentle, our converts number—supposing all the converted to be still in the flesh—but 1900, and the lists "are entirely free from under-statement." And we have been previously informed that "an inquiry into the later fortunes of the Anglo-Roman communion is, for all practical purposes, an inquiry into the annals of the convert element only." But (pp. 35 and 53) he sets down the gross Catholic population at 1,360,000: a million, it is true, to the bad; but still the grand figure of 1,360,000. So, putting the two elements, that is the old Catholic and the convert side by side, as the Reviewer is very

careful not to do, we have his own solemn conclusion, or rather statement, though he does introduce it, and for a purpose, with the inferential then, that in estimating the position of a body numbering 1,360,000 we may limit our inquiry to 1900 of its members!

We have italicized the words—*for all practical purposes*, which the Reviewer smuggles in here under cover of the one point in the inquiry as to the “later fortunes of the Anglo-Roman communion,” which we should not have contested—namely, the intellectual superiority and higher culture of the majority of our converts. In brief, his remarkable thesis was this: the converts had certainly the better of the old Catholics as regards culture; hence to annihilate the old Catholics I must uphold this convert element. Its turn will soon follow; the disparity between 1900 and nearly a million and a half must be kept well out of sight, the vastly superior intellectual status of the 1900 ministering well to the illusion, until men can be got to look upon the convert element as representative of the whole Catholic body: “for all practical purposes” can then be adroitly introduced, and become a little later on the major premiss, containing, and yielding up at the touch of the Reviewer’s logical wand, the true “position of the Roman Catholics in England.”

The only attempt at anything savouring of proof for this astounding conclusion that the convert minority of 1900 may “for all practical purposes” be substituted in an inquiry into the position and state of “the Roman Catholics in England” for the majority, numbering by the Reviewer’s own admission 1,360,000, we find in one of his accounts of the Catholic clergy (p. 32). We say advisedly one of his accounts, because he gives another and a contradictory one later on (p. 45). But at p. 32 he is bent upon extolling the convert element for his “all practical purposes” conclusion; and so the old Catholic element, notably the clerical portion of it, must be made light of and brought into contempt. Hence he describes them as being “out of touch with the nation.”* “They did not understand, and could not make allowance for, English thoughts and habits.” At p. 45, however, the converts’ turn for annihilation has come, and so there we find the old Catholic clergy restored to their place of esteem. They are—of course, in comparison with these odious converts—“moderate, robust, and manly, free from sentimentality and hysterics, and commonly so from bigotry; so that on the whole, if they did nothing else, they lived on friendly terms with

* This favourite phrase of the Reviewer’s is not reserved exclusively for us. Except, perhaps, in Germany, we are informed (p. 49), “the average Roman Catholic clergyman everywhere . . . is entirely out of touch with the educated laity.”

their Anglican neighbours and taught wholesome morality in an old-fashioned way."

And we may pause a moment here just to notice the frequent practice with our Reviewer of thus saying for a set, though latent, purpose precisely the opposite in one page to what he has said in another. Here are a couple more from among several instances.

He informs us (p. 41) that "there is no doubt that the accession of these recruits to the Roman cause had much to do with the setting-up of the new Anglo-Roman hierarchy in 1850." Upon the same subject—the re-establishment of the hierarchy, he tells us (p. 34) that "the change to the present hierarchical system of a province, with one archbishop and twelve (later on fourteen) suffragans, is one which had been contemplated from the first, and was under special consideration at Rome from 1840 to 1847, when Letters-Apostolic and briefs creating dioceses and nominating their bishops were actually drawn up, but never published. The disturbances of 1848 delayed fresh proceedings till September 29, 1850, when the Letters-Apostolic were issued establishing the new hierarchy."

In the next instance we are not put to the trouble of hunting backwards or forwards to other pages for the refutation of his statements. He is good enough to supply the obvious answer consecutively and in his next sentence. "On the broadest survey of the situation," he says (p. 51) "the fact is simply that fifty years ago Roman Catholics constituted nearly one-third of the *United Kingdom*, and now are reduced to one-seventh." At first sight a most lamentable decrease this. But observe that he has now, and manifestly for the purpose of establishing this frightful decadence in our position, substituted "the United Kingdom" (which we have italicized) for England: and thrusting aside the fact that his inquiry concerns "the Roman Catholics in England" alone, he dishonestly introduces Ireland. Now, in Ireland there has been a great and decided decrease in the number of Catholics, simply and solely because there has been a great and decided decrease of general population. As he himself goes on most fatuously and, from his own standpoint, most inconsistently to remark: "Of course this is almost entirely due to the great diminution of the population of Ireland, which has continued to go back ever since 1846." Decidedly, of course; and he ought in all honesty to have gone a step farther in his unaccountable candour, and concluded against the justice or propriety of introducing "the United Kingdom" at all into the question that admittedly was to affect England alone: but that was clearly beside his real purpose, which was not to inform the ignorant, but to console the afflicted and reassure the anxious.

But we must return to the use he makes of our converts "for all practical purposes." Narrowing the comparison to a contrast between the older Catholic clergy and the *clerical* converts, he says that these latter were "possessed of a wider and more liberal culture, and, above all, had necessarily become acquainted with two sides of the questions between Rome and England, while the seminary clergy have never been permitted to know more than one" (p. 46). This being so, and some little trepidation naturally arising therefrom to nervous Protestants, the Reviewer lapses into prophecy for their tranquillization. True this high culture and the rest, on the part of the clerical element in the 1900, are sources of power which might at first sight make members of the Establishment quiver; but when this superiority to the old Catholic clergy is admitted, the worst is over. Brighter days are in store. For—

—as the older convert clergy rapidly die out [and note, gentle reader, the intense comfort in this "rapidly"], there are no means of supplying their place, for the new converts, as already mentioned, are both scanty in number and of exceedingly poor quality, so that the tone and level of the Anglo-Roman clergy are, from the social and intellectual standpoint, steadily deteriorating, and they are becoming [we tremble as we copy his sentences] even less in touch with the nation than heretofore. The authorities of the Roman Church here are fully alive to the seriousness and imminence of this peril, but are unable to devise any means of averting it (p. 58).

True, a second chance was given us of a secession "on a far larger scale under the still more serious provocation of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, intended (*sic*) to drive the advanced High Church school out of the Church of England" (p. 45); but "the door had been shut and barred by the Infallibility dogma," which was one of those Vatican decrees of 1870, which "every man competent to form an intelligent opinion on the matter" (not one of which eligible stamp of course was to be found among the upwards of 200,000,000 Catholics who accepted them) "knows to be absolutely incapable of honest defence." So the grand opportunity of another high-cultured 1900 to leaven, and "for all practical purposes" represent, our 1,360,000 was for ever lost!

But now comes the other side of the picture. The convert element has been extolled, the old Catholic element vilified, for the purpose of establishing the position that these 1900 should for "all practical purposes" alone be considered in "an inquiry into the later fortunes of the Anglo-Roman communion" (p. 41). As the potter his mould and the founder his cast, the Reviewer proceeds to break up and scatter every remnant of his models the moment he has done with them. Having served by way of con-

trast to expose the insignificance and utter incapability of persons so "out of touch with the nation" as the old "foreign-bred"—as he maliciously styles them—clergy, the convert element must be exposed in its true unvarnished colours. Yet their fate and ultimate failure might not have been so pronounced as it subsequently proved to be. Had they not yielded—"bowed to the usual law of reaction," as he characterizes their conduct—they might have retained their previous advantage of being "in touch with the nation," and mighty strides made in advance. Here was a grand opening for them, a great opportunity that might never occur again, especially after the mess the Jesuits had made of matters through being "in such a hurry to get the Vatican decrees passed in 1870" (p. 45). The decrees themselves were described above. But it was, happily for Protestant England, not to be: great expectations were to prove void of fulfilment; high hopes to be signally disappointed. "In point of fact, little or nothing of this programme was so much as outlined" (p. 46). So, whichever way you look at "the Roman Catholics in England," there is nothing either to cheer them or make Established Churchmen fear. The elder clergy were *ab origine* and hopelessly "out of touch with the nation," "foreign-bred," and so on; the convert clergy when "in touch" foolishly put themselves out of touch; and though Cardinal Manning would make believe that he at least is "in touch" by "advertising himself and his communion, by continually keeping it before the public eye, and posing in his own person as an English patriot and philanthropist" (p. 51) the whole thing is—thanks to the *Quarterly*—seen through and exposed to the ridicule and reprobation of all honest men! Nay, worse, for the "Anglo-Roman communion," than even all this, the convert clergy—with all their bowing to the usual law of reaction" (that is, as the Reviewer goes on to explain, their bidding adieu to every remnant or trace of heresy)—are not destined to "bow" much longer. They are fast dying off. And, as we have seen from a previous quotation, only "poor quality ones" are coming on; "none but moral and intellectual cripples" (p. 45).*

* The similarity of thought, and frequently of expression, between selections from the *Church Times* and the article under notice has frequently arrested our attention. Here is an instance: "But we are afraid it is hardly direct and forcible enough to affect the stamp of men and women who secede nowadays. They are not of the same pattern by any means as those of the great secession era of 1844-51, but almost invariably of feeble understanding, contented ignorance, and low conscientiousness—sentimentality, in most cases, usurping the functions of conscience." (Review of "The Roman Question, in Letters to a Friend, by an Aged Priest," *Church Times*, March 16, 1888.) Let the reader also compare the following extracts with pp. 60 and 61 of the article under consideration, and he cannot fail to trace some connection between our Reviewer and

So what every earnest Protestant now witnesses throughout the land in place of a triumphant "Anglo-Roman communion" is—"a recrudescence of anti-Church of England controversy on the Roman part throughout the country, stimulated by the consciousness of failure and the approaching peril of an unlettered priesthood" (p. 61).

But the argument may without any exaggeration be rendered cumulative. The convert element when fairly tackled may be not only scotched but killed: not merely killed, but killed—*dead*. Not only are our convert clergy fast yielding to the common lot of humanity, but what after all have they effected in their new communion—to wit, the "Anglo-Roman"—and their new career? Bad as were the old "foreign-breds," they were not so bad and incapable as these. Cardinal Wiseman even can be eulogized as a prelate of forbearance and moderation when the Ultramontane converts come in for our critic's vituperation. The Cardinal and his fellow "seminarists" had been called by nicknames, very illustrative of the Reviewer's style and equally indicative of his irritation, and been well flogged heretofore. The whips and cords had then been so many bundles of "high-cultured" converts. But this purpose served, their own beating was to begin; and what more in accordance with retributive justice than that the great Cardinal himself should be made the cudgel? The father had been beaten with whips, his convert children must be beaten with scorpions. And this is how in a few sentences it is done. "Cardinal Wiseman, an eminent scholar and an astute controversialist, was not a very active ruler, and did not further this (extreme Ultramontane) programme so much as might be expected" (p. 46). So the converts, to use a homely phrase, took up the running, and "the Ultramontane movement was pushed vigorously . . . little to the satisfaction of the native school of Roman Catholics" (p. 46). And the result of this their "bowing to the usual law of reaction," and, as became men "coming from a higher stratum of society and possessed of a wider and more liberal culture," to the British public, was, after all, a fiasco, ending in the utter discomfiture of the "Anglo-Roman Church in every manner, doctrinal, disciplinary, and devotional" (*Ibid.*). These three fatal d's conclude this sad episode in our ecclesiastical history.

the Church Times:—"Quotations from F. Graty, on the systematized mendacity of Ultramontaniam . . . ought to have been supplied." "And the closing letter ought to have been strengthened by a comparison between the religious and social condition of England with that of Roman Catholic countries, taking F. Curci's books, for example, as showing the condition of religion in Italy amongst professing Catholics, and pointing to the state of Ireland for the social part of the inquiry."

We have so far been endeavouring to show the method pursued by the Reviewer in his manipulation of facts, figures, and fictions. It will be well now to place on record a few statements which should be read side by side with his pages by every candid and truth-seeking reader.

I. For an obvious and malicious purpose he uses towards our non-convert Catholic clergy such "high-cultured" terminology as "foreign-bred," "seminarists," and so forth. But it is quite certain that a greater proportion of our priests at the present day receive the whole or the major part of their education in England, than in the days when the Reviewer allows them to have been such "moderate, robust, and manly" old gentlemen. In bygone days our "foreign-breds" were genuine products of foreign education, spending the best part of their student life in colleges abroad.

But the question must present itself to most intelligent minds, as to whether the Reviewer's sneer at the training of our priests is not an indication of his being half a century at least behind the age. The day, it seems to us, has long gone by when a course of studies well advanced at home but completed and perfected in some college abroad, usually connected with a University of note, was held in derision as unworthy of a British subject, and bound to bring upon him the lash of the *Quarterly Review*. Nowadays it is well, and we had considered until the perusal of our critic's paper, universally known that, apart from the sound and extensive theological training thus ensured, there is usually the acquisition of at least one living language. A man is not now held to have put himself "out of touch" with his nation, because he has put himself "in touch" with foreign culture and peoples by years of travel and study. And, judging from our own experience, the "high culture" of a goodly number of Established clergymen would have been singularly benefited by a similar process.

II. As to the influence of our converts from an educational and literary standpoint, the Reviewer makes light of it, and from an extremely partial and meagre survey concludes that "the convert element has not made good the practical deficiencies of Anglo-Romanism" (p. 50). But we can safely reply to him, that to no pursuit have converts so devotedly applied themselves as to that of imparting to the members of our colleges—lay as well as clerical—the learning and "high culture" they brought with them from Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere.

There is hardly a college or seminary in the kingdom, which if not actually worked (in part) by converts, has not professors who owe much to convert teaching. Take, for instance, the great teaching Order of the Church, the Society of Jesus. A convert is at present and has for years been Provincial—Father Purbrick ;

a convert for years taught philosophy and theology, both at Stonyhurst and St. Beuno's—Father Harper; many converts assisted in or presided over the studies from the lowest forms to the divinity classes, and among these Father Walford, an ex-Master of Eton, together with Fathers Hunter (eighth wrangler), Wynne, Tickell, Benson, Pope (nephew of Whateley), Anderdon, Humphrey, Dover, and a host of others. Among the Redemptorists, a convert was long Provincial, the late Right Rev. Bp. Coffin; and as members the names of FF. Bridgett, Dodsworth, and Livius will readily occur to mind. Among the Passionists, conspicuous was Father the Hon. Ignatius Spencer. Among the Benedictines, F. A. Paley, E. Walford, and Rev. J. Brande Morris were of notable assistance to the studies at Downside. Dr. Northcote was a host in himself at Oscott, where he was for years President; and in connection with the same college we find converts such as Canons Estcourt and Bathurst, Revs. Bodley, Cave, &c. &c. Colleges at Bayswater and Edgbaston were conducted exclusively by converts. The present Bishop of Emmaus, Mgr. Pattison, was President of St. Edmund's, Old Hall; and long before that period Dr. Ward, a lay convert, taught even theology to the divinity students. So it is abundantly clear to any one conversant with the Catholic domestic history of the past forty years that if the converts failed in imparting to the Catholic rising clergy and laity the refinement and culture for which as a body they were especially remarkable, it was through no want of exertion on their parts or of hearty co-operation and encouragement on the side of Catholic authority. As a matter of fact their success was, and is, undoubted.

III. The Reviewer falls foul also of our text-books. And though the Catholic students who make use of them have to face the latest phases of Protestant waning faith, these text-books are so concocted that those who use them are kept in ignorance of the "two sides of the question between Rome and England." He probably forgets, or it does not suit his purpose to call to mind, that under some of the very authors of these text-books have sat many of the convert clergy—a Manning even, and a Newman—listening to, and learning refutations of, errors they themselves had advocated and since abandoned. And that to their lectures flocked almost all who could meet the expense and afford the time. And in the hands of such critical minds as these were the very text-books which our critic decries. We question if he has ever seen, much less studied, say Perrone's "*Prælectiones Theologicæ*" or Ballerini's edition of Gury's "*Compendium of Moral Theology*." For otherwise, how could such lines as the following have proceeded from his pen?—

The English student of theology, who happens to light for the first

time upon a Roman Catholic theological textbook, is apt to be struck by its lucid arrangement, its incisive, unflinching statements, contrasting not a little with some of the books his own teachers recommend to him. He believes himself to have come upon the adit of an inexhaustible mine, but, as he procures one book after another, he finds that they are all of the same pattern, containing just the same matter a little differently worded, and that the range is limited on all sides in a thoroughly cramping fashion (p. 48).

Would that we had space to give merely the headings of the chapters in the two text-books cited, and cited less because of their bulk than because they have been for many years, and continue, in such demand by our clerical students.

One true statement that accompanies the many false ones in this extract is worthy of remark. It informs us that our text-books contrast "not a little" with those put into the hands of young Protestant clerics. And one has but to examine a specimen, such as is now lying before us, to see how ludicrously consonant with strict truth the remark is. The volume is styled "Compendium Theologicum; or, Manual for Students in Theology." Its author or compiler is a Reverend M.A. of Cambridge, and hence one "in touch" with the nation whose rising clergy he essays to assist. "The favour," he writes in the preface, "with which the first edition of this Compendium has been received, not only at the Universities and other Theological Colleges, &c." And its contents are as follows:—Pp. 1 to 97—Ecclesiastical History, ending with the History of the Church of England and the Reformation in England from p. 97 to 129. Then follow nearly 100 pages devoted to "English Liturgy and the Bible," which include all that has to be learned of the Psalter, Lessons, Canticles, Creeds, &c. &c.; the Sacraments; and the History of the English Bible. This brings us to p. 224, and the remainder of the little volume is occupied to the end (p. 380) with "The Thirty-nine Articles." Each page contains considerably less than one of the pages of this REVIEW, and not one quarter of any one of the pages of Perrone; whose text-book contains at the very lowest computation twenty times the amount of letterpress, although it treats of Dogmatic Theology alone. Ballerini contains some ten times the amount, though devoted exclusively to Moral Theology. And yet a writer in such a respectable production as the *Quarterly Review* can denominate the range as "limited on all sides in a thoroughly cramping fashion." As a matter of fact, Protestant clergymen have little or no theological or philosophical training. Neither philosophy nor theology finds any real place in their preparatory course. This little "Compendium Theologicum" would, beyond doubt, enable any student who had mastered its ridiculous admixture of everything

almost except theology and philosophy, to pass *summâ cum laude* his examination for Orders. Yet—as is clear from its table of contents—it but touches the fringe of subjects historical rather than theological. And why? Simply through no fault of the successful compiler; his book meets every requirement; *ignoti nulla est cupido*.

IV. Mighty, however, as has been the aid and the impetus imparted to our studies by converts, not in the theological or philosophical line, for their own course had never prepared them for this, but in those usually comprised under the Reviewer's selected term "high culture;" we must not forget that in spite of all their difficulties, our clerical forefathers had kept up wholesome traditions as to classical and other studies, in which many of them quite equalled the champions even of our English Universities. That these very traditions originated in the connection of many of our early post-Reformation lay and clerical Catholics with Oxford and Cambridge is quite certain. And such prodigies in classical lore as Daniel French and Dr. Picquot—or, in mathematics, Bishop Walmesley of the Western District, are still fresh in the memory of a generation not altogether passed away. Living necessarily in great retirement our elder generation of priests were as scholars in the learning that forms the backbone of high culture, faithful to the traditions entrusted to them, and securely transmitted it to the generation that succeeded them under happier circumstances than had fallen to their own lot. Nor were the clergy of the Established Church in any way remarkable in those days for the results of an education which they were supposed to have received during their sojourn at one or other of the national Universities. It is not in the least too much to say that as a class they were, even in point of "high culture" as well as solid learning, far behind the Catholic priest. Nor do those names selected by the Reviewer as "the most noteworthy" of our writers by any means exhaust the list. He passes over indeed in silence, if not in ignorance, "the most noteworthy." No allusion is made to Bishop Walmesley; yet it was chiefly through his agency that the great change in the Calendar from the old to the new style was brought about. He does not mention our greatest and one of our earliest writers—a convert, too—Bishop Chaloner. That prodigy of accuracy and research, Alban Butler, is omitted; so too his nephew, Charles. The Douai Version of the Bible is not noticed, and yet how many unacknowledged tributes to its superiority are to be met with in the new "Authorized Version"? Coming nearer to our own times, no mention of the two Waterworths, of Bishops Baines and Brown. No mention of Reeve and his "Scriptural History," Mannoek, O.S.B., and his "Poor Man's Catechism;" Archer,

Fletcher, Bishop Hay, Husenbeth, and a host of others, who, with talents equal to higher things, applied themselves to meet the less exalted needs of their time.* Moreover, long before the converts came to our literary assistance, Catholics had taken a stand of marvellous boldness and significance, considering the paucity of our numbers, in that class of literature so pre-eminently the product of this century. This REVIEW was successfully set on foot by Cardinal Wiseman, O'Connell and others, as the exponent of Catholic truth and Catholic views *versus* the Protestant utterances of the Liberal *Edinburgh* and *Tory Quarterly*. Its pages were destined soon to become the most providential and powerful instrument of successful "proselytism." For though in a sense, as the Reviewer puts it—"only the merest fraction of the clerical and other educated converts during the period 1843-51 was obtained by Roman proselytism" (p. 41), yet we have but to refer to the pages of the early numbers of this REVIEW to see that learning of a deep patristic and theological tone and nature happily steered the Tractarian movement to its legitimate haven. The Reviewer affects a show of comfort in the thought that there was "no Biblical scholar—that is to say, no one whose speciality was the critical or exegetical study of Scripture, or who had contributed anything of value to expositions and commentaries or any of its books" (p. 44). And he is not far from the truth. The ignorance of these Scriptural bookworms on most other topics was as profound as proverbial. From the Protestant standpoint this ignorance was their salvation; our game was with minds of a higher order and devoted to researches of a deeper nature. And if these were comparatively few in number, what wonder, when we call to mind the utter absence of ecclesiastical and theological erudition in the Establishment at large? Had not our critic's able predecessor foreseen and explained the cause of this? At any rate, thus he summed the case up in the article already quoted:—

We are too conceited to be really wise, and, least of all, to be really learned. And in theology, of which the whole basis and superstructure is learning, as distinct from general information and cultivation of

* A testimony to the varied and continuous work of these and similar Catholic writers in the early days of Emancipation, is an advertisement that recently appeared in the columns of a contemporary. "The following works of Dr. Husenbeth required:—Christian Student, Defence of the Creed, Christian Refuge, Original Songs, St. Cyprian Vindicated, Notices of English Colleges and Convents Abroad, The Roman Question, The Chain of the Fathers, History of Sedgely Park School, The Convert Martyrs—a Drama, The Life of St. Wulstan, The Life of Mgr. Woodall." Yet in addition to these he brought out an edition of the Bible and of the Roman Breviary.

mind, we are sadly in the dark. But the Church is placed at this crisis between great enemies—Romanism and Ultra-Protestantism, and the only weapon with which either of these can be encountered is learning—an extensive knowledge of antiquity, accurate researches into history, profound scholarship. The great strength of Rome is her appeal to antiquity (p. 221).

Precisely so. At the moment and in the questions that were vital to the great Tractarian movement Scriptural studies were hardly in place, and those who plodded on with them as the only theological pursuit within their narrow-sighted ken, were left alone with their lexicons and commentaries. For all practical purposes, such as the pulpit and ordinary controversy and enlightenment, Cornelius à Lapide, Dom Calmet, and others were ever at hand, and ample. Nevertheless, again and again do the early pages of the DUBLIN furnish specimens of exquisite Scriptural “studies.”*

Many works also—some original, others reprints, others translations—have issued unceasingly from our Catholic press. Yet such authors as Dr. Rock are unnoticed, possibly because unknown to the Reviewer. So is Archbishop Ullathorne, notwithstanding his eloquent evidence before the House of Lords upon the transportation question, and his three last works, which are in matter unrivalled by and in power of language equal to anything of the kind attempted by a Protestant writer. And to go on with the Reviewer’s omissions: the many volumes of elevating reading that we possess in the “black” Lives of the Saints, edited by the Fathers of the Oratory; our Clifton Tracts; and the valuable and numerous publications of the Catholic Truth Society, all point to literary activity upon our part, which the High Church party in the Establishment have at length aroused themselves to imitate. In all his enumerations, whether of old Catholic men or literature (p. 39), or of converts and their efforts (p. 43), he is equally deficient. Surely among the latter such an advocate of the distinction between a Roman and an Anglican Catholic cannot be ignorant of the existence of such a work as M. J. Rhodes’s “Visible Unity of the Church, &c.,” yet it is not mentioned by him.†

The catalogues of our Catholic publishers are perhaps the best refutation of our opponent, from old Andrews, Booker and Dolman, through Richardson of Derby, to Burns and Oates,

* See, among many other such productions:—“Catholic Tradition and Scripture,” 1847; “The Parables of the New Testament,” and “The Miracles of the New Testament,” 1849; “The Actions of the New Testament,” 1851; and “The Bible in Maynooth,” 1852.

† There is no work, we venture to think, so admirably adapted for enabling Catholics to meet the new cry of Protestants, that they, and not we, are descendants of the old Catholic Church of England.

Washbourne, and others. The time had clearly come for many Catholics to popularize their writings. Others, meanwhile, were wielding the power of the press in reviews, magazines, and by means of cheap devotional publications. Our old enemy, the religious tract, was broken into service. It had become incumbent upon our educators and apologists, capable as many of them were of far higher things, to descend into and contend in the arena of daily and pressing utility. Hence our early periodicals, our volumes of controversies or sermons, the lectures of our leaders, notably those of that prince of popular lecturers, the great English Cardinal; our manuals of prayer, from the "Garden of the Soul and Daily Companion" to the compilation just issued with the sanction of our Bishops, less to meet any want of matter—still less as a mercantile speculation (see *Quarterly*, p. 61)—than to secure uniformity in the words of prayer throughout the country. A general awakening set in after Emancipation throughout the kingdom among Catholics, and with it a widespread demand for works ministering less to the requirements of literary taste than to the needs of devout and prayer-loving souls. So, too, in our architecture, the revival was marked and marvellous when our scant means are considered. And soon Catholic taste guided Catholic firms and their employés to the foremost position in the realm of ecclesiastical art.* And in music, from good old, sound, and rigidly ecclesiastical Webbe, to Novello's arrangements of Haydn, Mozart, and others, the progress was discernible by all, and actually seen save by those who feared to see.

V. The Reviewer also omits all reference to another notable sign of our progress and proof of our position. Our record of successful students at the only public institution where an opportunity was afforded of showing what training they had undergone, the London University, is another and a signal testimony to the fact that the authorities of our colleges and our leading laymen were alive to every facility for turning out a new generation of "lettered" priests and laymen, and alert to seize upon and make the most of all the means within reasonable reach of effecting this end. And of these their persevering efforts, what are the present results? We pass by—but clearly for another reason than that which obviously impelled the Reviewer to do so—the long list of our collegiate and scholastic establishments: their existence and their influence are too well known for us to dilate upon them here, and at once ask the question in order to answer it—how do our elergy stand before the country at the present day? As chaplains in the Army or Navy: as members of school boards

* Messrs. Hardman & Co., of Birmingham, for instance.

and burial boards ; as poor-law guardians ; in attendance—and that in most instances without remuneration—upon the inmates of our hospitals, asylums, workhouses, and prisons ; on the public platform, whether as advocates of charity, temperance, or some political measure ; in the social and municipal life, where each priest in his sphere usually more than holds his own ; can it be said that he is distanced by the clergy of the Establishment, or is less “in touch” with his neighbours of every denomination than they ? Even the vaunted parochial advantages of a married clergy (*Quarterly*, p. 56) pale before those of a celibate priesthood. The whole of the Catholic priest’s anxiety and care are kept in reserve for his flock alone. Besides, we give even our Reviewer credit for some knowledge, if not painful experience, of the drawbacks that attend upon a ministry shared more or less by the wife. He knows probably but too well the misery and heartburnings that result from the feminine busy-bodding, harassments, embarrassments, annoyances which are almost invariably concomitants of active ministration on the part of a parson’s wife. As to the spiritual discontent and damage, are they not recorded in the memories, if not the annals, of every old parishioner in almost every parish ? Much more might be said on this point. But it is quite certain that the advantage the priest has over the parson in spite of his “Romanism”—which, by the way, is not without its charm for many minds and more imaginations when not in actual controversial collision with its claims—is great and decided in the majority of the social circles that form part of, or border upon, what is termed “society.” And all this with the happy result—strikingly indicative of our improved position—that no longer, as a class, are Catholic servants and employés tabooed ; no longer are Catholic tradesmen and even professional men boycotted, and, at times, by such bigotry ruined ; no longer even is it an electioneering cry of any force against a candidate for municipal or parliamentary honours that he is a Roman Catholic. The Reviewer and his party may wince over all this, and much more that could be adduced of a kindred nature ; but it is all honest, patent fact. Such a wondrous change as regards our “touch upon the nation” has, after years of gradual approach, come at last with a sudden bound upon us. It is not too much to say that, given proportionate progress by the Catholic Church in England during the ensuing fifty years, to that which has been its happy lot during the last fifty, and——what will be the cry of the *Quarterly* and the *Church Times* in 1938 ?

VI. As we have already noted *en passant*, the insignificance of the number of our converts is continually brought to the fore by inference, by insinuation, by direct statement. And this, nominally with the defensive object of showing that the Establishment was

by no means fatally depleted by the secession, but really, as becomes patent at every step, to tranquillize anxious Churchmen whose eyes are turned with dismay towards "the Roman Catholics in England:" and to reassure them that there are no grounds for alarm, arising from our progress or position.

As regards this paucity or abundance, the Reviewer might have saved himself much concern. For the question of numbers is comparatively unimportant in the consideration of position. It is conceded on all hands that a body of clergy and laity of decided mark and position in the Established Church and in social life, came over from Protestantism to Catholicity chiefly in two great waves, or secessions, one about 1844, the other about 1851. Also, that many of these gave up by the change every earthly hope and prospect; in fact to the worldling's eye were irretrievably ruined. In addition to these, a far greater number, but of less social distinction, were received between 1845 and 1851, up and down the country, into the Church; and this source of increment still continues. We likewise from time to time gather in members of the higher class—the "moral and intellectual cripples" of our "high-cultured" but very irascible Reviewer. Lords Ripon, William Nevill, Bennet, Francis Osborne, with Sir Philip Rose, and Messrs. Orby Shipley, Fowle, Bennet, Conder, and Luke Rivington—the last five lately clergymen in the Establishment—come to mind, at the moment, as belonging to this category. But conceding thus much, the number in comparison with our million and a half, or thereabouts, would at the highest hazarded conjecture be small. In the question of progress and position, however, character, learning, "high culture," wealth, social and other influence, throw the item of numbers considerably into the shade. The Reviewer foolishly urges that the whole number could be accommodated in one large London church; but was one church, a man of plain sense naturally and immediately asks, ever filled, or likely to be filled, with such a congregation? The converted clergymen, he goes on to say (p. 43), amounted to no more than a six months' supply of the whole English clergy. Yes, so far as numbers go, we grant, and hence the Reviewer's persistence in reducing them; but what a grand step upwards would it not be for the Establishment to be recruited in six months, or sixty years, by such a three hundred and thirty-five! A vast body of extra men are often as a mere nothing to a huge army; but a few of extraordinary discipline and courage make all the difference. A squadron of British Hussars were of infinitely more value at Waterloo than all Wellington's thirteen thousand Dutchmen. And thus, we maintain, the great Oxford movement singularly aided the onward progress of Catholicity to *position* in the country.

He goes on to give the names of "the most distinguished of

the clerical converts," in order to make it manifest that "the personal equations of the seceders was far less flattering to the Roman cause than has been supposed" (p. 43). Eight names "pretty nearly exhaust the record." The "notable laymen" are then enumerated and mount up to a score. The underrating is—paradoxical as it may sound—over-done; the falsehood is too evident; the *suppressio veri* too absurd. No mention is made of the Marquis of Bute, the Rev. W. Sibthorpe, the Rev. G. Hopkins (first class, Oxford); Canons Oakeley, Wenham, Douglass, Drinkwater, Glenie, Brownlow, Kennard, and Macmullen; Bishop Coffin and Bishop Patterson; the two Karslakes, the three Beauclerks, Charles Santley, Charles Hallé, Charles Mathews, Mrs. Bancroft, Miss Braddon, Mr. Burnand, Gilbert Scott, and Lady Butler of "The Roll Call" fame; William Palmer, R. S. Hawker, Adelaide Procter, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Lady Herbert of Lea; the Duke and Duchess of Leeds, the Duchess of Buccleugh, the Marchionesses of Londonderry, Lothian, and Waterford; the Lords Kerr, Lord Bury (Ashdown), Lord A. Douglas; the Hons. W. Towry Law and Colin Lindsay, Lord Alexander Gordon Lennox, and Owen Lewis, M.P. The Rev. Lord Charles Thynne is omitted; so are the Earls of Denbigh, Granard, Oxford, Buchan, and Gainsborough, Sir William P. Heathcote, Sir W. Molesworth, and Sir Archibald K. McDonald, Baronets. Many other names keep recurring to us, and many more not enumerated here will present themselves to our various readers; but we have surely cited enough and to spare to prove the value of the Reviewer's system of surveying our position. And yet we have scarcely mentioned a name from among the untitled landed gentry, some of whose oldest and most influential members—such as Mr. Wegg Prosser of Herefordshire, Messrs. Cary Elwes and George Lane Fox, and the Norfolk Traffords—have long been members of the Church.

Besides ourselves, the Reviewer attacks our buildings—schools, presbyteries, convents, we presume, as well as churches. "Plant" is the best term his courtesy can suggest for them. Now as to these and their circumstances we have the advantage of being as fairly well informed as it is, perhaps, possible for any one to be. So we will not have recourse to any other method of meeting his statements than by a simple explanation or denial, based upon an intimate knowledge of the facts.

He says: "The enormous increase of plant, as attested by the statistics at the outset of the present article, is partly speculation . . . trying to procure business, and trying to seem prosperous before it can begin to be so" (p. 54). A bold face had clearly to be put upon this aspect of the position of "the Roman Catholics in England;" for who runs may read in our public buildings very expressive signs of the times. And malicious ingenuity could

hardly have invented a more specious and wily an explanation. But it is positively untrue. We meet his assertion by a direct and general denial. Though, possibly, our rising indignation at such insidious modes of controversy should be tempered by the underlying admission of the Reviewer, that the preliminary stage of prosperity has been reached by us: we already "seem to be prosperous;" and that, in a question of position, goes a long way. "It is further," he continues, in reference to this widely spread "plant," "a means of providing for a large number of people who have thus comfortable berths secured for them." We are somewhat at a loss here to imagine even what this sentence implies. About the only "comfortable berths secured," that we are aware of, are those that are the happy lot of the aged and infirm poor tended until death by the Little Sisters of the Poor, or the inmates of our Homes and Orphanages. But such would clearly not enter into the Reviewer's estimate; this would be blessing where he was minded to curse. But who, then, are these very fortunate persons? It is quite certain that if they are in any number this would testify to our prosperity and hence to our position—though the Reviewer had most probably overlooked that concomitant item. The whole thing is literally a tissue of utter rubbish. Were it but partially true, we should think it much more likely to shake than to calm the nerves of anxious Anglicans, and would be the first to admit and glory in it. But it is absolutely false, and for many years we shall of necessity meet with other modes of spending what little money can be scraped together, than this absurd one with which the Reviewer strives to explain away the obvious increase in "plant."

He goes on: "The funds for the purpose are drawn, partly from wealthy converts" (where then, by the way, is his list of converts of position?), "and are partly furnished from foreign countries, in the hope that lavish expenditure, continued sufficiently long, may at length yield a proportionate harvest." Would, again, that a tithe of all this were true! It would comfort us to think that "foreign countries" took so substantial a share in England's conversion: we are aware of the increasing and manifold prayers offered up for this end, and we rely, more than we can express, upon such intercession; but "the lavish expenditure" has not reached us yet. The converts, unquestionably, have done their utmost, but few of their number were in a position to help materially. And though large contributions have here and there been made by them, these are very little when put side by side with those that have come from the one great and constant source. Nearly all our erections, with their means of support, are due to the sacrifices of our old Catholics—the 1,358,100. The rich have steadily and perseveringly and liberally given their pounds; so,

too, the middle classes, often better able, and always as willing, to afford them than those who with larger incomes had to meet greater expenditure. And, with a generosity, a universality, and a perseverance that no one outside the pale could ever imagine, but which we know well, the poor, with their pence, have been the mainspring and support of nearly every great undertaking. With some comparatively small sums received from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, and possibly similar amounts afforded here and there from a mother-house in France or Belgium to an affiliation of the order here, the "lavish expenditure" is exhausted. What with the money spent abroad for Church students, the contributions to the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, to Peter-pence, and in other ways, together with the annual support of such an institution as Mill Hill for foreign missions, it is probable that more money for Catholic religious purposes goes out of the country than finds its way into it.

We, of course, exclude from this calculation the French and German religious establishments in temporary existence amongst us. These derive their incomes, in great part at least, from abroad. Nevertheless, their presence here adds to the Roman Catholic momentum, and so to our name and position.

Further on, in forgetfulness of this "lavish expenditure" and the "wealthy converts," he lights, in Lord Bray's pages, upon the secret of the whole "increase of clerical plant." And off he goes upon an entirely new track, with delightful unconcern as to its conformity with his previous career. It is now—debt. He quotes approvingly, and with the glee of having just got what he wanted, some phrases from a letter in one of our Catholic papers. "First—debt; second—debt; and third—still debt: or, if not, poverty, poverty, poverty." So away with the "lavish expenditure" from abroad and the "wealthy converts" at home, and heigh-ho for this damning idea of debt, debt, debt. The snug gentry, too, quartered in their "comfortable berths" are lost sight of, and the cry is now—poverty, poverty, poverty. And to tell truth, here we are much more in accord with him. Of the utter nonsense which he proffered as an explanation of *seeming* prosperity, we could not bring ourselves to take much serious notice. It was too ludicrous for refutation. But conscious of the great wants the rapid spread of Catholicity in England brings with it, we confess to our energies being too frequently damped by lack of means. At the same time he, as usual, outstrips the truth, and so lands himself in falsehood. *In medio stat virtus*. We are neither so well off as, in his "wealthy converts" and "lavish expenditure" moments of illusion, he would make us out to be; nor, on the other hand, are we everywhere and always hovering hopelessly between debt, debt, debt, or poverty, poverty, poverty.

For, as to "the many new and stately Roman Catholic churches rising on all sides" being "mortgaged up to the windows, with little prospect of discharging the incumbrances" (p. 57), his misgivings are, save in exceptional cases, baseless.

Still there is no denying that either of his charges standing alone is most damaging to our position. That our prosperity is not native but kept up "from abroad," and that "the many new and stately Roman Catholic churches rising on all sides" are "analogous to the polished granite pillars and plate-glass windows of the office of some company which is trying to procure business," besides being somewhat uncomplimentary, which is excusable in an irritated man, are sufficiently grave indictments. So, too, that instead of these churches being solvent and paid for they are all "mortgaged up to the windows," and debt or poverty perpetually and persistently staring founders in the face; nothing indeed could be much worse. It is the two assertions together that won't stand, that are mutually inconsistent, that contradict and annihilate each other. So, the Reviewer, of whom we must say that he has his wits, such as they are, usually about him, exerts his tactical abilities to dispose his antagonistic forces in such manner that one shall be kept well out of the way and the sight of the other. One statement is, therefore, placed foremost in the van: Lord Bray's,* Canon Wenham's, Mr. Bampffield's, and

* Lord Bray's earnest contention was in favour of many small and inexpensive churches in place of fewer and larger structures. And it is, we think, the general view of most of the Catholic body—clergy as well as laity. Such a plan seems to tend more directly to the service and salvation of souls. That it does so more extensively is, however, not so settled—though often too hastily taken for granted. Grand and beautiful buildings add much to our position, and many persons are influenced in the first instance by these signs of position, who would never have thought of the Catholic Church but for the signs everywhere manifest that at length her position is established in the land. Too well does our Reviewer know this. Besides, these stately and costly buildings are sometimes the gift of a wealthy donor. And if a system of dictation or over-control on the part of ecclesiastical authority were to step in between private persons and the disposal of bounty or charity, the outcry would be stronger and louder than any even our Reviewer could put forth. From personal knowledge of the circumstances under which several such edifices have been erected, we have no doubt that both bishop and priests did their utmost to get the means thus expended distributed over several districts, but were overruled by the decision of those who were in command of the purse. Yet this evil, if it is one, more or less corrects itself, or rather the consequences imputed to it; and is indirectly, in the way above indicated, of signal service to souls. For our part, and until absolute perfection has been attained, we think that the more pamphlets like Lord Bray's, and the more communications similar to Canon Wenham's and Mr. Bampffield's, the better. They have but to respect legitimate authority in their appeals to it, and to treat temperately matters that concern so many, and with regard to which opinions are so divided,

other sad admissions such as theirs, which are kept "amongst themselves, and in publications which the general public never see" (p. 52), form a grand dividing centre; and then we have the debt and poverty indictment securely posted well in rear. After this strategical disposition, the commander-in-chief thinks it time to strike the final blow. So down it comes, and thus: "This" (to wit, the debt and poverty view) "emphasizes the statement already made" (the "lavish expenditure" and "wealthy converts" account) "that speculative advertisement, rather than genuine demand, has prompted the erection of a large proportion of them." Lord Braye, we should not omit to mention for the terror of such future evil-doers, was "loudly and angrily blamed for publishing such unpleasant secrets" (p. 58). Yet Lord Braye and his congeners were poor tools, after all, for such a work as needed doing.

In the various confessions of failure, the reasons assigned are all, so to speak, external. In none save Lord Braye's is there present any admission, or even any consciousness, that defects inherent in the Roman system itself, as distinguished from minor errors of judgment in those who administer it here (and Lord Braye goes no further in his strictures), can be accountable for the disappointment of the once sanguine expectations of easy and rapid triumph" (p. 58).

So, after all, what leaks out "amongst themselves, and in publications which the general public never see" is nothing as it leaves the Reviewer's hands to what it was when he discovered and pounced upon it, and which in the beginning he had magnified into a sorrowful admission of utter failure. "Amongst themselves, and in publications which the general public never see, the Anglo-Romans sorrowfully admit that they are actually losing ground, &c." (p. 52). Lord Braye, then, and his indiscreet friends must be rehabilitated. It was a mistake to "loudly and angrily blame" him. This letting them down so gently when, as in other instances, the Reviewer's purpose had been served by their undue exaltation, is immediately explained, or rather explainable. They had dealt merely with externals, but at length and in our own pages a writer is "happened upon" who puts Lord Braye, Canon Wenham, Mr. Bampffield and the rest completely into the shade. Of course, treating upon such a subject as "The Conversion of England," "he writes with caution." Lord Braye's fate was no doubt before him. Nevertheless, Mr. St. George Mivart "says briefly that the Italianization of Anglo-Romanism has been a

and much good, with little or no harm, will be the happy result. But it is essential to success that all bitterness be jealously excluded: it is the too common bane of such otherwise well-directed efforts. The angrier the wound the softer the touch of the skilful and successful surgeon.

fatal blunder" (p. 59). Whether Mr. Mivart has said anything of the kind, we stop not to discuss; it is quite certain that to make out what he has said or what he has not said from the Reviewer's pages is an utter impossibility. He professes to give the exact words, but substitutes for these a paraphrase, and only quotes the *ipsissima verba* twice, and the words quoted are absolutely the mildest in the whole paragraph, and would neither shock nor alarm the most sensitive of "Italianized" Catholics. With this very angry gentleman we have now done.

So many causes at times combine to produce a great result, that it is a matter of some difficulty to apportion to each its due and precise weight. The great result at present under examination is the significant position of "The Roman Catholics in England." It is possible that we may be over-sanguine, in spite of such Cassandras as the Reviewer has invoked first and then contemptuously discarded; but, with many allowances for acknowledged losses and drawbacks, our position is a good one, and shows signs of increasing strength, rather than of the inherent weakness its enemies would fain detect. Many of the causes of this prosperity have been already touched upon, some even fairly exhausted, in our several replies to the *Quarterly Reviewer's* special accusations. But there are others that have influenced largely towards this great and remarkable change in our status and condition. First of all and before all things, our fellow-countrymen have at length begun to judge us without any, or at least with much less, prejudice. A cause of this, as well as in part a consequence (in a growing subject cause and effect assist each other), must be recognized in the established fact, that few families of position in the kingdom are without some Catholic member; perhaps hardly one without some Catholic friends. It goes for much also in the question of position that, while our Cardinals have been honoured by royalty, and even a humble missionary vouchsafed the courtesies of the heir-apparent in his capacity as a neighbouring Catholic priest, our gracious Sovereign has not considered it undignified or dangerous to head the Catholic nations of the world in high and noble respectful recognition of the Supreme Pontiff; and this not without a remembrance that he had once been the guest of her Majesty and the Prince Consort. Again (despite all the sneers of our Reviewer as to "posing, &c.," the reason of which is obvious enough, and hence pitiable, perhaps pardonable), no man, certainly no ecclesiastic in the United Kingdom, stands more "in touch with the nation" than our Cardinal Archbishop. What we owe to him and to Cardinal Newman can scarcely be overrated. To avoid repetition of names, we rather refer the reader back to our additions to the meagre list of eminent converts supplied by the Reviewer. No religious body could well remain longer in

the background with the addition of such men to its membership. Then, too, though our members of the House of Peers were but few, they represented and were specially distinguished by the antiquity of the honours that had descended through many generations to them. And such lengthy rolls tell powerfully in a country which is still said in derision to "worship a lord." A Catholic priest even now sits among them (Lord Petre), and another priest is heir-presumptive to a peerage. And to descend even to such minor items of note, but all indicative of position, we believe that in one year a Catholic (Mr. Towneley) won the Derby; a Catholic stood at the head of the yachting interest (Mr. Weld, of Lulworth, whose father's guest George III. had once been); and a Catholic (Lord Denbigh) was unsurpassed at Wimbledon. We have had a Catholic Viceroy of India, and Catholic Governors in Malta, New Zealand, and Mauritius; while the Turkish Ambassador to her Majesty, Rustem Pacha, is a Catholic, as is also her Majesty's Minister at Constantinople, Sir William White. Catholic names in position and of position meet us daily and at every turn. In science: F. Perry, S.J., Admiral Sabine and Mr. Proctor; in law: Judges Shea (R.I.P.), Day and Mathew, with Mr. Aspinall, Q.C. (late Recorder of Liverpool), Sir Charles Russell, M.P., and H. R. Bagshaw, Esq., Q.C. Lord Bury has been a member of the Ministry and is a Privy Councillor; Mr. Matthews is a member of the Ministry and a Privy Councillor; Sir John Lambert is a Privy Councillor, and was publicly thanked by Mr. Gladstone in the House for the aid he had afforded the Liberal party as a statistician, and was subsequently chairman of the Boundary Commission. Sir Arthur Herbert, K.C.B., General Dormer, Col. Butler, and others represent us in the Army; and in literature as in Parliament we have had Frederick Lucas (brother-in-law of John Bright), and for years editor of *The Tablet*; Miss Braddon, Adelaide Proctor, Father Bridgett, W. Maziere Brady, Lady Herbert of Lea, Lady Fullerton, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Mr. St. George Mivart, Mr. Burnand, and the many others enumerated above, but discreetly passed over by our critic. Nor must two other items be omitted, for they have beyond doubt had considerable effect upon our position. The first of these is the faithful stand we have always and at great sacrifice made, side by side with the National Education Union, to resist the irreligious proclivities of the Board School system, as opposed to voluntary schools. The desertion of the latter in countless parishes by the clergy of the Established Church has done infinitely more towards reducing the parson to the status of a "minister" than disestablishment alone could have done. True, he could scarcely help it: the schools could not be kept open and going without

being a heavy tax upon his income. And though that income would abundantly have sufficed for one, two, or even three or more Catholic priests to carry on church and schools included, alas! too frequently schooling and feeding and clothing the inmates of the parsonage nursery were items too heavy and too numerous for the decreasing tithes and glebe lands of the several *livings*—or rather *starvings*, as one of their bishops recently termed them. But there remains the mischief all the same: the repudiation of celibacy by the clergy has ended, even by their own confession, in the godless education of the poorer classes of the laity. And as a natural result, as the parson, in point of religious teaching and training of the young, went down, the priest and his voluntary school went up. Secondly, the refusal of Catholics, notably at the late elections, to support candidates hostile to the Established Church, and bent upon its destruction, before we are ready to take its place, made an impression favourable to us far and wide. It was then clearly seen that principle, not prejudice or what is termed bigotry, was our guide; and that, acting thus upon principle, we could even forbear to join in hurling down an enemy and a usurper of our goods and rights. A higher and a holier instinct demanded of us a prolongation of our patient endurance; and while we yielded to it, others—for their eyes were now opened by self-interest—looked on at times with outspoken, at times with ill-concealed, applause.

A question; a reply to it—and our task is done.

Has Ritualism contributed to our position?

By preparing the English public to give up to a great extent the *quondam* national craze against rites and ceremonies *in the Church** as being little better than mummery; by restoring, though but partially, in the Established Church, the lost ideas of sacerdotal power and sacramental grace; and by insensibly helping forward, here and there, souls in the direction of the one Church, they have certainly, both directly and indirectly, brought Catholicism to the fore. And yet many, on the other hand, have been deluded into "resting and being thankful," and, on some one of the many pleas advanced by them, continuing members of the "branch church." As a party, however, they can hardly be deemed strong either in numbers or talent. As a body, and almost to a man, their bishops are the bitterest and severest enemies of the Ritualistic clergy—a great disadvantage to men

* We have italicized these words, inasmuch as in matters of State and things municipal and social, few people have more reverence for traditional ceremonies. Indeed, it would almost seem that our Court, our courts of law, our corporations, as well as our philanthropic clubs, could not exist without them.

who put forth such strong claims to the passive obedience of their flocks. The mould of these men, too, is a striking contrast to that of their Puseyite or Newmanite (as Dr. Arnold more truthfully has styled them) predecessors. In those earlier, Tractarian days we had men whose deep research had led them on first to accept the true notion of a Church and the Priesthood and Sacraments, and who subsequently sought in ritual for the expression of their belief. Of late the reverse process would seem to have become in vogue. Men as well as women have been captivated by the ritual and its adjuncts, and the natural love of ceremonial has asserted itself; and hence, in mere consistency, the belief had to be tacked on to give sense and meaning to the rites and ceremonies. And so we see them ever in combat, prepared "to do or die" for an attitude, a ceremony, a position, an ornament, or a practice of little significance and no utility; while their views as to dogmatic truth and the Church's teaching are among themselves as diverse and unsettled as among their Evangelical brethren: probably more so.

We have kept our most influencing cause unto the last. Before and above all, we consider that a mighty power sustains and helps us on to a position in which it must ever steadily hold us; and that is the growing conviction in the now less prejudiced minds of our countrymen that Christian and Catholic are, strictly speaking, the only two synonymous terms in the nomenclature of religions. Through Nestorianism and Arianism the educated Protestant has lapsed into Deism. You have but to converse with him not only to see it, but to open his eyes to it also. He can get back his Christianity only through the Catholic Church: it is to his "stepmother," the church by iniquitous monarchs substituted in her place, that he owes his present unbelief even in the mystery of the Incarnation.

Thus have we endeavoured to give some kind of reply to this Reviewer, with some comments upon his language, his aims, and his conclusions; we have marshalled facts, as we believe them, and think that most others—notably those for whom the Reviewer writes—begin to believe them, to account for our progress and position, and for the trepidation such efforts make manifest.

E.

ART. VIII.—CAN THE SCRIPTURES ERR?

IT cannot be denied that questions connected with the interpretation of Holy Scripture are exercising many minds at the present moment, both without and within the Church. Like every other Christian dogma, the inspiration of the Bible has to face a new situation in every half-century. A dogma is an intellectual view or expression. The word of God is its source, but the mind of man is its term or recipient. And the mind of man never stands still. The individual mind lives, learns, and changes through all the years of its contact with its surroundings. The race lives, learns, and changes, as every generation comes and goes. What was latent in a general term becomes, as discussion spreads, sensible by process of analysis. What was out of sight is reached by reasoning or discourse. Discoveries in physical science destroy ancient beliefs, and new facts in history disturb received traditions. The inspiration of Holy Scripture is a dogma which is not only, like other dogmas, expressed in human terms, each of which necessarily becomes the object of the mind's analysis—the subject, if I may say so, for the mind's chemistry to act upon, to dissolve, to disintegrate, perhaps to seem to dissipate, into intangible elements. It is all this, but it has also a peculiar character arising from the vast and mysterious field which the Bible covers. No merely human philosopher would ever have dared to lay down as an article of religion that a book was inspired—much less a book so considerable, so irregular, and so difficult as the Bible. He would have seen at once that to assert this would be to commit himself to the defence of a territory every point of whose wide boundary was exposed to the attack of regular hosts and of irresponsible banditti. Yet it is a dogma of Christianity, and it is actually exposed to the kind of attack here mentioned. Logic and metaphysics have tried, and do try, their blades upon its defenders. The immense evolution of the secrets of Nature which has happened in this and the preceding generation has created a new environment for it. The unearthing of inscribed stones and other dumb witnesses of ancient life has put a new complexion upon it. And finally the science, not very truly so called, of destructive criticism, has turned the light of microscopic observation upon its minutest portions.

All this is most true of the present moment. It is of great importance, therefore, for believers to make up their minds, as far as they can be made up, what position to take as defenders of the dogma of Inspiration. As we have to fight, we may as

well fight as advantageously as possible. It is useless to contend for what is indefensible, or for what is worthless. On the other hand, there are possibilities of surrendering almost unwittingly the very key of the position.

The question which I propose to myself on the present occasion is very simply put. Can the Scriptures err? In other words, is the Christian dogma of Inspiration compatible with error in the inspired book? Whether the answer be Yes or No, the consequences must be serious. If we reply that Scripture may contain what is erroneous, we are met by the difficulty of defining the limits of the possibility of error. If we deny that the inspired word can even be mistaken, we have to face the admitted fact that many narratives and assertions of the text are now conceded to be, in their literal and traditional sense, at variance with science and perhaps with history.

Nevertheless, it would seem that the latter view must be uncompromisingly held. An inspired writer cannot err. In the words of St. Augustine:—"To the canonical Scriptures I have learnt to pay reverence and honour to the extent of believing most firmly that no writer thereof hath erred in anything. And if I meet anything in the text which seemeth contrary to truth, I shall unhesitatingly conclude either that the copy is faulty, or that the translation is mistaken, or that I do not understand."*

It seems to me that this plain and straightforward view is a necessary consequence of the great revealed truth that the Scripture is "inspired." This word "inspired" means that the Holy Spirit so moves or influences the writer that the writing or book is in a special sense the "word of God." It means that the book so written has God for its author. There are three Œcumenical Councils which have treated the point of Inspiration—viz., those of Florence, of Trent and of the Vatican. The first and the third use the actual word "inspiration;" the Fathers of Trent have left it out. At Florence—or rather in the decree of Eugenius IV. which was passed at Florence—we find the supreme authority laying down that "God is the author" of Scripture, and that the saints of both Testaments have "spoken by the *inspiration* of the Holy Ghost." These two expressions are evidently intended to be equivalent. And it may be noticed that the second is adopted almost literally from that passage of St. Peter (Epist. 2, i. 20) in which he declares that the holy men of God spoke, "moved or impelled by the Holy Ghost."

* "Ad Hieronymum," Ep. 82, 3. See "Historica et critica Introductio in U. T. Libros Sacros," by Father Rudolf Cornely (Paris: Lethielleux, 1885). In this paper the general conclusions of this useful and able modern Introduction to the Bible have been constantly kept in view.

The Council of Trent, although it has not used the word "inspiration," has given us two phrases which are so clearly intended to stand for it that the omission is rather instructive than otherwise. In the decree "On the Canonical Scriptures," (Session IV.) it is laid down that of both Testaments "God is the author." It is immediately added that we venerate tradition equally whether it has come from Christ's mouth or been "dictated by the Holy Ghost."

The Council of the Vatican has a much more explicit definition on this important subject. It declares, in the first place, that Holy Scripture is not holy and canonical merely in the sense that, having been produced or written by human effort, it was afterwards adopted or approved by the Church; nor again merely because it contains revelation without any admixture of error; but because "having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, it has God for its author, and as such has been delivered to the Church." This occurs in the dogmatic Constitution "Dei Filius," in the second chapter.

These expressions are only the affirmation and restatement of an ample and recognizable Catholic tradition. The well-known word which St. Paul applies to Holy Scripture—*Θεόπνευστος*, God-breathed—is taken up and repeated by the Fathers. So is the expression of St. Peter, "urged (or impelled) by the Holy Ghost." St. Clement of Rome calls the Scripture the "oracles of the Holy Spirit." St. Irenæus has the phrase "spoken or said" by the Word and the Spirit. The expression of Trent, "dictated," is found in an ancient writer cited by Eusebius. The Alexandrian school use "inspiration," and refer it to a "gift" or "grace" of the Holy Ghost. To omit innumerable patristic passages, we find in the inexhaustible treasury of St. Augustine such phrases as these: God made (or built) the Scriptures, God used the writers as His own hand; and St. Gregory the Great says of the Book of Job that it is of comparatively slight interest to us who wrote it, seeing that we believe the Holy Ghost to be its author; the human writer is only his pen.

There is a sense in which all truth whatever may be said to be the Word of God, and every man who speaks the truth to be God's mouthpiece and by Him inspired. It is unnecessary to say that the *catena* of testimony in regard to the Scripture, of which a few samples have been given, refers to a far more special and direct interposition of Divine power. Holy Scripture is distinguished against every other book. This much is certain. And the point of the distinction is its Divine authorship. There is a direct action or influence of the Holy Spirit on the faculties of the writer, quite distinct from the ordinary concurrence of God;

the afflatus of the divinity breathes through his mind and will; he becomes the hand, the pen, the instrument of the Deity.*

Thus Holy Scripture has God for its immediate author; and every theory which makes it impossible to assert as much as this must be set aside as more or less contrary to Catholic tradition. But it must be admitted that when we have got thus far there is still a great deal to do. Hardly any one affirms that the Catholic view of inspiration covers the inspiration of every word and phrase of the original. This has been asserted; nay, it seems (as Ubaldi says) to have been the common opinion among the older theologians; ("Introductio," vol. ii. p. 107) that is, I suppose, till the time of Bellarmin. The Anglican divines of the most learned period of Anglicanism almost unanimously taught verbal inspiration. Hooker, for example, writes thus: "He (that is, God) so employed them (the Prophets) in this heavenly work, that they neither spake nor wrote a word of their own, but uttered syllable by syllable as the Spirit put it into their mouths."† There is no doubt that as the Anglican writers simply echoed the prevailing teaching of Catholic theologians, so these latter, and the Fathers themselves, must not be taken to *define* by their expressions the question of verbal inspiration. Language which is decisive enough when used in reply to a question is often of slight value before the question has been raised or thought of. When an ante-Nicene writer said that the Word was "like" God, he did not necessarily mean that the Word was not God. Had he lived A.D. 350 and used the same phrase he would probably have been considered a heretic. Thus the Fathers and the early theological writers said that the "whole" Scripture was God's word—that there was not an "idle" word in it—that the writers were merely the hand and the pen of God—and other things of a like nature. But such phrases might almost all be construed widely enough to allow that the words and the style were outside of inspiration. When versions were discovered in greater numbers, and when the printing press multiplied copies, it is no wonder that the question of verbal inspiration began to be formulated. Cardinal Bellarmin was a far-seeing man, and his faculties were sharpened by his experi-

* I have not given references here because the general drift of Catholic tradition cannot be questioned. But the reader may find many more patristic passages and all the references in a useful little tract entitled "De Divinâ Bibliorum Inspiratione," by Dr. Joseph Crets. (Louvain: Vanlinthout. 1886.)

† Works, vol. xiv. p. 62, Ed. Keble. Cardinal Manning quotes this passage, and several others, especially a very interesting one from Whitley's "Paraphrase," in "The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," p. 131 *sqq.*)

ence of the most famous controversy and trial of which Holy Scripture has ever been the subject. It is no wonder that he looked into the question with critical keenness, and laid down the doctrine, in which he has been followed by the whole of the Jesuit school, that Holy Scripture is to be considered as inspired only as far as regards the "things" and "sentences" or "pronouncements" which it contains, and not in respect of the "words and style." There are still a few writers who defend literal verbal inspiration, but the opinion has almost disappeared from the Catholic schools.*

We may take it as the general view, therefore, of the theological school at the present moment that the inspiration or impulse of the Holy Spirit extends at least to every utterance of the inspired writer which can be called a fact, a judgment, or an assertion. Therefore there is no fact, judgment, nor assertion of any writer in the Bible which can be called, absolutely and without qualification, erroneous or untrue. I am aware, however, that there are some Catholic writers who do go so far as to assert this. For example, Lenormant, a name which has deserved well of Christianity, has written as follows:—

What we read in the first chapters of Genesis is not a narrative dictated by God Himself, or a possession of the chosen people exclusively. . . . † [And again]: The genealogical table of Noe's descendants is a document purely human in its origin and its character. The most scrupulous orthodoxy need not decline to admit that it contains inexactitudes, mistakes. ‡

Here we have, very squarely put, the position which is held, as I need not say, by nearly every Protestant commentator on Holy Scripture, and which there is some evidence will be adopted, if it can be allowed to a good Catholic, by not a few of the younger men amongst ourselves. My own view is that the position is untenable. I do not assert that it has been explicitly condemned by the Church. But, arguing from theological principles and carefully weighing the pronouncements of the gravest authorities, it seems to me we must hold, as I have just now expressed it, that no fact, judgment or assertion of any Biblical writers can be called, absolutely and without qualification, erroneous or untrue.

* It has not quite disappeared, for in the *Revista Augustiniana* during 1884, appeared a series of articles by the Rev. Father Pedro Fernandez, an Augustinian, defending the ancient view, "not without acrimony," as one of the opposite side tells us. Among living Anglican divines, the veteran Dean Burgon is the only prominent upholder of verbal inspiration. †

† "Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible," i. 18.

‡ *Ibid.*, ii. 324. See Lamy, "Commentarium in Librum Geneseos," i. 59.

It is worth while to go into this a little more fully; and there are two ways of doing so. One is to reason from admitted principles and to compare authorities; the other is to meet difficulties and to clear the ground of the more formidable objections. I propose to attempt to do both.

The nature of inspiration has been nowhere philosophically defined. But we know enough about it (as it seems to me) to assert that it is incompatible with error. What has been defined is that the whole Bible is the word of God, the "dictation of God." To say that God inspired St. Matthew means that God specially impelled St. Matthew to write the things he has written, and suggested to him what to write. He may have "revealed" the things, or He may only have turned the mind on what was already known; either process would be compatible with inspiration. To say that St. Matthew was inspired, means that the mind and will of the Evangelist were under a special visitation or pressure of the Holy Ghost, in regard to the body or complex of written things which is called a book. This we can clearly gather to be the sense of the Fathers and the school, not to say of the Vatican Council. It is not enough that the Evangelist was protected from error. In that case we might have been able to distinguish between errors material and errors accidental, between the substance of the pronouncement and the *obiter dicta*, between divinity and narrative, between morality and fact. An Evangelist may be protected from error for a particular purpose, and his book be a human book after all. The Pope and the Councils are thus protected, but their words are human still and not divine. Their pronouncements are not the word of God, as the Bible is. On the other hand, our Lord Jesus Christ, when *He* deigned to speak to the world, spoke what was the utterance of God. Not only can we conceive no error in what He said regarding the divine objects for which He preached, but it would be impossible to think (knowing who He is) that He could ever make the slightest mistake in any matter whatsoever—logic, metaphysics, history, or science. Now the voice of the Biblical writer is the immediate voice of God. Thus only can we interpret Catholic tradition. It would be almost as impossible to say that a writer thus inspired could err as to say that our Lord Himself could err; because in both instances we have the immediate word of God. *Almost* as impossible; because there is a difference. When our Divine Lord spoke, He not only spoke by the Holy Spirit, but He used a body and organs which were perfect in themselves, and perfectly under the control of the Spirit; and therefore we rightly consider that every word He spoke was, as He uttered it, the most perfectly suitable word which could possibly be used. But with the writers

of the Bible it was different. The Holy Spirit was the speaker ; but He had to use instruments—brain, nerves, and tongue—which might be very imperfect indeed. The power of strong and beautiful expression comes partly from Nature and partly from culture. It seems to consist chiefly in three things : adequate analysis, striking analogy, and appreciation of the environment. That is to say, a man writes better in proportion as he can say the thing more exactly, with a more striking word-picture, and with better adaptation to the “dignity” of the subject and the state of the hearer. The writers of the Bible naturally fell short of perfection in all these points, and as naturally differed considerably one from another. Now, it is not inconceivable that the Holy Spirit, in speaking through these writers, should have so strengthened or perfected their brain and organs as to make them the absolutely perfect expression of His message, even to the most minute verbal felicity, and the highest grandeur of language. This would, however, have been a miracle—that is, a disturbance of the visible order of Nature. The theological canon is that a miracle must never be had recourse to when a miracle is not clearly evident. It does not seem evident, and it does not seem necessary to hold, that any such miracle as this took place. One may reply that the miracle of inspiration is by itself so great an interference of the Almighty that verbal inspiration would have been an infinitesimal addition. But inspiration is not a miracle in this technical sense, just as grace is not a miracle ; the hand of God is not visible or sensible ; He works on the spirit only. To have given the writers verbal perfection would have been to act on and alter their imagination, the configuration of their brain, the play of their nerves ; and this would have been an interference of the same class as the straightening of the crooked back or the loosing of the fettered tongue. Therefore it would not seem necessary to hold verbal inspiration. The surface of the Bible itself confirms us in this view. For if we hold verbal inspiration we should have to explain how it is that Isaias writes so differently from Amos, why the books of the Machabees seem to fall below the dignity of the Psalms, and why one Evangelist describes differently from another. I do not say this could not be satisfactorily done. But it does not seem to be necessary. As long as the *sense* is fully and fairly there, the word is the word of God. As long as the proportions, the lights and shades, the essential colour of the picture are there, it does not materially affect it that the outlines should be a little hazy, that the *canvas* should tremble, or the mist of an earthly medium should fatigue the eye of the gazer. But I strongly maintain indeed, with the universal tradition of the Catholic Church, that there is in the Bible, in a most true sense, verbal inspiration. There are

passages in which grand dogmas are put into human words, deep mysteries shadowed forth, and mighty sacraments defined. At such times it is an instinct of the believer to hold that the very words are the immediate inspiration and revelation of God. Yet, with St. Augustine, we must beware of laying too much stress on this. Mere sounds and letters are not the object and purpose of the awful utterances of the Spirit. The names of holy things, the expressions of action or passion, even supposing that the Hebrew or the Greek terms for them had been chosen by Divine inspiration, would have been of little use to the world at large. If the voice of God was to reach the universal world of every age and century, His word must be so delivered as to be equally His word in a translation as in the original. The seven words in the eleventh chapter of *Isaias*, which are used by the prophet, in order to describe the fullness of the operation of the Holy Ghost on a human soul, are without doubt directly inspired; but they are probably no more inspired in their Hebrew form than in their Greek, or in Greek than in Latin and English. When sanctifying grace is described as life, as beauty, as a garment, these words are inspired; but not as mere sounds or vocables, but rather as to the reality they express—a reality which is readily recognized in every language that men employ. Much more clearly true is this of those plain and common words which are used in sacramental formulas. As St. Jerome says, it is not the syllables and the letters but the sense, not the words but the meaning, which we must attend to in reading the Bible.* And in the phrase of St. Augustine there are no “consecrated sounds;” what we are concerned with, are the “things.”† I cannot help thinking that the controversy about verbal inspiration has been the consequence, to a large extent, of not coming to an explanation as to terms. The Fathers speak, as far as their words, on both sides; and the same Father sometimes is found to state both the negative and the affirmative.‡ What is a “word?” On the one side, it is the coinage of the brain; on the other, it is the token or counter of a reality. It so happens that half a dozen or more of these coins or tokens may equally well represent, for all practical purposes, the same reality. In so far as the words of

* “*Epistola ad Pammachium*” (33 al. 101).

† “*De Consensu Evangelistarum*,” ii. 66.

‡ Compare, for example, with the passages of St. Jerome from the *Epistle to Pammachius*, referred to above, what he says in his *Commentary on the Sixth Chapter of St. Matthew*, that “every word, syllable, apex and point in the Divine Scriptures is full of meaning and breathes heavenly mysteries.” And St. Augustine himself goes so far as to say that we should read the Gospel, “as if we saw the very Hand of our Lord which belonged to His own body writing it.” (“*De Consensu Evang.*” i. 35.)

Scripture, then fairly and adequately represent what they are used to represent, they are of God. In so far as the human instrument, using its natural means, produces this word rather than that, the word of Scripture is human. And as there are occasions when almost any word, however colourless, will do, so there are others when a word must be chosen so carefully that the vicissitudes of translation will not materially affect its meaning, nor the varieties of human intelligence dim its intelligibility. Thus there may be inspiration in some words, whilst there is divine assistance, though of a negative kind, in all.

If even verbal inspiration cannot be rejected without such qualifications as these, it is very clear how we are compelled to maintain that every fact and judgment or proposition of Holy Scripture must be inspired. If there were any exception, the Scripture could no longer be the word of God. We should have a book in which the divine afflatus was intermittent. We should have a cloud every now and then passing over the sun and casting a shadow on the earth. When we find that the dogmatic Catholic expression is that Scripture is God's word or writing or dictation, the phrase means that the whole of every line is God's words or writing. I do not try to prove this by the words of the Councils, that the Scripture "with all its parts," or the books of the Bible "with all their parts," are God's word. The phrase "with all their parts" seems to have been put in to meet the error of those who rejected a substantial part of the Old or New Testament, such as a part of the Book of Daniel, or the last verses of St. Mark. What is here maintained seems to be simply the consequence of the dogmatic sentence referred to. For if we admit any intermission of inspiration we admit the interpolation of the word of a man. But there is no sign in all antiquity that, in the genuine Scripture, the stream of inspiration has ever been held to be otherwise than continuous. The idea has always been that genuine Scripture is like a letter written by a particular writer—when you say he wrote it you mean he wrote it all. A letter of Cicero is so called because it is considered to be wholly Cicero's composition. If any part of it were proved to be by another hand it would be taken out as corrupt. So, if in any version of Scripture Catholic tradition has discovered an interpolation, she has denied it to Scripture. She has not said "This may be Scripture, but perhaps not inspired," for such an idea is utterly unknown to her. Inspiration, then, and Scripture are words which cover the same ground; what is Scripture is *ipso facto* inspired, is the word of God, is written by God, is dictated by the Holy Ghost.

But there is a slight reservation which must be noted here. Some Catholic authors do seem to admit that certain minute

circumstances related in the Bible may not fall within the boundary of inspiration. Dr. Ubaldi, a grave Roman professor, lately deceased, writes thus in his "Introductio:"—"As regards certain minute details of (the Biblical) narratives, not affecting the substance of the facts, perhaps Inspiration in its true and proper sense would be superfluous, and it would be sufficient to assume negative assistance—such assistance, that is to say, as should simply make mistake impossible."* I must confess I cannot clearly see any necessity for an hypothesis of this kind. The divine "breathing" affects the whole narrative. Why should we restrict it? Are we to be ashamed of seeming to assert that the Holy Ghost concerns himself with trifles? But what are trifles? As St. Jerome says, in the *prolegomena* to the Epistle to Philemon: "He who made the great things, made the little things also; the same God who made the heavens and the earth made the ant and the worm." It might be some excuse for maintaining such a theory, if we thereby managed to get rid of a difficulty; but these writers do not venture to assert the possibility of *mistake*, they only suggest the absence of true inspiration. So that whatever difficulties spring from the presence of these fringes of narrative and outward rind of facts, we have to face them all the same.

The Catholic tradition, therefore, seems to be that the Bible cannot err in any statement, judgment, or matter of fact, even in the slightest. I have quoted St. Jerome and St. Augustine. As for modern Catholic writers, the reader may consult Lamy, "In Pentateucham," i. 61; Franzelin, "De Traditione et Scripturâ," 273, *sqq.*; Knoll, "Theologia Generalis;" Ubaldi, "Introductio in S. Scripturam," Tom. ii. pp. 14–123; Bacuez et Vigouroux "Manuel Biblique," i. 32–66; and Cardinal Manning, "The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," pp. 155–164. With the single reserve, which I have stated in the words of Ubaldi, these representative writers, and others who could readily be named, strenuously maintain that it is a Catholic doctrine that the Bible, as being the word of God, cannot err in anything. They do not assert that this has been explicitly defined as *de fide*. But they argue that it follows immediately from defined premisses. They would consider the proposition to be therefore virtually contained in what is an article of faith, though possibly it might not be of faith *quoad hunc vel illum*.

Therefore, the plain and straight truth seems to be, that any person who flatly and absolutely denies the truth of a passage of the Bible, be it teaching or be it narrative, is wanting in his duty to the Catholic faith; and any apparent fact of history or

* Tom. ii. p. 114.

science which thus contradicts the Bible must be no more than an apparent fact, and not really true.

It will now be necessary to enter into certain explanations which must be clearly kept in view when there is any question of the antagonism of the Bible and of fact. The Church knows well enough that such a controversy has existed from the beginning; she knows that it presses upon her at this moment, as it will do until the consummation of all things. But she is anxious that before she is expected to fight the ground should be thoroughly cleared. She does not want to be saddled with Scripture which is not Scripture, or with Biblical meanings which have no foundation in the text of the Bible.

And the first point to which attention may be directed concerns a very obvious matter. We say the Bible cannot err. But we mean that it cannot err in what it says as *its own*; we do not say so much as to what it *quotes others* as saying. That a great deal of what the inspired writer cites or quotes is inspired cannot be denied. When God speaks, or when solemn and grave utterances of holy men are given, or when the speaker is said to be "full of the Holy Ghost" or "of wisdom"—in all such instances we rightly admit inspiration in the words cited. But it must be confessed there is no certain rule which will clear up every difficulty that may arise on this head. For instance, the Book of Job, if we except the prologue and the epilogue, is a poetical dialogue, or dramatic poem, in which Job and his four friends discuss the causes of his affliction, and the Almighty interferes and decides the dispute. The prologue and the epilogue are inspired without doubt; and so must be those words which are attributed to God Himself. But what about the manifold utterances of the four disputants? Some of them are certainly not inspired utterances; very far from it. On the other hand, many things which they have uttered are constantly quoted as Divine Scripture. Is there any possibility of finding a criterion? It would seem that there is none to be found, except what we may call the "analogy of Scripture" and common sense. Literary form makes an author responsible for what the ordinary reader can gather to be his own opinions, however they may be expressed. We know, in a general way, what the end and purpose the writer of Job had in view when he wrote; and the form of the book helps us, at least to a certain degree, to understand what he approves and what he does not. We may take it, then, that what he approves is inspired.

The next thing calling for notice is that, as a matter of fact, there is no such thing as an inspired *version* of the Bible. The Church has declared the Vulgate to be *authentic*. That is, the Vulgate is a truly genuine source of revelation, in so far that not

only can no error in faith or morality be deduced from it, but that it faithfully gives everything which belongs to the *substance* of the *written word*. It cannot, therefore, be admitted to contain any mistakes in dogma or in morality, or in anything else as far as the substance goes. But in numbers and names, and other matters of that kind, there may not only be mistakes, but there are, in fact, contradictory parallel passages in the Vulgate itself. By the decree of authenticity the Council seems to declare that directly dogmatic texts—"ad confirmanda dogmata et instaurandos in ecclesiâ mores"—are contained in the authorized edition of the Vulgate as they stood in the ancient Vulgate used in the Church from the beginning. But the Council refrains from declaring this with regard to other texts and propositions. As to the body of the Vulgate, therefore, reserve being made of dogmatic texts, all we are bound to hold is that the version is not substantially different from the original—that it cannot be pronounced *unauthentic*. Nay, there may be even some dogmatic texts which were in the ancient Vulgate and in ecclesiastical use, and yet not to be found in the edition approved by the Council of Trent. Since the date of the Council's approbation, the Vulgate has been corrected in hundreds of places, and will probably be corrected still more freely in the future.

I now pass to the consideration of the authorship of the Bible, and the question of the date of the various books. I have now lying before me Mr. P. H. Wicksteed's translation of Professor Kuenen's "Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch" (Macmillan & Co. 1886). Probably this book may be considered to be, so far, the high-water mark of the destructive criticism on the historical books of the Bible. Kuenen, after revelling in a wilderness of conjecture, comparison, analysis, and "provisional conclusions" of every kind, lays down at the end of his volume that the Hexateuch was "produced" by the "Corporation of Priests" of Jerusalem before the year 400 B.C. The question thus arises for Catholics, whether we can admit a theory of this kind, which seems at once to deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and its genuine historical character? The answer does not seem difficult. Putting on one side the alleged errors in history, and contradictions or impossibilities in other statements, which must be dealt with on principles already partially laid down, it does not seem allowable to deny in general terms that Moses wrote the books usually ascribed to him. The chief and sufficient reason is that our Lord asserts that they were written by Moses. Our Lord calls the Pentateuch, in general terms, the "book of Moses" (Mark xii. 26) and the "law of Moses" (Luke xxiv. 44); He asserts that "Moses commanded" the lepers (Matt. viii. 4), that "Moses permitted" a bill of

divorce (Matt. xix. 8), that Moses "said" and "wrote" several things which He cites from the Pentateuch; and in one striking passage He introduces Moses as ready personally to accuse and condemn those Jews who refused to accept what he had "written" of the Messiah (John v. 45-47). It would seem, therefore, to be utterly un-Catholic to deny that Moses wrote the Pentateuch; in other words, we are bound to assert in general terms that Moses was its author. And I may add that in one circumstance at least we must unhesitatingly hold that Moses wrote this or that particular passage; I mean when, in the text of the Pentateuch, he is asserted to have written this or that. But it will be readily granted by all theologians that the obligation to assert the Mosaic authorship of this part of the Bible is of such a wide and indefinite character that it necessarily leaves great liberty to commentators. We need not deny, for instance, that Moses used and incorporated documents much older than his own day; nor that certain substantial parts were added after his death, like the latter portion of Deuteronomy; nor that many historical, archæological, and geographical notes have been added by later hands; nor even, as far as I can see, that considerable liberties were taken with the order and arrangement of the various parts of the text by Nehemias and Esdras. All this, it will be observed, is quite apart from the question of the *inspiration* of the Pentateuch. Whoever wrote it, it is inspired, and the writer was inspired. As to who the writer was, my own view is, as I have said, that it can never be allowable to a Catholic to accept the "destructive" criticism so far as to make it impossible for Moses to be held in a popular, literary, and more or less indefinite sense, its real author. In discussing the objections, therefore, which writers like Kuenen bring forward, there are two guide-posts for the Catholic interpreter: the first is that the Hexateuch is inspired, and the second that his general conclusion as to its authorship is inadmissible. As to his particular points, there is a good deal, no doubt, to be learnt from his carping, his prying, and his dissecting. I must confess that to me his book proves far too much; it has the same effect on me as the very learned efforts that are made from time to time to force on an unwilling generation the Wolfian theory of the Homeric poems. There are a number of proved improbabilities, making the popular view, no doubt, somewhat improbable. The improbabilities are not only small in themselves, but they in many instances neutralize one another. The opposition hypothesis, if I may use the phrase, is weak, rickety, invertebrate, gelatinous—anything but complete and consistent. And I think we may confidently expect, as regards the Hexateuch, that, whatever may be the number of points made by the destructive school—which we are

quite ready to discuss—the time will never come when, in the opinion of impartial critics and the world in general, they have demolished the Catholic view, much less that they have succeeded in setting up a tenable view of their own.

In regard to the authorship of other portions of the Bible, what is here said may be equally applied to the consideration of difficulties arising in their regard. Space does not here allow me to enter into them. The Church has never defined that particular books are to be ascribed to the authors whose names they bear. It is quite possible that in some instances, as I have shown in regard to the Pentateuch, there may be other reasons which require us to accept the popular view; this is a matter for determination in each case on its own merits.

Having made these explanations in regard to the text of the Bible, and to its authorship, it is now necessary to speak more directly on the views of Biblical inspiration which seem at the present moment to be threatening to take root in the present generation of cultivated English speaking Catholics. What I have to say may be best introduced by a citation from Dr. St. George Mivart's article in the *Nineteenth Century* on "The Catholic Church and Biblical Criticism." He says: *—

No one at present knows what the term "inspiration" really signifies. . . . If, then, Catholics at present are free to hold as inspired, in some undefined sense of that word, only certain portions or passages, of the books set before them as canonical, then no difficulty to faith can arise from any historical research whatever, and no detriment to science can spring from any such religious belief.

It may not, perhaps, be permissible to assert that this sentence represents the writer's own views. But it looks very like it; and, undoubtedly, to say the least, it represents a view which he thinks tenable. I suppose my reading has lain in a somewhat different direction from that of the distinguished biologist, but I cannot find words to express how utterly and absurdly this magazine pronouncement seems to me to differ from the whole drift of the weighty and repeated words of the Fathers and the great theologians of every age of the Catholic Church. The only question as to inspiration, which these authorities allow to be in any sense open, is whether or no every actual word was or was not the "breathing" of the Deity. In all the variety of "versions" they do not admit that there can be any substantial discrepancy with the original. The great saints, who are the pillars of the Church, have almost worshipped the "very hand" of God as He dictated the volume which contained His word. And we have here the assertion, after all that has been written,

* July 1887, p. 48.

that no one knows what inspiration is, and that only "parts" of the Bible are inspired! Had he said that inspiration was not rigorously defined by the Church, we need not have demurred; for there are open questions about it. Had he said that the Church's definition was one thing and the *catena* of Catholic traditional teaching another, we might have understood even this in an allowable sense. But he ought to have known—or if he did not know he ought to have kept silent—that if the view here laid down is admitted, there is not a Father of the Church or one of the great theologians, or any Catholic professor of the present day, who will not have to be thrown over. Difficulties, no doubt, there are in abundance, which must be met as best they may; difficulties arising from the matter, the form, and the version of the Bible, as well as from the action of the Church in regard to its interpretation. But all these difficulties put together do not amount to a fraction of the difficulty there would be if we had to admit that only a part of the Bible is inspired, and that no one knows what inspiration is. To say that there are slight blemishes and excrescences in the existing versions is what we all say; to say that inspiration is not adequately and strictly *ex cathedra* defined, is, I repeat, most certain; and to say that practical doubts may therefore arise, in view of profane history, and archæological research, and the advance of science, in our dealing with this or that passage of the Bible—all this I am the foremost to admit. But to say that "only portions" of the Bible may be inspired—meaning considerable and substantial portions—is to throw the Divine Scripture into the midst of the rationalist pack who are clamouring to tear it to pieces. If our men of science are to defend the faith with weapons no better than this, we must only pray to be saved from their patronage.

As to the reasons which may have led Dr. Mivart, or any one else, to formulate such a view, it appears to me that they may be divided into two classes—first, that the Bible is demonstrably untrustworthy as history; and secondly, that its language contradicts science. As I am most anxious—in the spirit, as I conceive it, of Catholic freedom—to concede as much as ought to be conceded, it may be well to put down the following view of Biblical history. We are bound to accept the historical facts put down in the Bible; but these facts may in many cases be very freely interpreted as to their real bearing. Historical assertion in the Bible is not always clear. A passage which seems to be history may be a poem, or an allegory, or otherwise very obscure in its terms. Thus the first chapter of Genesis may be very freely commented, because it is by no means clear that it is pure and simple history. The narrative of the Deluge, though it cannot be considered an allegory or a poem, is very obscure; the words

commonly translated "world," "floodgates of heaven," "ark," &c., may represent very inadequately what really happened. The absolute universality of the flood was no doubt at one time accepted, in the absence of any definite physical idea of what the earth was like, just as the popular mind considers the sun in the evening to be above the horizon when it is really below it; in both cases the mental adhesion being of a negative and virtually provisional character, and the mind being ready to modify it on the slightest discovery of any reason. Then, again, the assertion that Adam's body was formed from the dust is not clear; there is a parallel passage elsewhere saying the very same thing of every human being. With regard to such expressions as the "rib," the "apple," the "serpent," Paradise and its rivers, the flaming sword of the Angel, the walking of God in the garden, and His converse with our first parents, and many other phrases of the mysterious record of Genesis, there never has been an attempt on the part of the Church to restrain any method of interpretation which did not, by explaining the narrative away altogether, destroy the material foundation on which the edification of the mind must rest. As St. Augustine says:—"I admonish and as far as may be I command, that when you listen to the exposition of Scriptural narrative, you first and foremost believe that the thing happened as it is written down, lest you destroy the foundation of fact and so build in the air."* And St. Gregory the Great, a mind who eminently represents Catholic tradition, says:—"I am most anxious that he who endeavours to elevate the mind to spiritual intelligence, should not depart from the reverence due to history."† And this short sentence of St. Thomas is worth remembering:—"The spiritual sense is *always* founded on the literal and flows from it."‡ But the exact archæological meaning of the letter of the Bible, though an inspired meaning, is frequently of very secondary import, and within certain limits may be freely discussed. Spiritual edification is the primary purpose of Holy Scripture. This does not mean that the literal historic meaning falls outside of inspiration; but it means that this literal meaning is, in Holy Scripture as in any history, left in great measure to be found out by ordinary methods of interpretation; in such sort that it may be hard to find out, that it may be at times wrongly understood, and that there may be disagreement and obscurity to the end. When, with these explanations, we remember that in every version, however authentic, there are admittedly a very large number of mistakes in details, such as names, numbers,

* "De Tentatione Abrahæ," serm. 2, 7, Migne xxxviii. 40.

† "Moralia," i. 37; Migne lxxv. 534.

‡ "Quodlibet," VII. quæst. 6, art. 16.

tenses and parts of speech, it is clear that, without in any way circumscribing inspiration, very great freedom is left to the Catholic interpreter.

I can imagine one of my readers objecting that an admission of this kind seems to destroy, for all practical purposes, the view that the Bible is wholly inspired throughout; there being no possibility of our ever seeing the perfectly genuine original text; it would seem, therefore, that after all I hold the theory of partial inspiration. But the distinction is obvious. First, the only kind of error admissible in any authorized version would be a slight and unimportant mistake. For instance, we should allow errors in the patriarchal chronology, but not to the extent of making the succession or existence of the patriarchs unhistorical. Next, in all these cases—and there are an immense number—in which no suspicion of mistake could be proved, we should hold that we have the actually inspired passage. As to the residuum—the passages in which mistake might be detected—their inspiration, as they stand, would certainly be denied. But then it would not be denied because error and inspiration are compatible, but precisely because such passages were not the words of the inspired writer at all.

Perhaps the most formidable class of difficulties which seem to render the inspiration of the Bible indefensible in the sense spoken of in these pages, is that which concerns the divergence between Scripture and modern science. And yet I cannot, for my own part, see the reason for one-tenth part of the clamour which is raised by scientific men. No doubt, much may be explained by the spirit in which too many scientific writers approach the question of conciliation. To reconcile science with the text of the Bible is in all cases a work of patience, and in many a work of labour and anxiety. The Catholic undertakes it because he loves and reverences the Word of God. The revelation of the Deity has been given to the world in the humble setting of human speech—speech which is, and must be, inadequate in significance and feeble in expression; speech which cannot be altered as each new generation arrives, but which is coloured by the interminable succession of human minds as the earth and sky are coloured by the light of each successive hour from dawn till evening. The Heavenly Father, who sent His Son in the garb of frail flesh, and has committed every detail of that Sacred Humanity to the loving care and guardianship of His Church, imposes the same solicitude on His servants in defence of His written Word. The Catholic apologist starts with the faith and conviction that the Scripture is inspiration. Whatever may be proved or disproved—whatever realms may be discovered in earth, or air, or under the earth—nothing can make the Bible aught else

than the Word of God. Chemistry, geology, biology—even, were it possible, history herself—must be stunted, or decay or perish, if there is no way for them to flourish except on the ruins of inspiration. But the man of science has usually other thoughts. He does not believe in inspiration, or in revelation of any kind. To him his “facts” are sacred; and he might be forgiven for holding them so, were it not that the real, solid, God-created facts are mixed up with an army of phantoms—names and terms which conceal half-knowledge, conjecture, and inadequate definition. Inspiration being of no consequence, and his motley array of “facts” being his sole and sacred anxiety—and man’s spirit being what it is—the man of science comes with a bias to the work of reconciliation. He comes, not with the bias of faith, which is a reasonable, a just, and a praiseworthy bias, but with that of unbelief and antagonism. But if the scientific inquirer is a Catholic, it is surely not too much to require that he should show that he is a Catholic first and a man of science in the second place. He will say, perhaps, that no man reverences the Bible more than he who endeavours to prove it free from falsehood and absurdity. That is so; but when the spirit of the self-styled champion is to throw overboard the very treasure which he ought to protect, it is not wonderful if we should suspect the genuineness of his devotion.

The grand rule of all Biblical interpretation in matters that belong to science and to concrete fact generally, is that the writers of the Bible describe *phenomena*, and do not attempt to theorize or define. As St. Thomas briefly says, they “go by what appears outwardly.”* This rule explains almost every contradiction that can be alleged. No one is so foolish as to say that when a man speaks of the “rising” or the “setting” of the sun, he must be held to assert that the sun moves. The whole physical system of the Bible is merely the statement or transcription of phenomena. Not being intended as a textbook of science, but as an instructor in spiritual life, its references to natural history, to zoology, to the heavens, the earth and the waters, are inspired, indeed, and therefore in no way false, but still by no means always the whole truth. No word of man can possibly speak *the whole truth* on any scientific matter whatever. The Bible says the sun moves; the man of science says it stands still; but probably that immobility itself is only phenomenal, and the sun sways slowly, in obedience to some more mighty force, altering the configuration of its attendant system as the ages roll on. Without a most inconceivable miracle, the Holy

* “*Ea sequuntur quæ sensibilibus apparent*” (“*Summa Theol.*” I. quest. 70, art. 1, ad 3).

Spirit could not have inspired men's minds to form adequate and perfectly complete verbal transcripts of astronomical and chemical facts. Nay, it would be more true to say that no miracle and no language could have done it. These sciences will never have revealed their last secret till doom itself shall come. All word-pictures of God's unfathomable creation must be made out of what appears to the senses. And the time may come when the word-pictures of Genesis and of the Psalms will seem to a future generation as near the scientific truth as those of Tyndall or Secchi; just as distant ships at sea, between which miles of water are rolling, seem to sail on peacefully together. To a philosopher, therefore, the word-pictures of the Scriptures are perfectly *true*, though not the whole truth.

It cannot be denied that there have been many instances in which the general Catholic view has held an interpretation of Scripture which better information has caused Catholics to repudiate. As to this, two things may be said: first, a general acquiescence in a physical view or in the reading of an unimportant fact is not part of the tradition of faith; and secondly, a large number of imperfectly instructed persons will always be found to confuse theology with fact. Many persons thought that the heliocentric theory was part of faith and the literal universality of the Deluge—just as some men think that the instantaneous miraculous formation of Adam's body is part of the faith. We have to count with this difficulty. Catholics have been, in the words of St. Augustine, more or less "silly" and "rash" on these matters in every age of Christianity.* But I think it can be made tolerably clear that instructed Catholics invariably, when the question was put, recognize a great distinction between matters physical and theological, even when they use similar expressions in regard to both. When a writer of the seventeenth century says that it is just as much a matter of faith that the earth stands still as it is that Isaac is the son of Abraham—both being inspired statements—it seems evident that, supposing some one had put doubt into his mind as to the possibility of the term "standing still" being inadequate, or not clear, he would have said, "I will waive for the moment what its exact meaning may be, though for the present I see no reason to hesitate about that, and I will simply say that whatever it does mean it is true and inspired, for my chief anxiety is to insist that Holy Scripture is equally inspired in all that it says." This is what Cardinal Bellarmine actually says,

* "Delirare . . . temerarii præsumptores" ("De Genesi ad litteram," i. 19, Migne xxxiv. 261 sq.)

almost in so many words, in a celebrated letter.* For the unanimous voice of Catholic tradition and the unanimous interpretation of the Fathers are rules that are binding only in matters of faith and morality. This restriction is admitted by every Catholic. It was formulated by the Council of Trent, and renewed by the Council of the Vatican. Cardinal Pallavicini's words are very striking :—

Although in questions of faith and morals it is wrong to reject the interpretations which the universal body of the Fathers have adopted, yet there is still a very wide field indeed for the exercise of the mind in Biblical commentary, for there is no reason why the opinions of the Fathers should be followed in matters which do not affect faith and morals, such as history, natural science, and other things of a similar nature. †

At the Council of the Vatican an attempt was made to have the restrictive words omitted. It seemed to some of the bishops that they allowed too much liberty. But the answer of the eminent theologian in charge of the Constitution was that, in the case of historical interpretations, they were either against the dogma of the complete inspiration of Holy Scripture, or they were not ; if the first, they came under the Church's power and ban ; if the second, they were a matter of free discussion. ‡

In concluding this brief paper, which is more of a protest than a reasoned dissertation, I would draw attention to one or two features of Dr. Mivart's Biblical position as shown in his reply to Mr. Justice Stephen.§ As to the merits of that controversy I am certainly not one of those who thought that Dr. Mivart had the worst of it. I wish he had mentioned the word faith a little oftener ; for there is a slight suspicion about the article that Dr. Mivart thinks he has reasoned himself into Catholicism ; that it is simply his reason that keeps him within its fold, and that he might possibly see reason to quit it. As to this latter possibility, the suspicion arises from the passage in which he avows that if the Church defined anything which could be conclusively demonstrated by science to be false, he would withdraw his belief in revelation. He does add that it would be "practically" impossible to suppose he could ever be sure of such a case. But the Catholic instinct would surely be to reject as a sin the very suggestion that such a case could be possible—I mean the combination of an absolutely demonstrated truth and

* See Rev. W. Roberts, "The Pontifical Decrees," p. 118.

† Hist. Conc. Trident. vi. 15, No. 3.

‡ "Acta et decreta Concil. Vaticani," Coll. Lacensis, vii. c. 240.

§ *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1887.

the Church's contradictory pronouncement. For faith, however it begins on its human side—and it begins on evidence—is a clinging of the will, supported by grace. Justice Stephen says, with some point, that Dr. Mivart thinks so poorly of the Scripture as a historical document that his acceptance of revelation must rest on his own intuitions. Now it is true, Catholicism does not rest on the New Testament, and it is true also that Dr. Mivart enters into an elaborate and most able statement of the grounds of his acceptance of Catholicism. But still, an article which ignores the theological gift and virtue of faith to the extent to which it is ignored in this reply, raises the suspicion—which I confine most strictly to the article as it stands, without in any way of course casting it on Dr. Mivart personally—of rationalistic views. No one can adequately answer a rationalistic critic without inviting him to consider the evidence there is of the existence of a special gift for seeing Christian truths and for personally remaining unaffected by rationalistic difficulties. An apologist who is reticent when he “sees the heavens opened” is not of the stamp of the ancient witnesses and saints. And Dr. Mivart makes the reading of his clever paper still more ungrateful. It is hard to see what he would hold to, in his very free handling of the New Testament. The resurrection, he tells us, is a dogma, and he accepts it; but he does think himself obliged to accept the mental picture framed by his imagination from the Gospel narrative. In the same way, the ascension means simply that Christ is no longer with us. The garden, the tomb, the earthquake, and the angels—the journey to Olivet, the voices of the heavenly messenger, and the bright cloud—these are circumstances, it would seem, which we can believe or not, just as we feel impelled. Dr. Mivart thinks that in many points the Gospel narratives contain features which distinctly make the acceptance of certain revealed doctrines more difficult. There is a sense, no doubt, in which this is true; but what Catholic should say it without adding the obvious reflection that the divine light of these sacred details illuminates more than it obscures? And finally, Dr. Mivart takes the opportunity of repeating what he has “twice before” declared, that “freedom has now been happily gained for Catholics; for all science—geology, biology, sociology, political economy, history, and Biblical criticism—for whatever, in fact, comes within the reach of human inductive reason and is capable of verification.”* This is just one of those too wide and therefore misleading assertions which I have before deplored as unfortunate. There is no such thing as any com-


* *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1887, p. 863.

plete freedom of this kind : he acknowledges as much himself when he admits the existence of the miraculous in Christianity.

Let me urge, to the best of my power, on our Catholic students to begin the study of the Scriptures from divine faith and from divine inspiration. They are not to be wrangled about like the text of Horace or Juvenal. They are not to be received from the defiled hands of unbelief, or submitted to the judgment of those who lack the humility and obedience which alone can help man to their comprehension. Patristic science and the accomplishments of a Biblical scholar are very desirable ; and a lifetime spent in studying the Bible is not a lifetime thrown away. But the Bible does not stand by scholarship, and it will not fall by criticism. What is most to be prayed for is that no child of the Church allow a dishonouring thought to disturb his reverence for the Divine Word, much less that he lift his hand against what Catholic tradition has cherished in all the ages past.*

JOHN CUTHBERT HEDLEY, O.S.B.

* Catholic scholarship is often reproached in modern times for neglecting to answer in detail such writers as Wellhausen and Kuenen. For my part, to mention no others, I think that Archbishop Smith ("The Pentateuch") has really cut away the ground from Wellhausen; and for an answer to more recent and detailed criticism, every one may now read Father Cornely's three large and closely printed volumes of "Introduction."



ROMAN CONDEMNATION OF ROSMINI'S
PROPOSITIONS.

WE give the text of the forty propositions condemned by the Congregation of the Inquisition, together with the letter of Cardinal Monaco to the Bishops. The Latin text is followed by the Italian parallels, which are also official.

Ill^lme ac R^lme Domine

Hisce adiunctum litteris transmittitur ad Amplitudinem Tuam decretum generale, quo Suprema Congregatio E^morum Patrum una mecum Inquisitorum Generalium, adprobante et confirmante SS^{mo} Domino Nostro Leone XIII, plures propositiones ex operibus, quae sub nomine Antonii Rosmini Serbati edita sunt, damnantur et proscribuntur. Quapropter excitatur pastoralis cura et vigilantia Amplitudinis Tuae, ut a damnatis huiusmodi doctrinis oves fidei tuae concreditas quam diligentissime custodias; ac si qui forte sint in ista dioecesi qui illis adhuc faveant, eos ad S. Sedis iudicium docili animo recipiendum inducere studeas. Praecipue vero eniteris, ut mentes adolescentium, eorum praesertim qui in spem Ecclesiae in Seminario aluntur, germana catholicae Ecclesiae doctrina e puris fontibus Sanctorum Patrum Ecclesiae Doctorum, probatorum auctorum, ac praecipue Angelici Doctoris S. Thomae Aquinatis hausta imbuantur.

Tibi interim fausta omnia ac felicia precor a Domino.

Datum Romae die 7 Martii 1888.

Addictissimus in Domino

R. CARD. MONACO.

FERIA IV, DIE 14 DECEMBRIS 1887.

Post obitum Antonii Rosmini Serbati quaedam eius nomine in lucem prodierunt scripta, quibus plura doctrinae capita, quorum germina in prioribus huius Auctoris libris continebantur, clarius evolvuntur atque explicantur. Quae res accuratiora studia non hominum tantum in theologicis ac philosophicis disciplinis praestantium, sed etiam Sacrorum in Ecclesia Antistitum excitarunt. Hi non paucas propositiones, quae catholicae veritati haud consonae videbantur, ex posthumis praesertim illius libris exscripserunt, et Supremo S. Sedis iudicio subiecerunt.

Porro SS^{mus} D. N. Leo divina providentia Papa XIII, cui maxime curae est, ut depositum catholicae doctrinae ab erroribus immune purumque servetur, delatas propositiones Sacro consilio E^morum Patrum Cardinalium in universa christiana republica Inquisitorum Generalium examinandas commisit.

Quare, uti mos est Supremae Congregationis, instituto diligentissimo examine, factaque earum propositionum collatione cum reliquis Auctoris doctrinis, prout potissimum ex posthumis libris elucescunt, propositiones quae sequuntur in proprio Auctoris sensu reprobandas damnandas ac

proscribendas esse iudicavit, prout hoc generali decreto reprobat, damnat, proscribit; quia exinde cuiquam deducere liceat, ceteras eiusdem Auctoris doctrinas, quae per hoc decretum non damnantur, ullo modo adprobari.

Facta autem de his omnibus SS^{mo} D. N. Leoni XIII accurata relatione, Sanctitas Sua decretum Em̄orum Patrum adprobavit, confirmavit, atque ab omnibus servari mandavit.

1. In ordine rerum creaturarum immediate manifestatur humano intellectui aliquid divini in se ipso, huiusmodi nempe quod ad divinam naturam pertinet.

2. Cum divinum dicimus in natura, vocabulum istud *divinum* non usurpamus ad significandum effectum non divinum causae divinae; neque mens nobis est loqui de *divino* quodam, quod tale sit per participationem.

3. In natura igitur universi, idest in intelligentiis quae in ipso sunt, aliquid est, cui convenit denominatio divini non sensu figurato sed proprio.

Est actualitas non distincta a reliquo actualitatis divinae.

4. Esse indeterminatum, quod procul dubio notum est omnibus intelligentiis, est divinum illud quod homini in natura manifestatur.

5. Esse quod homo intuetur necesse est ut sit aliquid entis necessarii et aeterni, causae creantis, determinantis ac finientis omnium entium contingentium: atque hoc est Deus.

6. In esse quod praescindit a creaturis et a Deo, quod est esse indeterminatum, atque in Deo, esse non indeterminato sed absoluto, eadem est essentia.

7. Esse indeterminatum intuitionis, esse initiale, est aliquid Verbi, quod mens Patris distinguit non realiter sed secundum rationem a Verbo.

8. Entia finita, quibus componitur mundus, resultant ex duobus elementis, idest ex termino reali finito et ex esse initiali, quod eidem termino tribuit formam entis.

9. Esse, obiectum intuitionis, est actus initialis omnium entium.

Esse initiale est initium tam cognoscibilem quam subsistentium: est pariter initium Dei, prout a nobis concipitur, et creaturarum.

10. Esse virtuale et sine limitibus est prima ac simplicissima omnium entitatum, adeo ut quaelibet alia entitas sit composita, et inter ipsius componentia semper et necessario sit esse virtuale. Est pars essentialis omnium omnino entitatum, utut cogitatione dividantur.

11. Quidditas (id quod res est) entis finiti non constituitur eo quod habet positivum, sed suis limitibus. Quidditas entis infiniti constituitur entitate, et est positiva; quidditas vero entis finiti constituitur limitibus entitatis, et est negativa.

12. Finita realitas non est, sed Deus facit eam esse addendo infinitae realitati limitationem.

Esse initiale fit essentia omnis entis realis.

Esse quod actuatur naturas finitas ipsis coniunctum, est recisum a Deo.

13. Discrimen inter esse absolutum et esse relativum non illud est quod intercedit substantiam inter et substantiam, sed aliud multo

maius : unum enim est absolute ens, alterum est absolute non-ens. At hoc alterum est relative ens. Cum autem ponitur ens relativum, non multiplicatur absolute ens : hinc absolutum et relativum absolute non sunt unica substantia, sed unicum esse ; atque hoc sensu nulla est diversitas esse, imo habetur unitas esse.

14. Divina abstractione producitur esse initiale, primum finitorum entium elementum ; divina vero imaginatione, producitur reale finitum, seu realitates omnes, quibus mundus constat.

15. Tertia operatio esse absoluti mundum creantis est divina synthesis, idest unio duorum elementorum : que sunt *esse initiale*, commune omnium finitorum entium initium, atque *reale finitum*, seu potius diversa realia finita, termini diversi eiusdem esse initialis. Qua unione creantur entia finita.

16. Esse initiale per divinam synthesim ab intelligentia relatum, non ut intelligibile sed mere ut essentia, ad terminos finitos reales, efficit ut existant entia finita subjective et realiter.

17. Id unum efficit Deus creando, quod totum actum esse creaturarum integre ponit : hic igitur actus proprie non est factus, sed positus.

18. Amor, quo Deus se diligit etiam in creaturis, et qui est ratio qua se determinat ad creandum, moralem necessitatem constituit, quae in ente perfectissimo semper inducit effectum : huiusmodi enim necessitas tantummodo in pluribus entibus imperfectis integram relinquit libertatem bilateralem.

19. Verbum est materia illa invisiva, ex qua, ut dicitur Sap. XI. 18, creatae fuerunt res omnes universi.

20. Non repugnat ut anima humana generatione multiplicetur ; ita ut concipiatur eam ab imperfecto, nempe a gradu sensitivo, ad perfectum, nempe ad gradum intellectivum, procedere.

21. Cum sensitivo principio intuibile fit esse, hoc solo tactu, hac sui unione, principium illud antea solum sentiens, nunc simul intelligens, ad nobiliorem statum evehitur, naturam mutat, ac fit intelligens, subsistens atque immortale.

22. Non est cogitatu impossibile, divina potentia fieri posse, ut a corpore animato dividatur anima intellectiva, et ipsum adhuc maneat animale : maneret nempe in ipso, tamquam basis puri animalis principium animale, quod antea in eo erat veluti appendix.

23. In statu naturali, anima defuncti existit: perinde ac non existeret : cum non possit ullam super seipsam reflexionem exercere, aut ullam habere sui conscientiam, ipsius conditio similis dici potest statui tenebrarum perpetuarum et somni sempiterni.

24. Forma substantialis corporis est potius effectus animae, atque interior terminus operationis ipsius : propterea forma substantialis corporis non est ipsa anima.

Unio animae et corporis proprie consistit in immanenti perceptione, qua subiectum intuens ideam affirmat sensibile, postquam in hac eius essentiam intuitum fuerit.

25. Revelato mysterio SS̃mae Trinitatis, potest ipsius existentia demonstrari argumentis mere speculativis, negativis quidem et indi-

rectis, huiusmodi tamen ut per ipsa veritas illa ad philosophicas disciplinas revocetur, atque fiat propositio scientifica sicut ceterae : si enim ipsa negaretur, doctrina theosophica *purae rationis* non modo incompleta maneret, sed etiam omni ex parte absurditatibus scatens annihilaretur.

26. Tres supremæ formæ *esse*, nempe subiectivitas, obiectivitas, sanctitas, seu realitas, idealitas, moralitas, si transferantur ad esse absolutum, non possunt aliter concipi nisi ut personæ subsistentes et viventes.

Verbum, quatenus obiectum amatum, et non quatenus Verbum idest obiectum in se subsistens per se cognitum, est persona Spiritus Sancti.

27. In humanitate Christi humana voluntas fuit ita raptā a Sp. Sancto ad adhaerendum Esse obiectivo, idest Verbo, ut illa Ipsi integre tradiderit regimen hominis, et Verbum illud personaliter assumpserit, ita sibi uniens naturam humanam. Hinc voluntas humana desiit esse personalis in homine, et cum sit persona in aliis hominibus, in Christo remansit natura.

28. In christiana doctrina, Verbum, character et facies Dei, imprimitur in animo eorum qui cum fide suscipiunt baptismum Christi.

Verbum, idest character in anima impressum, in doctrina christiana, est Esse reale (infinitum) per se manifestum, quod deinde novimus esse secundam personam Sanctissimæ Trinitatis.

29. A catholica doctrina, quæ sola est veritas, minime alienam putamus hanc conieturam : In eucharistico Sacramento substantia panis et vini fit vera caro et verus sanguis Christi, quando Christus eam facit terminum sui principii sentientis, ipsamque sua vita vivificat : eo ferme modo quo panis et vinum vere transubstantiantur in nostram carnem et sanguinem, quia fiunt terminus nostri principii sentientis.

30. Peracta transubstantiatione, intelligi potest, corpori Christi glorioso partem aliquam adiungi in ipso incorporatam, indivisam pariterque gloriosam.

31. In Sacramento eucharistiae, *vi verborum* corpus et sanguis Christi est tantum ea mensura quæ respondet quantitati (a quel tanto) substantiæ panis et vini quæ transubstantiantur : reliquum corporis Christi ibi est *per concomitantiam*.

32. Quoniam qui non manducat carnem Filii hominis et bibit eius sanguinem, non habet vitam in se ; et nihilominus qui moriuntur cum baptisate aquæ, sanguinis aut desiderii certo consequuntur vitam æternam : dicendum est, his, qui in hac vita non comederunt corpus et sanguinem Christi, subministrari hunc coelestem cibum in futura vita, ipso mortis instanti.

Hinc etiam Sanctis V. T. potuit Christus descendens ad inferos seipsum communicare sub speciebus panis et vini, ut aptos eos redderet ad visionem Dei.

33. Cum daemones fructum possederint, putarunt se ingressuros in hominem, si de illo ederet ; converso enim cibo in corpus hominis animatum, ipsi poterant libere ingredi animalitatem, idest in vitam subiectivam huius entis, atque ita de eo disponere sicut proposuerant.

34. Ad praeservandam B. V. Mariam a labe originis, satis erat ut incorruptum maneret minimum semen in homine, neglectum forte ab

ipso daemone ; e quo incorrupto semine de generatione in generationem transfuso, suo tempore oriretur Virgo Maria.

35. Quo magis attenditur ordo iustificationis in homine, eo aptior apparet modus dicendi scripturalis, quod Deus peccata quaedam tegit aut non imputat. Iuxta Psalmistam discrimen est inter iniquitates quae remittuntur, et peccata quae teguntur : illae, ut videtur, sunt culpaes actuales et liberae, haec vero sunt peccata non libera eorum qui pertinent ad populum Dei, quibus propterea nullum afferunt nocumentum.

36. Ordo supernaturalis constituitur manifestatione esse in plenitudine suae formae realis ; cuius communicationis seu manifestationis effectus est sensus (sentimento) deiformis, qui inchoatus in hac vita constituit lumen fidei et gratiae, completus in altera vita constituit lumen gloriae.

37. Primum lumen reddens animam intelligentem est esse ideale ; alterum primum lumen est etiam esse, non tamen mere ideale sed subsistens ac vivens : illud abscondens suam personalitatem ostendit solum suam obiectivitatem : at qui videt alterum (quod est Verbum), etiamsi per speculum et in aenigmate, videt Deum.

38. Deus est obiectum visionis beatificae, in quantum est auctor operum *ad extra*.

39. Vestigia sapientiae ac bonitatis, quae in creaturis relucent, sunt comprehensoribus necessaria ; ipsa enim in aeterno exemplari collecta sunt ea Ipsius pars quae ab illis videri possit (che è loro accessibile), ipsaque argumentum praebent laudibus, quas in aeternum Deo Beati concinunt.

40. Cum Deus non possit, nec per lumen gloriae, totaliter se communicare entibus finitis, non potuit essentiam suam comprehensoribus revelare et communicare, nisi eo modo, qui finitis intelligentiis sit accommodatus : scilicet Deus se illis manifestat quatenus cum ipsis relationem habet, ut eorum creator, provisor, redemptor, sanctificator.

Ioseph Mancini S. Rom. et. Univ. Inq.
Notarius.

1. Nella sfera del creato si manifesta immediatamente all' umano intelletto qualche cosa di divino in se stesso, cioè tale che alla divina natura appartenga (Teosof. vol. iv. n. 2, p. 6).

2. Dicendo il divino nella natura, non prendo questa parola *divino* a significare un effetto non divino di una causa divina. Per la stessa ragione non è mia intenzione di parlare d' un divino, che sia tale per partecipazione (Ivi).

3. Vi è dunque nella natura dell'universo, cioè nelle intelligenze che sono in esso, qualche cosa, a cui conviene la denominazione di divino, non dico in un senso figurato, ma in un senso proprio (Teosof. vol. iv. *Del divino nella natura*, num. 15, pp. 18-19). È una . . . attualità indistinta dal resto dell'attualità divina, indivisibile in se, divisibile per astrazione mentale (Teosof. vol. iii. n. 1423, p. 344).

4. L'essere indeterminato (essere ideale), il quale è indubitamente palese a tutte le intelligenze, (*è quel divino che*) si manifesta all' uomo nella natura (Teosof. vol. iv. nn. 5 e 6, p. 8).

5. L'essere intuito dall'uomo deve necessariamente essere qualche cosa d'un ente necessario ed eterno, causa creante, determinante e finiente di tutti gli enti contingenti: e questo è Dio (Teosof. vol. i. n. 298, p. 241).

6. Nell'uno (essere che prescinde dalle creature e da Dio, e che è l'essere indeterminato), e nell'altro essere (che non è più indeterminato, ma Dio stesso, essere assoluto) c'è la stessa essenza (Teosof. vol. ii. n. 848, p. 150).

7. L'essere indeterminato della intuizione . . . l'essere iniziale . . . è qualche cosa del Verbo, che ella (la mente del Padre) distingue non realmente, ma secondo la ragione, dal Verbo (Teosof. vol. ii. n. 848, p. 150; vol. i. n. 490, p. 445).

8. Gli enti finiti che compongono il mondo risultano da due elementi, cioè dal termine reale finito, e dall'essere iniziale, che dà a questo termine la forma di ente (Teosof. vol. i. n. 454, p. 396).

9. L'essere, oggetto dell'intuito . . . è l'atto iniziale di tutti gli enti (Teosof. vol. iii. n. 1235, p. 73). L'essere iniziale dunque è inizio tanto dello scibile quanto del sussistente . . . è ugualmente inizio di Dio, come da noi si concepisce, e delle creature (Teosof. vol. i. n. 287, p. 229; n. 288, p. 230).

10. L'essere virtuale e senza termini (*Divino in se stesso appartenenza di Dio*) è la prima e la più semplice delle entità, per così fatto modo che qualunque altra entità è composta, e tra i suoi componenti c'è l'essere virtuale sempre e necessariamente. L'essere virtuale è parte essenziale di tutte affatto le entità, per quantunque col pensiero si dividano (Teosof. vol. i. n. 280, p. 221; n. 281, p. 223).

11. La quiddità (ciò che una cosa è) dell'ente finito non è costituita da ciò che egli ha di positivo, ma da' suoi limiti . . . La quiddità dell'ente infinito è costituita dall'entità, ed è positiva, e la quiddità dell'ente finito è costituita dai limiti dell'entità, ed è negativa (Teosof. vol. i. n. 726, pp. 708-709).

12. La realtà finita non è, ma egli (Dio) la fa essere coll'aggiungere alla realtà infinita la limitazione (Teosof. vol. i. n. 681, p. 658). L'essere iniziale . . . diventa l'essenza di ogni ente reale (Ivi vol. i. n. 458, p. 399). L'essere che attua le nature finite, a queste congiunto, essendo reciso da Dio . . . (Ivi vol. iii. n. 1425, p. 346).

13. La differenza che passa tra l'essere assoluto e il relativo non è quella di sostanza a sostanza, ma una molto maggiore . . .; perocchè v'ha differenza di essere in questo senso, che l'uno è assolutamente ente, l'altro è assolutamente nonente. Ma questo secondo è relativamente ente: ora col porre un ente relativo non si moltiplica assolutamente l'ente; sicchè rimane che assolutamente l'assoluto e il relativo sia non già una sostanza sola, ma bensì un essere solo, e in questo senso non v'abbia diversità di essere, anzi unità di essere (Teosof. vol. v. cap. iv. p. 9).

14. Coll'astrazione divina abbiamo veduto come sia stato prodotto

l'essere iniziale, primo elemento degli enti finiti: coll'immaginazione divina, abbiamo pure veduto come sia stato prodotto il *reale finito*— tutte le realtà di cui consta l'universo (Teosof. vol. i. n. 463, p. 408).

15. La terza operazione dell'Essere assoluto creante il Mondo è la *sintesi divina*, cioè l'unione dei due elementi, *l'essere iniziale* inizio comune di tutti gli enti finiti, e il *reale finito*, o per dir meglio i diversi reali finiti, termini diversi dello stesso essere iniziale. Colla quale unione sono creati gli enti finiti (Ivi).

16. Riferito dall'intelligenza, per mezzo della sintesi divina, l'essere iniziale, non come intelligibile ma puramente come essenza, ai *termini reali finiti*, fa che esistano gli enti finiti subiettivamente e realmente (Teosof. vol. i. n. 464, p. 410).

17. Quello che fa Iddio (*creando*) è unicamente di porre tutto intero l'atto dell'essere delle creature; dunque quest'atto non è propriamente *fatto*, ma è *posto* (Teosof. vol. i. n. 412, p. 350).

18. Vi ha una ragione in Dio stesso, per la quale ei si determina a creare; e questa ragione è di novo l'amore di se stesso, il quale si ama anche nelle creature. Quindi la divina sapienza, come meglio altrove esporremo, trova esser cosa conveniente la creazione, e questa semplice convenienza basta a far sì che l'Essere perfettissimo vi si determini. Ma non si deve confondere questa necessità di convenienza con quella necessità che nasce dalla forma reale dell'Essere e che necessità fisica si suol chiamare. La necessità di convenienza è una necessità morale: cioè veniente dall'Essere sotto la sua forma morale: e la necessità morale non sempre induce l'effetto, che ella prescrive; ma lo induce solo nell'Essere perfettissimo, e non negli esseri imperfetti (a molti dei quali rimane perciò la libertà bilaterale), perchè l'Essere perfettissimo è insieme moralissimo, cioè ha compiuta in sè ogni esigenza morale (Teosof. vol. i. n. 51, pp. 49–50).

19. Il Verbo è quella *materia invisibile* da cui dice il libro della Sapienza (xi. 18) che furono create le cose tutte dell'universo (Introduz. del Vangelo secondo Giov. lez. 37, p. 109).

20. Niente ripugna che il soggetto, di cui si parla, si moltiplichi per via di generazione (Psicolog. l. 4, n. 656). Noi abbiamo già detto, che la generazione dell'anima umana si può concepire per gradi progressivi dall'imperfetto al perfetto, e però che prima ci sia il principio sensitivo, il quale giunto alla sua perfezione colla perfezione dell'organismo, riceva l'intuizione dell'essere, e così si renda intellettivo e razionale (Teosof. vol. i. n. 646, p. 619).

21. Rendendosi l'essere intuibile al detto principio (sensitivo), con questo solo tocco, con questa unione di sè, il principio prima solo senziente, ora anco intelligente, si solleva a più alto stato, cangia natura, rendesi intellettivo, sussistente, immortale (Antropol. l. 4, c. 5, n. 819). Quindi si offre alla mente l'espressione, che il *principio sensitivo* sia divenuto *principio razionale*, che si sia convertito in un altro, avendo subito veramente una tale permutazione (Teosof. vol. i. n. 646, p. 619).

22. Quanto poi alle appendici di cui parliamo, cioè al corpo animato, non è certo impossibile il pensare, che dalla potenza divina possa esser da lui divisa l'anima intellettiva, ed egli tuttavia rimanersi nella qualità

di animale, rimanendo il principio animale, che prima esisteva come appendice, siccome base del novo ente, cioè del puro animale che rimarrebbe (Teosof. vol. i. n. 621, p. 591).

23. Questa (l'anima del defunto) esiste certamente, ma è come se non esistesse (Teodicea, *Appendice*, art. 10, p. 638). Nel quale stato (di natura) non essendo a lei (all'anima separata) possibile alcuna riflessione su di se stessa, nè alcuna coscienza, la sua condizione si potrebbe rassomigliare ad uno stato di perpetue tenebre, e di sempiterno sonno (Introduz. del Vangelo secondo Giov. lez. 69, p. 217).

24. La forma sostanziale del corpo è piuttosto un effetto dell'anima e il termine interno delle sue operazioni: e però non è l'anima stessa che sia la forma sostanziale del corpo (Psicol. par. ii. l. 1, c. 11, n. 894). L'unione dell'anima col corpo consiste propriamente in una percezione immanente, per la quale il soggetto intuente l'idea afferma il sensibile dopo averne in questa intuita l'essenza (Teosof. vol. v. cap. liii. art. ii. § 5. v. 4°, p. 377).

25. Il mistero della Triade . . . dopo che fu rivelato, esso rimane bensì incomprendibile nella sua propria natura . . . ma ben . . . si può conoscere quella (l'esistenza) d'una Trinità in Dio in un modo almeno congetturale con ragioni positive e dirette, e dimostrativamente con ragioni negative ed indirette; e che, mediante queste prove puramente speculative dell'esistenza d'un' augustissima Triade, questa misteriosa dottrina rientra nel campo della filosofia. Quest'esistenza (della SSma Trinità) diventa una proposizione scientifica come le altre. Qualora si negasse quella Trinità, ne verrebbero da tutte le parti conseguenze assurde apertamente . . . O conviene ammettere la divina Triade, o lasciare la dottrina teosofica di pura ragione incompleta non solo ma pugnante d'ogni parte seco medesima, e dagli assurdi inevitabili straziata e del tutto annullata (Teos. vol. i. nn. 191, 193, 194, pp. 155-158).

26. L'essere nelle tre forme (*subiettività, obietività, santità*, o per dirlo altramente: *realità, idealità, moralità*) è identico. Le tre forme poi dell'essere, ove si trasportino nell'Essere assoluto, non si possono più concepire in altro modo, che come persone sussistenti e viventi (vol. i. nn. 190, 196, pp. 154, 159). Il Verbo, *in quanto* è oggetto amato, e non in quanto è Verbo cioè oggetto sussistente per sé cognito, è la persona dello Spirito Santo (Introd. del. Vang. secondo Giov. lez. 65, p. 200).

27. Nell'umanità di Cristo la volontà umana fu talmente rapita dallo Spirito Santo ad aderire all'essere oggettivo, cioè al Verbo, che ella cedette intieramente a lui il governo dell'uomo, e il Verbo personalmente ne prese il regime, così incarnandosi, rimanendo la volontà umana e l'altre potenze subordinate alla volontà in potere del Verbo, che, come primo principio di quest'essere Teandrico, ogni cosa faceva, o si faceva dalle altre potenze col suo consenso. Onde la volontà umana cessò di essere personale nell'uomo, e da persona che è negli altri uomini rimase in Cristo natura . . . Il Verbo poi, incarnato così per opera dello Spirito Santo, estese la sua unione a tutte le potenze ed alla carne stessa (Introduz. del Vangelo secondo Giov. lez. 85, p. 281).

28. Insegnò dunque il Cristianesimo che il Verbo, carattere e faccia

di Dio, come viene anco sovente chiamato nelle Scritture, s'imprime nelle anime di quelli, che colla fede ricevono il battesimo di Cristo (Introduz. alla Filos. n. 92). Il Verbo dunque ossia il carattere impresso nell'anima, secondo il cristiano insegnamento, è l'essere reale (infinito) per sè manifesto, il quale dipoi sappiamo essere una persona, la seconda della divina Trinità (Ivi, *Nota*).

29. Non crediamo aliena dalla dottrina cattolica, che solo è verità, la seguente conghiettura (*cioè che nell'Eucaristico Sacramento*) la sostanza del pane e del vino ha cessato intieramente d' essere sostanza del pane e del vino, ed è divenuta vera carne e vero sangue di Cristo, quando Cristo la rese termine del suo principio senziente, e così la avvivò della sua vita, a quel modo come accade nella nutrizione, che il pane che si mangia e il vino che si beve, quand' è, nella sua parte nutritiva, assimilato alla nostra carne e al nostro sangue, egli è veramente transustanziato, e non è più, come prima, pane o vino, ma è veramente nostra carne e nostro sangue, perchè è divenuto termine del nostro principio sensitivo (Introduz. del Vang. secondo Giov. lez. 87, pp. 285-286).

30. Avvenuta la transustanziazione, si può intendere che al corpo glorioso (di Gesù Cristo) si sia aggiunto qualche parte in esso incorporata, ed indivisa e del pari gloriosa (Ivi).

31. Appunto perchè il corpo di Cristo è unico ed indiviso, egli è necessario che dove si trova una parte si trovi tutto . . . ; ma non tutto quel Corpo diviene termine del suo principio senziente, ma unicamente quella parte che risponde a quel tanto che v'aveva di sostanza di pane e di sostanza di vino nella transustanziazione. Ancora ne verrebbe che in virtù delle parole divine questa sostanza del pane e del vino si transustanziasse in carne e sangue del Salvatore; ma il rimanente del corpo e del sangue vi rimanesse unito per concomitanza; il che non par contrario alla dottrina cattolica (Ivi. p. 286, seg).

32. Se dunque chi non mangia la carne del Figliuolo dell'uomo, e bee il suo sangue, non ha la vita in se stesso, e tuttavia chi muore col battesimo d' acqua, o di sangue, o di desiderio, è certo che acquista la vita eterna; convien dire che quella comestione della carne e del sangue di Cristo, che non fece nella vita presente, gli verrà somministrata nella futura al punto della sua morte, e così avrà la vita in se stesso . . . Anche a' santi dell' antico testamento, quando Cristo discese al limbo, potè Cristo comunicare se stesso sotto la forma di pane e di vino, e così . . . renderli atti alla visione di Dio (Introduz. del Vang. secondo Giovanni lez. 74, p. 238).

33. (I demonii) impossessatisi di un frutto pensarono che entrerebbero nell' uomo, quand' egli, spiccatolo dall' albero, ne mangiasse; giacchè il cibo convertendosi nel corpo animato dell' uomo, essi potevano entrare a man salva nell'animalità, ossia nella vita soggettiva di questo essere, e farne quel governo che si proponevano (Introd. del Vang. secondo Giov. lez. 63, p. 191).

34. Preservò (Iddio) dal peccato originale una donzella . . . : alla quale preservazione dall' infezione originale bastava che rimanesse incorrotto un menomo seme nell'uomo, trascurato forse dal demonio

stesso, dal quale seme incorrotto passato di generazione in generazione uscisse a suo tempo la Vergine (Ivi, lez. 64, p. 193).

35. Più che altri considera quest' ordine della giustificazione dell' uomo, più troverà acconcia la maniera scritturale di dire che Dio cuopre certi peccati o non gl' imputa. Infatti col battesimo non si distrugge la mala volontà naturale, ma le se n' aggiunge una soprannaturale, che cuopre, per così dire la naturale, e impedisce che quella perda l'uomo. Onde il Salmista dice: Beati quelli, le iniquità dei quali furono rimesse, e i peccati de' quali furono coperti; dove si fa la differenza fra le iniquità che si rimettono, e i peccati che si cuoprono, e sembra che per quelle si vogliano intendere le colpe attuali e libere, e per questi i peccati non liberi di quelli che appartengono al popolo di Dio, e che però non ne ricevono più danno alcuno (Trattato della coscienza morale, l. i. c. 6. a. 2).

36. L'essere (essenziale) si comunica a noi nella sola forma ideale per natura, e questo costituisce l'ordine naturale; l'essere stesso si manifesta a noi altresì nella pienezza della sua forma reale per grazia, e questa è comunicazione e percezione vera di Dio, e costituisce l'ordine soprannaturale . . . l'effetto della comunicazione soprannaturale è un sentimento deiforme, di cui non abbiamo a principio coscienza, come non l'abbiamo di ogni sentimento nostro sostanziale e fondamentale. Or poi il sentimento deiforme, di cui parliamo, è incipiente in questa vita, nella quale costituisce il lume della fede e della grazia; compiuto nell'altra, nella quale costituisce il lume della gloria (Filosof. del Dritto, par. ii. nn. 674, 676, 677).

37. Il primo lume che rende l'anima intelligente è l'essere ideale e indeterminato; l'altro primo lume è ancora l'essere, ma non puramente ideale, ma ben anche sussistente e vivente . . . L'idea adunque è l'essere intuito dall'uomo, ma non è il Verbo; che non quella ma questo è sussistenza: quello è l'essere che occulta la sua sussistenza e lascia solo trasparire la sua oggettività indeterminata ed impersonale: nella mente che intuisce l'idea non cade la personalità dell' essere . . . ma chi vede il Verbo, ancorchè per ispecchio ed in enimma, vede Iddio (Introd. alla Filosofia, n. 85).

38. Sebbene Iddio senza mezzo alcuno sia oggetto della visione beatificante, e forma dell'intelletto dei Beati; tuttavia egli è tale in quanto è autore delle opere *ad extra*, le quali in un modo ineffabile sono in lui (Teodicea, n. 672).

39. I vestigi della sapienza e della bontà del creato, lungi dal divenire loro (ai comprensori) inutili, anzi riescono necessari; perocchè questi vestigi tutti raccolti nell'esemplare eterno sono appunto quella parte di esso che è loro accessibile, onde sono tuttavia quelli che danno argomento alle lodi che a Dio eternamente tributano (Ivi, n. 674).

40. Se dunque non potea (Dio) comunicare se stesso totalmente ad esseri finiti, neppure mediante il lume di gloria; rimane a cercare in che modo egli potea rivelare loro e comunicare la propria essenza. Certo in quel modo che alla natura delle intelligenze create è conforme; e questo modo è quello pel quale Iddio ha con esso loro relazione, cioè come creatore loro, come provvisore, come redentore, come santificatore (Ivi, n. 677).

Science Notices.

New Nebulæ in the Pleiades.—The discovery, by photographic means, of the *invisible* nebulæ which form an integral part of the marvellous system of the Pleiades, is one of the most remarkable of our time. Not that the inaccessibility of these objects to ordinary methods of observation is absolute. M. Tempel, of Florence, detected, in 1859, a gauzy appendage to the star Merope, of such unsubstantial texture, that it seemed as if a breath had just therestained for a moment the purity of the heavens. Moreover, the nebulous whorl round Maia, which made its unexpected appearance on the sensitive plates of the MM. Henry at Paris, in November 1885, was subsequently, by careful looking, found with several large telescopes. But it is to the camera that the honour exclusively belongs of having brought to light, in their full complexity and multiplicity, the nebular relations of this brilliant cluster. A photograph, taken by Mr. Roberts, of Liverpool, with an exposure of three hours, October 24, 1886, showed “nebulosity extending in streamers and fleecy masses” so as “almost to fill the spaces between the stars;” and two still more noteworthy pictures, to obtain which, in November and December last, the MM. Henry had to undergo the severe strain of *four hours’* continuous supervision of their instrument, reveal peculiarities of structure in these curdling and clinging mists of the cosmos, never before made so clearly manifest.

Four principal stars in the Pleiades—Alcyone, Electra, Merope, and Maia—are now perceived to be the centres of as many nebulous formations, distinctly organized, as it would seem, yet beyond question mutually connected. Notwithstanding their visual ineffectiveness, these wonderful agglomerations possess a high degree of chemical intensity, as shown by the strength and definiteness of their photographic impressions. Their contorted and compressed shapes betray the struggle of antagonistic forces, and suggest the slow advance of processes, the nature of which lies for the present beyond our ken, or, at the most, can be reached by a dim and shadowy surmise. But the most singular feature of these new photographs is the appearance upon them of two long, thin, rectilinear streaks of nebulous matter, traversing rows respectively of seven and four stars, and stringing them together, “like beads on a rosary.” The sky is full of nebular curiosities, but contains, perhaps, none more fantastically strange than these luminous *cables* stretched from star to star, and constituting, as it were, highways through space for the convenient passage of electrical or other influences. The photographic map of the Pleiades constructed in 1886 included 1421 stars, down to the sixteenth magnitude; that issued with the last Annual Report from the Paris Observatory contains 2326, down

to the eighteenth magnitude. Most of the supplementary objects are beyond the range of eye observation with any telescope; but the question whether they are real physical components of the group, or merely belong to the "pale populace" of the immeasurably distant celestial realms beyond, cannot yet be decided. The vast increase of sensitiveness in the gelatine "dry plates" now available is shown by the *minimum visibile* on those recently exposed being more than six times fainter than in the impressions secured only two years previously. Evidently, there is still much improvement to be expected in the already extraordinary capabilities of the photographic method of astronomical research.

The Canals of Mars.—Most of our readers are aware that the telescopic disc of Mars presents marked diversities of colour. Its fundamental tint, which certainly belongs to the actual surface, and is most probably inherent in the soil, is a reddish-yellow; but it is everywhere encroached upon by a complicated arrangement of dark green stripes and patches, presumably representing the aqueous portions of the Martian globe. The alternate expansion and contraction, in correspondence with the vicissitudes of the seasons, of a brilliant white spot at either pole, strengthens the persuasion that the distribution of hues on this planet gives a veracious report as to the configuration of land and water on the most *terrestrial* (next to our own abode) of all the attendants on the sun.

"The Canals of Mars" were first perceived by Schiaparelli at Milan in 1877. They are, to all appearance, water-courses connecting the seas and breaking up the continents into islands. Some run three or four thousand miles almost in a straight line, and most are about sixty miles wide. They occur in all parts of the planet's surface. The singularity of their aspect was vastly enhanced by their emergence in duplicate at the opposition of 1881-2. A great number of the original canals were on that occasion seen to be accompanied, along their entire course, by parallel dark streaks separated from them by perceptible intervals. This extraordinary phenomenon of "gemination" is strongly suspected of being periodical. It is certainly not permanent. No twin-canals were visible in 1877, and they had nearly all disappeared in 1886. Schiaparelli, who first detected them, referred their development to the influence of the Martian seasons; and Mr. Proctor regards them as diffraction images of the rivers they seem to attend when low-lying mists overhang their beds. They have, then, if this view be correct, no substantial existence, but are mere optical adjuncts to the genuine and permanent "canals" they imitate. The conditions favourable to their production arise, so far as is yet known, in the spring and autumn of their respective hemispheres.

The observations made by M. Perrotin at Nice, in April and May of the present year, indicate, if confirmed, a notable amount of variability in the surface-features of Mars. An equatorial continent named, on Schiaparelli's maps, "Lybia," has, since the last opposition, vanished before the encroachments of the adjacent sea, which appears

to have simultaneously retired from the more southern portion of its bed. The submergence of Lybia is conjectured, upon evidence furnished by a drawing of 1882, to be an effect of recurring inundations. Nor is it an isolated example of change. Lake Moeris, opening out of one of the canals in the same neighbourhood, is now also no longer visible, while a new canal has become conspicuous. The whole of the modified tract is estimated to cover 600,000 square kilometres; its area, in other words, is somewhat greater than that of France. As a further interesting novelty, M. Perrotin observed what seems to be a channel of open water in the form of a distinct dusky line drawn straight from one arctic sea to another, across the northern polar snow-cap. To M. Terby at Brussels, too, this feature has been perfectly visible since May 12, so that there can here be no question of illusion. Struck with the commercial advantages offered by some of these alterations to the (assumed) traders and navigators of Mars, certain ingenious journalists, familiar with our own isthmus-cutting proclivities, have proclaimed, in sensational paragraphs, the successful completion of similar works on the neighbour-planet. Such announcements can impose only on the ignorant; to astronomers they are simply ludicrous.

The solid and liquid parts of the surface of Mars are so intimately blended and intertwined as to suggest that the general level of the land there differs very little from that of the water. Extensive floodings of continents by seas, often suspected, and now positively affirmed to have taken place, point to the same conclusion. There are, however, mountainous patches. The whole of "Fontana Land," in thirty-five degrees of south latitude, appears to be snow-covered. Its glare was especially striking, during the late opposition, in the reflecting telescopes of Mr. Denning at Bristol, and of Mr. D. Smart in London. Three small, round, white spots, located in the prolongation of the River Erebus, were besides watched by M. Terby in May. Their brilliancy was so great as to cause them to project, by a well-known irradiative effect, above the smooth outline of the disc when the planet's rotation brought them round to the limb. There can be little doubt of their being really snow-clad elevations. The most favourable opportunity for observing Mars during the remainder of this century will occur in August 1892, when some of the many curious problems connected with its physical condition may, it is to be hoped, receive a solution through the application to them of the increased telescopic power now actually available.

Comets.—Encke's comet has once more returned to the sun. It passed perihelion on June 28, but this time escapes observation in the northern hemisphere, and in the southern will be best seen in August. Terrestrial scrutiny of this apparently insignificant object has now lasted rather more than one hundred years, and is not likely to become relaxed in watchfulness. Prolonged study of the course of its revolutions has indeed excited, quite as much as it has gratified, curiosity. The discovery of their progressive acceleration through the supposed action of a resisting medium was of profound interest;

the recent detection of the intermittence of that action has thrown speculation—if one may venture to say so—on its beam-ends. And now a fresh subject of inquiry is started by M. Berberich's investigation into the changes of brightness of the comet at its successive recorded appearances. These changes are tolerably striking; and—what is still more remarkable—they seem to be periodical. Their periodicity, moreover, agrees so closely with that of the solar fluctuations, as to reflect even the irregularities of the spot-cycle. All the brighter apparitions of Encke's comet are in fact grouped together near epochs of maximum, all the fainter about minima. Nor is this correspondence altogether inexplicable. The illumination of comets is beyond question of an electrical nature, and obviously depends in great measure, if not wholly, on the inductive influence of the sun. This gains in power, as the example of terrestrial auroræ teaches us, with the heightening of solar agitation signified by the copious production of spots. Auroral periodicity is thus, according to M. Berberich, an effect closely analogous to, and depending on, the same causes with the recurrent variations in perihelion lustre of Encke's comet. There is some reason to think that comets are more numerous discovered when sun-spots are many than when they are few. It is not, however, the number of those approaching the sun that is increased, but only the vividness of their incandescence. Hence the proportion of those observed to those undetected grows larger. But the fact of this kind of variation is as yet quite uncertain. Further experience is required to establish it. M. Berberich's inquiries lend no countenance to the idea of the continuous wearing-out of comets. Encke's, at least, shows no sign of steadily advancing decay. It was more brilliant, for instance, in 1885 than in 1795, but is expected to be fainter than usual at its present return.

The strange luminous outburst of Sawerthal's comet on the 20th or 21st of May, more than two months after its perihelion passage, is unprecedented in a body so remote from the sun. A *sixteen-fold* accession of light was accompanied by an equally sudden change of colour from pale white to brilliant yellow, suggesting that the abrupt kindling of the sodium vapours entering into the comet's composition was the immediate cause of its temporary brightness. This object was discovered by Mr. Sawerthal, of the Royal Observatory, Cape of Good Hope, February 18, 1888. It became later visible to northern observers, and, though never conspicuous, was plainly perceptible to the naked eye. At Windsor, in New South Wales, its tail was traced by Mr. Tebbutt to three degrees from the head. The action of disintegrating forces was evidenced by the division of the nucleus after passing the sun, March 18. The orbit of Sawerthal's comet is elliptical; and is traversed in something over two thousand years.

Chemical Constituents of the Sun.—The evidence brought forward by the late Dr. Henry Draper, of New York, in 1877, by which the presence of oxygen in the sun was thought to be demonstrated, is now shown to be worthless. Eighteen *bright* lines in the solar

spectrum were supposed to represent its emissions at such an exalted state of incandescence that it actually outshone the photosphere itself. But as the sun's light came to be more and more searchingly analyzed by being spread out, or dispersed over a wider and wide area, these delusive bright lines, instead of holding their own, and standing out, clear and sharp, against the luminous background, gradually melted into it, and so proved themselves to be merely bright interspaces between adjacent dark lines.

The latest researches on the subject, carried out in America by Messrs. Trowbridge, Hutchings, and Holden, are decisive. The large-scale photographs of the solar spectrum, obtained by them with the aid of one of Rowland's magnificent concave "gratings," bear no imprint of the action of oxygen, either emissive or absorptive—that is to say, of oxygen at the high temperature of the electric spark. A different set of *dark* lines, produced by the same substance in a cooler condition, was some years ago identified by Dr. Schuster as interrupting the prismatic band of dispersed sunlight; and the identification still remains uncontradicted, if unconfirmed. The question whether the essential constituent of the air we breathe is found in the sun is of great interest, yet is very difficult, owing to the Protean nature of the oxygen molecule, to answer peremptorily. Four distinct spectra corresponding to four different stages of thermal excitement have been recognized as belonging to it; if one set of characters are absent from the solar spectrum, another may be detected, and proof and disproof may pursue each other with alternative advantage from one stronghold to another. One fact is, however, certain. No modification of oxygen known to terrestrial chemistry has ever displayed itself among the glowing gases and vapours issuing from the sun's surface in the form of "prominences." There is, indeed, some plausibility in the view that oxygen exists only potentially in the great central furnace of our system. The materials that may eventually compose it are, on this hypothesis, there; but not the so-called "element" itself.

The American investigators believe that they have found unmistakable traces of carbon-absorption in the solar spectrum; and they have identified in its green, blue, and ultra-violet sections sixteen coincident lines of platinum. This metal had never before been associated with any cosmical body. The solar presence of bismuth, cadmium, and cerium is moreover confirmed, while that of lead, molybdenum, uranium, and vanadium is considered to remain open to doubt.

The Wimshurst Influence Machine.—Side by side at the annual soirée of the Royal Society were to be seen two exhibits of an intensely interesting character, viz., the collection of Photographs of Lightning Flashes exhibited by the Royal Meteorological Society, and the large Electrical Influence Machine of Mr. James Wimshurst. In the one was the picture of the true form of the lightning flash in its many varieties, as the collection was from all parts of the world; in the other was to be seen the lightning itself, flashing not from

cloud to cloud, but from terminal to terminal of the huge laboratory influence machine. Its discharge affords, perhaps, the finest display of artificial lightning yet witnessed. The similarity of form in the artificial discharge and the photograph was further confirmed when Dr. Marcet projected the image of the discharge on a screen: the appearance was identical. Mr. Wimshurst has indeed put a powerful instrument into the hands of the physicist. From the old frictional machine a powerful spark could certainly be produced under good conditions of atmosphere. Dr. Tyndall, once upon a time, nearly fell a victim to the artificial lightning stroke of a large machine of the old frictional type at the Royal Institution. When lecturing he accidentally received a shock: he stood motionless and senseless for a moment before the audience, who were unaware that anything had occurred. Ordinary frictional machines were, however, utterly unreliable. On a damp day they required such warming and coaxing as to weary the most ardent philosopher. Therefore experimenters contrived to produce a continuous Electrophorus, *i.e.*, an influence machine, with more or less success. Holtz, Carée, and Voss individually produced great improvements on the uncertain old frictional machines; but none of these possess the certainty of action which characterizes the achievement of Mr. Wimshurst. It is self-exciting, independent of atmospherical conditions; when excited the direction of the current never changes, the quantity of electricity is very great and the potential high. Mr. Wimshurst says he produced his machine from the experience gained in working with the more imperfect forms. Simplicity is a characteristic of its construction. Two discs of glass revolve near to each other and in opposite directions. Each disc carries metallic sectors, and has its two brushes supported by metal rods, the rods to the two plates forming an angle of 90 degrees with each other. The external circuit is independent of the brushes, and is formed by the combs and terminals. The length of spark obtained is nearly equal to the radius of the disc. The machine exhibited at the Royal Society had twelve discs, each 2 feet 6 inches in diameter; the plates, sectors, and brushes were fitted within a glass case; the length of spark from it is $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In Mr. Wimshurst's recent lecture at the Royal Institution, he drew attention to the important fact of self-excitation in the following words: "During the construction of the machine every care was taken to avoid electrical excitement in any of its parts, and after its completion several friends were present to witness the fitting of the brushes and the first start. When all was ready the terminals were connected to an electroscope, and the handle was moved so slowly that it occupied thirty seconds in moving one half-revolution, and at that point violent excitement appeared." But this machine is not the largest Mr. Wimshurst has made. One has been constructed for the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, with plates 7 feet in diameter.

The practical electrician naturally asks to what practical use can these powerful static machines be placed. Mr. Wimshurst told us

that he is not sanguine of any direct practical application of his instrument. Static electricity has been particularly barren in practical adaptations. This is probably why a really reliable machine for its production has only lately been acquired—that of Mr. Wimshurst, who says he has worked out his machine purely with the investigator's aims—but *indirectly* it may turn out to be a very practical instrument. Experience has shown that our knowledge of the proper use of lightning-conductors is very limited. It is so merely because of our ignorance of the action of lightning. Now that we can have in our laboratories a machine from which at all times electrical discharges of high potential can be conveniently obtained, surely we shall learn somewhat more of the nature of a flash, and, following its caprices, decide the best metal for its path. Professor Lodge recently pointed out, in his lecture at the Society of Arts, that the ordinary method of testing lightning-conductors by means of a galvanometer is absurd. Now, we have to wait for the thunder-storm to put the reliable test, but in the near future this operation may possibly be performed by the monster influence machines.

The Isolation of Fluorine.—On the 12th of February, 1887, at a conference at the Sorbonne, Paris, M. Moissan, the young chemical discoverer, explained his method of isolating the hitherto intractable element, fluorine. Mr. Mattieu Williams has recently well described fluorine as “the fury of the chemical world.” He points out that this substance, which exists so peacefully in fluor spar and in certain other bodies, when isolated is a rabid gas, which nothing can resist. It combines with all the metals, explosively with some, or if they are already combined with some other non-metallic element it tears them from it. In uniting with sodium, potassium, calcium, magnesium, and aluminium, the metals become heated to redness, while its union with iron filings and manganese but slightly warmed is accompanied with brilliant scintillations. Gold and silver are not proof against it at moderate temperatures. Glass is devoured greedily. Water, under which so many gases are peacefully collected in the laboratory, is decomposed by this active body, the gas combining with the hydrogen of the water, and at the same time forming hydrofluoric acid and freeing ozone. Considering this property of universal chemical combination, it is no wonder that many have failed in what M. Moissan, after three years of labour, has accomplished. One life has been sacrificed in the attempt, for in 1869 Professor Nicklé's, of Nancy, accidentally breathed the vapour of hydrofluoric acid during the attempt to obtain fluorine in the free state, and in so doing became a martyr to the cause. Amongst the unsuccessful experimenters it was Gore who came nearest to the process of M. Moissan, for he endeavoured to isolate the element by means of the electrolysis of hydrofluoric acid. But the hydrofluoric acid would not conduct the electric current. M. Moissan supplies the missing link, and adds a little acid fluoride of potassium to the hydrofluoric acid, which then conducts the current. Fluorine gas is disengaged at the positive pole, and hydrogen at the negative. Through the enterprise of

Prof. Thorpe, the dual apparatus for the above purpose was exhibited lately at the soirée given by Dr. Bell, the president of the Institute of Chemistry:—1. The apparatus for the preparation of anhydrous hydrofluoric acid by heating acid potassium fluoride; 2. The apparatus for the electrolysis of hydrofluoric acid. There is yet, however, another missing link to be found—viz., a substance that will not combine with fluorine. Even M. Moissan cannot find a vessel that will keep the element when obtained. He has, therefore, been compelled to examine its properties at the moment of its production. One of the most interesting of his experiments is that which proves the new gas to be the true fluorine, and not a compound of fluorine and hydrogen. He passes the gas over red-hot iron in a platinum tube in an atmosphere of carbonic acid gas, and obtains fluoride of iron without a trace of hydrogen.

It is a curious fact that fluorine, with all the world for its choice, in two spots only—the Oural Mountains and Greenland—has united with aluminium and sodium to form cryolite. Whilst on the subject of fluorine it is interesting to note that this double fluoride of aluminium and sodium is a valuable commodity for the obtaining of aluminium—a metal in such great demand. The value of cryolite has lately been further enhanced by M. Kleiner's new method of obtaining aluminium by the electrolysis of the compound.

Personal Identification and Description.—Personal identification and description in the hands of Mr. Francis Galton may possibly become a science so exact, that, in the future, a question of identity like the Tichborne case could never be raised. Mr. Galton is of opinion that individuals differ in a measurable manner, and that paucity of descriptive terms for form makes that fact difficult of demonstration. Perhaps the inadequacy of language has prevented the development of thought in this direction. For certainly the cataloguing of measurements of the human form, for hereditary investigations, is a departure of late date. Mr. Galton hopes that by measuring personal peculiarities indisputable evidence of a man's descent and near kinship will be obtained. To measure resemblance, the least discernible difference is taken as the unit for each degree of unlikeness, and in the case of a silhouette that unit is equal to the one-hundredth part of an inch. The first principles of measurement of a face are simple. That part of the outline lying between the brow and the parting of the lips is first considered. The base for horizontal measurement is the tangent line between the convexity of the chin and the concavity between the brow and the nose, and a good unit of horizontal scale is "the distance between the line just mentioned and one drawn parallel to it that just touched the nose." The unit of vertical scale is kept separate, and a line drawn parallel to the above lines is used therefor, in the distance between the pupil of the eye and the parting of the lips. Differences in feature in individuals are small, but very numerous. Out of a large collection of profiles a great many will differ in some part of their outline by the amount of the first unit of difference—namely, the one-hundredth part of an inch—but

very few would be found to differ by ten times that amount. Then again, as might be expected, the differences in feature are more independent one of another than are the lengths of the limbs—that is, a small foot generally goes with a small hand, but a short nose will often be found with a long chin. Height is not considered a reliable measure: for a man is always taller in the morning than he is in the evening.

Prisoners in France are identified by a system of measurement invented by M. Alphonse Bertillon, and the measurements taken are head length and breadth, foot length, finger length, and length from finger to elbow joint. These are found to be reliable and unchangeable. But the classification of the cards on which these measurements are inscribed does not extend beyond large, medium, and small. At a Friday evening meeting at the Royal Institution lately, Mr. Galton showed a working model of his devising, by whose key five hundred cards notched to indicate measurements could be tested for any given measure, and the right card or cards selected. The testing and selection was done by a single movement of the key. This method of finding a standard to which a man's measurements or his profile conform is not hard and fast, while it is rapid and simple.

At this same meeting Professor Dewar and Mr. Galton pressed each a finger tip on smoked glass, and showed the imprint of same on a screen by means of a projection lantern, to demonstrate the difference in the spiral lines of the two fingers. For the science of identification is to take note of differences, small as well as great, so long as they are measurable or definable. The spiral forms on finger tips seem to supply very reliable data. There is great variety in the imprints of individual finger tips, and they seem unchangeable, not only in the general character of the spirals, "but in measurable details, as in the distance from the centre of the spiral and in the direction" of the rise of each ridge. The digit marks of Sir W. Herschel, made four times in twenty-eight years at the respective dates of 1860, 1874, 1885, and 1888, are absolutely identical. Sir W. Herschel has himself made use of digit marks in the legal attestation among the natives in India. The imprint of a finger is also a novel and certain method of guarding against the alteration of the figures of a cheque. The figures are written on the imprint, and Mr. F. Galton possesses a photograph of such a cheque as actually sent. The iris of the human eye is another promising field for the coming science. Makers of artificial eyes tell one that, out of rows upon rows of different eyes in drawers upon drawers, it is often impossible to match an eye. One has to be made a little like one of the pattern eyes with some particular markings out of another one of the number, and so on.

We have certainly grounds for expecting some practical results from Mr. F. Galton's investigations; but they will benefit posterity and not the present generation, for vast collections of data must be made and compared before a reliable system of scientific identification can be established.

The International Aeronautical Exhibition at Vienna.—Vienna this year is holding her first International Aeronautical Exhibition in the Ausstellungsstrasse, in the Prater. At the same time, though Russia is constructing balloons for all her western fortresses, the Galician line of defences has no aeronautical aids, in spite of the fact that to Cracow and Przemysl balloons might be of priceless value; and Austria is still almost the only Power in Europe destitute of an aeronautical corps. The Exhibition is of great interest, not so much for the striking novelty of the exhibits, but for their variety. There are nine sections, and together they present a fairly exhaustive summary of the aeronautical knowledge of the century. I say only "fairly exhaustive" with a purpose; for Great Britain, as far as I can observe, is only represented by a portrait of Mr. Glaisher. If we except the system of electric night-signalling, the main advances in ballooning in England have been made by our balloon corps of Royal Engineers, so that, perhaps, we ought to be glad that these have not reached the foreign Exhibition; but its Flying Machine Section would have been the more complete for the fine collection of fifty working models belonging to Mr. F. Brearey, hon. secretary of the Aeronautical Society of Great Britain, and "My Life and Balloon Experiences," by Mr. Coxwell (published 1887), would have been a pleasant addition to the very interesting specialist literature on view in Sections 5 and 7. The Exhibition in the Ausstellungsstrasse is on the ground of the only large aeronautical establishment in Austria-Hungary—that of Herr Victor Silberer, the well-known sporting writer and editor of the *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung*. This journal, by the way, is the only German weekly that devotes a standing portion of its columns to aeronautics. The variety and order of the Exhibition speak for the knowledge and organizing gift of Herr V. Silberer, and his prudence and judgment are testified by a little work of his in Section 6, entitled "Die Unmöglichkeit der Lenkbarmachung des Luftballons."

The general public are perhaps most attracted to the Balloon House, where are fourteen balloons, some models and some full size, of various forms and materials. All are made throughout with inland materials only, and some are cigar-shaped, some pear-shaped, some cylindrical, spherical, and even ring-shaped. The three large balloons with which Herr V. Silberer proposes to make ascents during the summer are two of spherical form and one pear-shaped, the former being the present approved form for balloons otherwise than navigable. These three balloons are respectively of 600, 1100, and 2000 cubic metres gas capacity. The latter, the giant "Austria," will be capable of lifting eight persons, and is the largest balloon yet made in Vienna. Herr V. Silberer is now being assisted in the completion of these large balloons by a nephew of the famous French aeronaut, Mr. Godard, who will also accompany him in the coming ascents.

Perhaps the really most interesting section of the Exhibition is the collection of balloon valves in the Long Hall, Section 6, and for the reason that some of these systems are now actually in use in the

German, French, Prussian, Italian, and Chinese armies. There are only two exhibits—one from Paris and one from Frankfurt-on-Main—of the great desideratum for balloons—varnish. Scientific instruments, as needed by aëronauts, are very well represented, and there is a good collection of photographs, some taken from balloon, as sent by Mr. Gaston Tissandier, professor of chemistry, and editor of *La Nature*, Mr. Yon, of Paris, and others.

The science of aëronautics has its curios and antiquities, and they are represented at Vienna. There is the navigable balloon model of Heinrich Ressel, the German claimant of the invention of the screw, an historical rarity without practical value; there is also exhibited *Le Ballon Poste*, the journal of the siege of Paris, printed on fine silk paper, in 1870, and issued regularly by balloon to the provinces; and, lastly, there is the veteran balloon "Vindobona," well known to the Viennese: it is made of silk, and, with its car and net, is all of French manufacture. The famous French aëronaut, Mr. Godard, made his first ascent in Vienna by its means, and between 1882 and 1887 the "Vindobona" made ninety-seven journeys, some attended with risk and adventure. It will ascend no more, and, lying there prone on the floor of the Exhibition, it is still a centre of attraction to all classes of Viennese, from the specialist to the *gamin*.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Trade Routes to Siberia.—Captain Wiggins, for the last fifteen years the indefatigable pioneer of the sea trade with Siberia, was accompanied on his last voyage to the mouth of the Yenisei, by Mr. Sullivan, representing the "Phœnix Merchant Adventurers" of Newcastle-on-Tyne. The results as to trade are encouraging, the cargo brought from England was successfully disposed of, and considerable orders were received for next season, when the Phœnix Adventurers intend to freight a larger steamer to the mouth of the Yenisei, and have her cargo tugged down the river by the *Phœnix*, now left behind there, in an immense barge, at present in course of construction at Yeniseisk. Siberian wheat, salt, leather, wool, and butter are to be purchased for shipment to England, and it is understood that the Phœnix merchants have obtained the privilege of free importation of goods into Siberia by the Polar Sea for three years.

The enterprise, to prove the feasibility of which Captain Wiggins devoted so many years, may now be considered fairly started, by this, his eleventh voyage through the Kara Straits. Previous failures by others to navigate that channel he attributes to mistakes, either in

the choice of time, or in the class of vessels selected for the experiment.

It will be a surprise to most English readers to hear of the class of goods which may find a market in Siberia, associated in their minds with the penal solitude of exile. Mr. Sullivan undertakes, for instance, to dispose of a grand piano at a large profit in Yeniseisk, and can show a photograph of a Siberian drawing-room as luxuriously furnished as any in Europe. A recent English traveller, on producing a small toy-telephone as a present in a house in Irkutsk, was greatly surprised to find his host's study fitted up with the same instrument in the newest and most improved form. The great cost of goods imported overland from Russia opens a field for profitable competition for the cheaper maritime route.

Another scheme for opening a trade route between Europe, Siberia, and China, hitherto regarded as visionary, has received increased prominence from the development of the Yenisei trade. This is a project advocated by M. Golochavastoff for a railway 262 miles long, to connect the extensive Obi and Irtish water system with the Northern Ocean at the mouth of the river Karataika, westward of the dreaded Straits of Kara, and in the region of the influence of the Gulf Stream, where navigation can be carried on with perfect safety for four or five months of the year. There are no great engineering difficulties, and the scheme seems otherwise feasible, but in the present financial condition of Russia it is scarcely likely to be attempted.—(*Times*, March 9, 1888.)

Flower Farms in Provence.—The United States Consul at Marseilles has forwarded to his Government an interesting report on floriculture for the manufacture of essences, in the districts of Grasse, Seillans, &c. Violets, jonquils, and mignonette are usually picked in February, March, and April, though the former, in exceptionally mild and damp seasons, come into blossom in December. Roses, orange-blossom, thyme, and rosemary are gathered in May and June; tuberose and jasmine in July and August; lavender in September; and acacia in October and November. Roses and orange-blossoms are, however, the chief crops, the others being grown principally by small proprietors among their vines and olives. One of the largest flower farms visited was that of the Marquise de Rostaing at Seillans, situated about 2000 feet above the sea, and twenty miles from the coast, on the southern slope of the Maritime Alps. Here a tract of twenty-five acres had, up to 1881, been planted with olives, which gave very scanty produce, as the soil was chalky and poor. Hence the enterprising proprietress determined to convert it into a scent farm, and, after cutting down the olives, had the ground trenched to a depth of four feet, and made arrangements for the requisite irrigation. In the autumn of 1881 she had planted 45,000 violet plants and 140,000 of white jasmine, and in the following spring the rest of the ground was planted with roses, geraniums, jonquils, &c., and a laboratory built for the extraction of essences. In the fourth year—1885—the property which had previously yielded

an income of £23, produced sent to the value of £863, leaving a net profit of £154. As the preliminary expenses were very heavy, and interest on capital is deducted from profits, the latter represent a very satisfactory result, particularly as the plants were not yet perfectly mature.

Railway to Teheran.—Private accounts from the Caspian describe the railway from Resht to Teheran as already in hand, the engineers being on the spot and material commencing to arrive from Europe *via* Batoum and the Transcaucasian railway. The line is being constructed by a Belgian syndicate, enjoying the warm support of the Russian Government. It is expected that the undertaking will be rapidly completed, the Shah as well as the Russian authorities being impatient in this respect. Labour for the line is being secured in South Russia, the contracts mostly specifying that the men shall proceed to Persia as soon as the river Volga opens in the spring. Many Asiatics employed in the construction of the Russian line to Merv, and afterwards discharged, have already arrived on the spot, and are being utilized in the preliminary works. At present it is not contemplated to push the line any farther ahead, but plans exist for extending it eastward to Meshed and south to the Persian Gulf. As regards the former it is proposed afterwards to carry it on to Herat and India. This, when the section from Baku to Resht is also finished, will open a new route to India from the Black Sea, and give Batoum immense commercial importance. Although to a certain extent these schemes are still in the air, they are favoured by the Russian Government, and may be confidently expected to be realized by degrees.—(*Engineering*, Feb. 17, 1888.)

Prospects of Navigation on the Upper Irawadi.—Captain Rimmer, recently deputed to explore the Irawadi above Bhamo, hitherto regarded as the superior limit of navigation on that river, believes that it will be found practicable for steamers in the dry season for 100 or 140 miles higher. A promising field would here be opened for British trade with the country inhabited by the Kacheyens, who cultivate cotton and opium, and bring honey, beeswax, and caoutchouc into the villages for barter. The lateral valley of the Moyoung Creek would also be tapped, when the traffic at present carried on by boats would be largely developed, and Moyoung itself brought six days nearer to Bhamo.

Progress of the Manchester Canal.—The *Times* of May 21, 1888, gives a sketch of the present state of the new waterway, which, at the actual rate of progress, may easily be finished long before the period of four years assigned for its completion. All along its whole length of 35 miles the work is actively proceeding, and the steam digger or "devil," watched where possible by eager crowds of spectators, is rapidly cutting its way to the requisite depth. The length is divided into nine sections of three to four miles, each an independent unit under separate superintendence. What is visible as yet is described as "seeming chaos."

Engines and endless trains of trucks (says the article) hurry over mazes

of railway, fragmentary bits of cutting in some places, and embanking at others; rural colonies of workmen's wooden houses suggestive of the bush or the backwoods; green fields and ground of all sorts suddenly converted into contractors' yards, offices, and workshops; a day-long uproar (sometimes night-long also) of steaming, forging, hammering, digging, and building; all is controlled by master minds, but the outline of their plan seldom reveals itself to observation.

The original plan of a tidal canal was abandoned, on the representations of the engineer, Mr. Leader Williams, that its termination in an artificial ravine at Manchester would be a serious impediment to traffic, and a freshwater canal with four locks, giving an aggregate lift of 60 feet 6 inches, has been substituted. Water in abundance will be forthcoming, as the supply from the Mersey, Irwell, and minor streams will be supplemented by springs laid bare in cutting, and, if necessary, from the Thirlmere pipes now being laid to Manchester. The lower reaches are being cut entirely through the land skirting the southern shore of the estuary, which it enters at Eastham Ferry, about six miles inland from Birkenhead, nearly opposite the new growing port of Garston, on the Lancashire shore. The channel has to be cut in a great measure regardless of the rivers that feed it, crossing their tortuous beds at many points, and only utilizing them for short distances. The minimum depth of the canal will be 26 feet, the same as that of the Suez Canal, with a floor width varying from 120 feet to 170 feet, and a surface width of from 135 feet to 260 feet. Road and railway bridges crossing it are to leave 75 feet of clear headway, and steamers whose topmasts exceed this height will have room to pass by telescoping them. Those of the broadest beam will be able to pass each other in the navigable channel, and at the wider places the largest ships will be able to turn without obstructing the traffic. The locks are in sets of three, placed side by side, for the separate accommodation of barges and larger and smaller vessels. It is calculated that, with the minimum supply of water, the canal can pass daily 25 steamers of 2000 to 3000 tons, 50 of 500 to 2000 tons, and 100 barges of 50 to 100 tons.

The level of the canal at the entrance and lower reaches will, during the greater part of most tides, be that of the deep water outside, so that ships can enter it without being locked, and its promoters have dwelt on the fact, that the sill of the canal being deeper than that of any dock in Liverpool, enabling large vessels to enter through the locks of the canal during great part of every tide and smaller ones at nearly all tides, will give it an advantage over that port, which can only admit ships during a shorter period of each tide. It is declared that they will "very frequently be able to discharge at Manchester as soon as they would have been in any Liverpool dock." Very large dock accommodation will be provided; those at Latchford will cover 23 acres, and the combined area of the three sets at Manchester will be over 62 acres. The contractor is Mr. Walker, of Westminster, and the price £5,750,000, of which £500,000 may be paid in shares. A Manchester weekly, the *Manchester Merchant*,

makes ship canal news, with engravings and descriptions, one of its leading features.

The Silk Industry in Asia Minor.—A recent book by Mr. Cochran,* gives interesting details of the methods practised by the silk growers of the Smyrna district, from personal observation during an entire season. The diseases which had wrought such havoc among the silkworms in Europe spread to Asia Minor in 1857, resulting eventually in the almost total abandonment of sericulture. Its revival is mainly due to the efforts of Mr. John Griffitt, of Bournabat, Vice-Consul for the United States at Smyrna, who, by the use of Pasteur's method, has succeeded in raising perfectly healthy seed, or *graine*, for distribution to the peasantry of the neighbourhood. A system of selection and isolation is the one practised, the worms being reared in separate cells, that the diseased might not contaminate the healthy, and the latter only are allowed to survive. Eggs, moths, cocoons, and worms are subjected to strict microscopical examination, and thus, by carrying on the process of elimination during a series of generations, a perfectly healthy race is eventually secured. The most minute care is moreover required in regard to temperature, cleanliness, ventilation, as well as in the preparation and supply of the food of the voracious little creatures, which in the earlier stages of their existence require the mulberry-leaves to be finely shred, and in the later must be continuously fed from 5 A.M. to 11 P.M. When about to undergo transformation their translucent bodies are seen to be stuffed with amber silk, with which they are so heavy as to be liable to burst if they fall from a height of a few feet.

Breeds of Silkworms.—The diseases which destroy them are *pebrine*, visible in dark spots on the body, and caused by parasites or corpuscles distributed through the whole texture of the organism, and *flacherie*, attributed to general flaccidity of fibre, and resulting in imperfect digestion and development of ferments in the diseased structure. The regenerated seed produced by Mr. Griffitt is eagerly competed for among the peasants of the neighbourhood, who pay by a percentage on their harvest, varying with their distance from the centre of distribution. Different breeds threatened with extinction by disease have been restored to vitality in his nurseries, the large white Bagdad worms, or a cross between them and a strong yellow race, promising to be the most remunerative. In the hatching of these hybrid eggs a curious freak of nature almost invariably occurs in the appearance among the brood of a few dark-brown individuals, from which a distinct race may be eventually reared. The striking results of the silk-harvest of 1885, when Mr. Griffitt's system had begun to work, are an encouragement for its further extension. His own produce, from 1½ oz. of seed, yielding 60,000 insects, was 255lb. of cocoons, or 170lb. per oz. of eggs hatched, while that of the farmers, whom

* "Pen and Pencil in Asia Minor." By Wm. Cochran. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1887.

he supplied with seed, was 115lb. to the ounce. These figures far surpass those of the average returns for France and Italy, which are respectively 77lb. and 62lb. per ounce of eggs, thus showing that the scientific breeding of insects may be made as remunerative as that of quadrupeds.

Manufacture of Turkey Carpets.—The great seat of this industry, according to the author we have been quoting, is the village of Oushak, containing about 3500 houses, and situated on a plateau 3000 feet above the sea, 70 miles from the railway, and accessible only by a rude bridle-path, over which the most valuable carpets are transported on camel-back. The term "Turkey carpet," as used in Europe, applies almost exclusively to the products of this place, though two other towns—Ghiordes and Koula—each with a population of 12,000, and situated within a radius of 150 miles from Smyrna, are engaged in the same industry to a smaller extent. The wool employed, that of the fat-tailed sheep, obtained from Turkoman tribes in the vicinity, is combed and spun by the old women of the town, after being washed in an adjoining stream. The yarn is loosely spun, giving a special softness both of colour and texture to the resulting fabric; and a recent attempt to replace hand-spinning by machinery had to be abandoned, as the goods thus produced had the unyielding hardness of those made in Europe. A local market takes place once a week for the sale of the yarn, the dyeing of which is now a separate industry. The old vegetable dyes, which had been abandoned for a time in favour of more glaring colours, are now in vogue again, madder being used for the reds, valonia for cream-colour and browns, indigo for blues, yellow berries for the reds and greens, and cochineal, to a limited extent, for some of the purplish tones. The looms, which are rudely though strongly built, stand in open sheds in the court-yards of almost all the houses, and mechanical appliances contribute little to the perfection of the result. "In forming the pile and pattern" (says our author) "little tufts of coloured yarns, taken from bobbins suspended above the weavers are tied to the warp in rows; the woof is passed by hand without the aid of a shuttle, when the pile and woof are driven closely together with a heavy wooden comb, and the tufts clipped short and smooth with picturesque-looking shears." The weavers are paid but 4*l.* or 5*l.* for an average day's work.

Devastation by Crickets in Algeria.—The *Times* Paris correspondent, writing on May 7, describes the ravages of a plague of crickets by which Algeria is afflicted, succeeding to one of grasshoppers in the preceding year. The present destroyers resemble both locusts and grasshoppers, without being identical with either. They spring like the latter, but have a more rapid and sustained flight, like the former. They move in such masses as to form clouds, shutting out the light of the sun, and when they alight on the ground destroy every trace of vegetation. When they fall exhausted to the earth their numbers are such as to cover it with a dense layer giving rise to

noxious exhalations, and the railway trains between Constantine and Batna are stated to have been stopped by their accumulation on the line. The method still employed to check their advance is the old and expensive one of digging long trenches at right angles to the line of flight of the approaching swarms, and placing on the further side a sort of fence formed by a web of cloth. This being struck by the insects they fall into the pit, and are then covered with lime or mould. The Algerian authorities have already spent 700,000 francs, and contemplate a further expenditure of 1,000,000 francs, in trying to destroy them by this means. A more radical method of cure is practised by the British authorities in Cyprus for the extirpation of locusts, which are traced to their breeding-places and there destroyed in the earlier phases of their existence, before developing into the destructive swarms that periodically ravaged the island. Later accounts (June 11) represent the plague as still more formidable, and the province of Constantine as in panic at the approach of a swarm in a dense mass twelve miles broad by six deep.

Buried Cities in Arizona.—A recent traveller in Arizona, Mr. Frank Cushing, has, according to the *American Naturalist*, discovered the remains of two ancient cities, believed to have been inhabited by the ancestors of the present Zuni Indians, a tribe into which Mr. Cushing was adopted some years ago, being initiated into the mysteries of the priesthood. While with them during the spring of 1887, at a place called Tempe, about thirty miles from Maricopa, a station on the Southern Pacific Railway, he heard of a large truncated mound in the desert some six or seven miles distant. He examined it, and, concluding it to be artificial, had it opened, when the ruins of a great building were brought to light, which, from its correspondence in many points to the observances of the present Zuni religion, was obviously a temple. Further exploration discovered the city to which it had belonged, which appeared to have been three miles in length, and in some places one in width, irregularly laid out in large blocks or squares of houses, and surrounded by a high wall. Its ruin was evidently the work of an earthquake; the *adobe* walls had fallen outwards, shaken from the foundations, the roofs had fallen in, crushing everything, even to the cooking vessel standing on the fire, as well as many bodies found among the *débris*. The graves of priests, found within the houses, contained cooking utensils and pottery, decorated like that in use among the tribe at the present day, but ordinary cemeteries, where bodies were disposed of both by cremation and interment, were located outside the walls. No implement of metal was found. To this city Mr. Cushing has given the name of Los Muertos, and to a second, where extensive irrigation works existed in connection with a river some miles off, that of Los Acequias. A Boston lady, Mrs. Augustus Hemenway, supplies the funds for excavation, and American and foreign archæologists are now assisting Mr. Cushing in his work.

Tank Restoration in Ceylon.—A succession of festivities and ceremonies were held in the last week of February 1887, at Kala-

wewa in Northern Ceylon, to celebrate the restoration of its great tank by the Government. The policy of restoring the ancient irrigation works of the island, though not originated by Sir Arthur Gordon, will make his administration famous, for these huge reservoirs spread fertility and cultivation over large tracts, previously covered by morass and jungle. Districts in Northern Ceylon, which supported a large population in the early centuries of our era, have since become uninhabitable, from the destruction of the irrigation works of the ancient kings. The Colonial Government has, during the past years, devoted its energies to their restoration, and on February 22 the Kalawewa tank, the largest and most important, was formally opened by the Governor. Constructed in 460 A.D. to supply the capital of Anuradhpura with water, it was fed by a canal fifty-four miles in length, which distributed water to a series of village tanks along its course. The great reservoir, with an area of 4425 acres, or about seven square miles, and a contour of thirty miles, is surrounded on all sides but one by high ground from which it is fed, while the open side is blocked by a Cyclopean embankment six miles long, 60 feet high, and 20 feet wide at the top, formed of large blocks of stone and earthwork, and provided with a fine spill wall, 260 feet long, 200 feet wide, and about 40 feet high. A breach of 1000 feet wide, the work of a heavy flood or an invader, which destroyed the tank at some unknown period, has now been repaired, and the tank, with its area of seven miles, covered to a depth of 20 feet, has resumed its function of supplying villages over a district as large as an English county, and replenishing other centres of distribution to a distance of fifty miles.—*Times*, April 3, 1888.

Gipsies and Jews in Central Asia.—An article on the Syr Darya region, in a recent number of the *Russische Revue*, states that among the inhabitants are two tribes of gipsies, the Masang and Ljuli, the former of whom are believed, though without any certain knowledge as to the when and how, to have migrated from Turkey, and the latter from India. Both are Mohammedans, and both speak Turkish and Persian. The Masang wander from town to town and from settlement to settlement, as small traders and pedlars, while the Ljuli (probably the same as the Persian Luri) lead a half-nomad life, living in winter in the settlements of other races, and in summer moving about with their possessions among the cultivated oases, earning a living by the usual gipsy tricks—the children by begging, dancing, singing, and tumbling; women by fortune telling, quackery, and the practice of minor rogueries. The two tribes together number only about 500 to 600 families, scattered through the province. Throughout Central Asia there are recognized two classes of Jews, one composed of immigrants from Russia, settled mainly in Tashkend, as artisans, traders, and usurers, in numbers small as yet, but yearly increased by fresh arrivals. The local Jews, who originally came from Persia, called Iuguts, or in Tashkend, Bokhariot Jews, were, before the Russian conquest, despised and oppressed by the natives of the country, were compelled to live in separate quarters of the

towns, and were not allowed to ride in the streets, or wear any other girdle than a common rope knotted round the waist. Now that these vexatious distinctions have been abolished, their numbers are also increasing by immigration from Persia and Bokhara, but as yet they are reckoned as no more than 1000 persons of both sexes, employed likewise as artisans, pedlars, and usurers.

Route from Assam to Upper Burmah.—The recent expedition of Mr. Needham, Captain Michell, and Mr. Ogle, despite many difficulties from coolies and weather, is thought to have established the practicability of the much needed route from the Valley of the Brahmaputra to that of the Irawadi. The starting point of the party was Makum, the terminus of a railway connecting that point with the head of steam navigation on the Brahmaputra. The crossing of the dividing range was effected under considerable difficulties, owing to incessant rains and the necessity of cutting a passage through the thick brushwood for the elephants, but the important fact was elicited that the gradients were very easy, the rise of 920 feet from Nimrong to the top of the Patkoi Mountains (4200 feet) being spread over thirty miles, and the descent into Upper Burmah on the other side being of the same gradual character. Although the entire route was not surveyed, owing to the failure to effect a junction with the Burmese expedition from Mogoung, enough has been accomplished to corroborate the arguments of Mr. Holt Hallett and others as to the facility of communication by this route, and the possibility of its being made the line of a road, or even railway. The existence of a large coal supply at Makum, where extensive collieries are already being worked by the Assam Railways and Trading Company, would much favour the construction of the latter, and help to establish this route as the future line of railway communication between India and China.

Exploration of the Source of the Brahmaputra.—The identity of the great Tibetan river, the Sangpo, with the Brahmaputra, has been conclusively ascertained by one of the Indian native surveyors, styled K. P., in a recent exploration of the North-east frontier of India. The contrary view, that the Irawadi was the lower course of this stream, had been upheld down to recent years, but the question may now be considered as finally set at rest. K. P., a native of Sikkim, set out on his first journey as early as 1868, and discovered that the Sangpo made a great northerly bend before trending southward, but 150 miles of its lower course still remained to be accounted for, and to cover this gap he undertook a second journey in company with a Chinese lama, with orders to trace the southern bend of the river, or, should that prove impracticable, to throw logs into its current, for which a strict look out was to be kept in British territory. The lama turned traitor, sold his companion as a slave in the Pemakhoi country north of Assam, and decamped with the proceeds to China. K. P., thus left in captivity, succeeded eventually in making his escape, and traced the Sangpo to a point further south, where it falls in a grand cascade 150 feet high and spanned by a rainbow, into a dark

lake girdled with lofty cliffs. The Abbé Desgodins, a French missionary resident on the eastern frontier of Tibet, had previously reported the existence of this fall, which explains the difference in level between the channel of the Sangpo through the cold Tibetan plateau and its lower course through the torrid valley of Assam, representing a descent averaging about forty feet per mile. K. P. eventually reached Onlet, a short stage from a place called Miri Padam, on the Sangpo, resorted to by Assamese traders, and here he was told that he was within thirty-five miles of the plains of India, and believed he could see the haze above the Assamese valley as he looked down the river towards the eastern horizon.

Country of the Deb Raja.—To the exploration of another native traveller, known by the initials R. N., the Indian Government owes the first connected account that has been received of Bhutan since Captain Boileau Pemberton's mission to the Court of the Deb Raja in 1837–38. It is a singular fact that this tributary State, barely 100 miles in width, and marching with British territory throughout its whole extent, should have been until now so absolutely a *terra incognita* that the course of its greatest river was unknown to English geographers, though its whole drainage discharges through Indian territory. The explorer, R. N., entered the country at its western extremity, where it abuts on the strip of Tibet whence an attack was recently made on British troops in Sikkim. Following the ordinary trade route in a north-easterly direction, he found traces of the Bhutan war evident throughout Kurmed, in deserted terraces and ruined houses, as well as in the remains of the military roads made by the British forces. The river Diri Chu was crossed by a substantial chain bridge of great antiquity, about 350 feet long, and this part of the country was found to be inhabited by a race called Chingmis, described as of amiable disposition, and inhabiting dwellings better constructed than those of the Bhutanese. Both sexes wear pigtailed, and the women's dress approximates to that of the Kumaun tribes, but the men's resembles that of the Bhutanese, who form the whole official class of the country.

Manners of the Bhutanese.—These latter, whether of high or low degree, have the same indispensable equipments for travel, consisting of a long sword of native manufacture, three wooden cups fitting one inside the other, and a handkerchief. They are addicted to the use of intoxicants made from different kinds of grain, to chewing betel nut, and eating chillies in large quantities. They are said to be fiery tempered and easily provoked to anger.

When the Deb Raja or any of the powerful chiefs is on a journey, messengers are sent in advance to the villages along the route, whose inhabitants are required to light fires and burn scented woods to purify the air. The retainers on these occasions form a long procession, led by the luggage-carriers, after whom comes an escort of soldiers in various picturesque costumes; then the flag-bearer with a drum and fife band, a long string of richly caparisoned horses and mules, a troop of minor officials, two buffoons attired in gaudy silk costumes,

cutting capers and beating drums, and finally the Raja or chieftain, followed by a crowd of miscellaneous attendants.

The lamas or priests wear caps, the laymen puggarees, and their garments, reaching to the knee, are met by gaiters or long woollen stockings, with leather shoes as foot-gear. The women have clothes descending to their ankles, and are covered with ornaments. Both sexes shave their heads, with the exception of the Chingmi women, who wear their hair long. Polygamy has, since the date of Captain Pemberton's visit, much decreased, and the women enjoy perfect freedom. Costly marriage ceremonies are confined to the rich, among whom the bridegroom's parents are expected to give money for the dowry, and clothes and jewels to the bride, sometimes expending as much as 800 rupees. Muzzle-loading guns, with either flint locks or percussion caps, are both manufactured in the country and imported from Nepaul, and shields, proof against their penetrating power, are used, as well as native swords of highly tempered steel and very pliant. Feuds between the chieftains are often decided by single combat. Taxes are paid in local produce by the villages, which also maintain and construct the roads and bridges in their respective districts. The currency, coined in part by the Government, is in gold and silver coin. The chief monastery is Tashichu-jong, but it contains no more than 300 priests, an insignificant figure beside the thousands in the Tibetan lamaseries.

Notes on Novels.

The Mystery of a Hansom Cab. By FERGUS W. HUME.
Melbourne. 1887.

A SHILLING "thriller," by an Australian, which has attained not only a sale of 125,000 copies, but the apotheosis of dramatization for the London stage, deserves to be treated seriously on the unquestionable ground of success. Nor is its reputation undeserved, for in the class of literature to which it belongs, that of the police-court story, dealing with the broader lights and shades of human nature, it is fairly entitled to a high place. The style is full of vitality: curiosity is held suspended by an ingenious complication in the drama of crime, and incidental lights are thrown on Australian manners and society. The more refined reader may perhaps object to getting a little too much of the purlieus of Melbourne, and to the rude realism with which Mother Guttersnipe and her den are pre-

sented to him. The new civilization, transplanted to such far distant lands, seems in some respects almost worse than the barbarism it supersedes.

Farebrother, the Miser. By B. L. FARJEON. London: Ward & Downey. 1888.

ANY one acquainted with Mr. Farjeon's style knows that a mysterious murder with a police investigation, and full-length reports from the daily papers, must occur somewhere within the compass of the three volumes. In this case the usual ingredients are heightened by the conviction for parricide of the innocent and lovely daughter of the murdered miser, mainly in consequence of a mistake as to the hue of her dress by a colour-blind witness. As in all criminal fiction, the blundering folly of the good people throws the game into the hands of the scheming villain, who, with his equally villainous mother, is here an obvious reproduction of Uriah Heep and his unpleasant parent.

Narka. By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. London: R. Bentley. 1888.

THE tyrannical oppression of Russian despotism has long been a favourite theme with novelists, and Miss O'Meara has added another to the list of those who seek their heroes and heroines among conspirators of that nation against the present order of society. A certain novelty and freshness, however, in her treatment of the subject enables us to forget that we are reading that most unsatisfactory of literary hybrids, a political novel, and gives an interest to the characters that carries us through their occasional aberrations into Nihilism and nitro-glycerine. The tangled skein of private and public intrigue is fairly unravelled in the end, though the heroine seems to us badly used in being deprived of her lover, and only compensated with the career of a prima donna, and an ovation at the San Carlo. A devoted Sister of Charity, charmingly described, furnishes an artistic foil to the more worldly characters, over whom she exercises a happy influence.

Joy Cometh in the Morning. By ALGERNON GISSING. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1888.

A STAGE-COACH accident, which deposits one of the passengers to recover from a broken leg in an English village, brings us into the midst of the characters of Mr. Gissing's pretty, old-fashioned tale of rural life. The traveller comes upon a clue by which the secret of his birth is gradually unravelled, and finds his fortunes bound up with a mysterious manor-house, where the blind heroine

is secluded from the outer world by the machinations of an evil guardian. Granted the antecedent improbability of this state of things, the story of her deliverance is very prettily worked out, and the devotion of the zealous young vicar who aids in it, and in whom, despite her misfortune, she inspires a passionate attachment, is fittingly rewarded by the gift of her hand and fortune in the third volume. The disabled traveller, who turns out to be her nearest relation, has not been meantime left without the congenial occupation which Mr. Watts tells us is plentifully provided for idle hands by infernal agency, and has wrecked the happiness of two pretty rustic sisters by transferring his affections from one to the other with cold-blooded cruelty. The blameless one recovers to recognize the worth of a more deserving suitor, but the other, whose coquetry has been her ruin, dies heart-broken at the abandonment of her treacherous lover. All these elements, combined with a graceful power of narration, form a whole with a sufficiently distinctive character to hold a place of its own amid the innumerable multitude of contemporary novels.

Chris. By W. E. NORRIS. London: Macmillan. 1888.

MR. NORRIS narrates, with his usual lightness of touch, the adventures and misadventures of a bright interesting girl, Christina, or "Chris," Compton. The scene opens at Cannes, but is quickly changed to London, when the heroine, orphaned by the sudden death of her father, is transferred from the fashionable circles he had moved in, to the guardianship of a miserly aunt, and the obscurity of a poor residence remote from the haunts of the great world. To the latter she is, however, temporarily restored by an invitation to a country-house, where she captivates—first, a drunken squire, to whom her worldly hostess seeks to marry her, and, secondly, the son of the latter, an impecunious attaché, while she has, meantime, a third lover in the background, in the shape of a penniless but good-looking scamp, with whom she had when little more than a child allowed herself to be drawn into a sort of semi-engagement. A chance meeting with all three in the Bois de Boulogne is so contrived as to leave the two former under the impression that she has eloped with the latter, while she has really fled from her aunt's house alone, in a fit of not unreasonable anger at the poisoning of her favourite dog. All difficulties are solved by the opportune death of the obnoxious relative, bequeathing an inheritance of ninety thousand pounds, by the help of which the claims of Cupid and Mammon are happily reconciled in the end. It must be admitted that the love-making throughout is of a very half-hearted character, the hero's passion seems to smoulder conveniently during the eclipse of his lady love's fortunes, while, as she only discovers the state of her affections some months after parting from him, we may fairly surmise that she would not have been inconsolable had he never reappeared.

Tony, the Maid. By BLANCHE W. HOWARD. London :
Sampson Low. 1888.

THIS sparkling novelette opens brilliantly, but degenerates, ere its close, into farce that ceases to be humorous, and the interest of the reader is alienated when the amiable but feeble-minded American spinster, who rejoices in the services of the incomparable "Tony," alias Antoninia, makes so sorry an exhibition of her feminine weakness. The manners of the travelling English are sharply satirized, but the authoress lays herself open to the retort that the exaggerated punctilio of our countrywomen would, by most Europeans, be considered preferable to that freedom of manners in hers which admits of an active flirtation with a common boatman.

A Counsel of Perfection. By LUCAS MALET. London :
Kegan Paul. 1888.

A TALE like this, pitched throughout in the minor key, is not a very exhilarating variation on the commonplace type of novel. Its subject, the first love episode which breaks the monotony of the life of a staid spinster of thirty-seven, is not interesting in proportion to its novelty, and the old-fashioned heroine of blushing seventeen will still bear the palm with the ordinary reader. The attraction of the prim and faded prettiness of Lydia Casteen for the shallow sentimentalist, Anthony Hammond, is scarcely made intelligible, and his constancy, after some interludes of wavering, seems inconsistent with the caprice of so light a nature. Her final sacrifice of happiness to duty, represented by a querulous and exacting student-father, forms a dreary ending to a dreary tale. Some of the secondary characters are hit off with graphic touches, and the incidental sketches of the scenery and surroundings of Interlaken will suggest pleasant memories to those who have sojourned in that metropolis of tourists.

The Strange Adventures of a House-boat. By WILLIAM BLACK.
London : Sampson Low. 1888.

THAT considerable section of the public which takes its pleasure in freshwater aquatics will find agreeable associations in Mr. Black's itinerary of an inland voyage from the Thames through the Midlands, and back by the canal system of the southern counties. The unamphibious reader will, on the other hand, find the ordinary incidents of such a journey somewhat over lengthily described, while the thread of romance running through them is of the slightest. There is, however, some ingenuity in the surprise sprung on the reader in the second volume, when the eligible young man, destined apparently by the author, as well as by the chaperone of the party, to mate with the heroine as the inevitable result of the trip, relinquishes his place in favour of a Scotch colonel, introduced for the

first time on the scene by this shuffling of the cards. Seen through a lalo of Highland romance and Jacobite tradition, he quickly captivates the pretty American girl, whose banjo and golden-brown hair have produced a like effect upon him, and their unhindered wooing pursues its calm course throughout the rest of the voyage. The perpetual chorus of laudation in which Mr. Black's other characters combine to sing the praises of his heroine become slightly nauseating after a time, and it seems open to doubt whether the minds of any class of people in real life are so unceasingly occupied with the perfections of their friends. It also seems a little hard on English girls, not only to see themselves eclipsed by their American sisters in real life, but to have to yield the *pas* to them in fiction as well.

John Westacott: a Novel. By JAMES BAKER. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1888.

WE are informed that this is a second edition, and Mr. Baker expresses his gratitude to his "critics," who have been "kind to a fault." On looking at the extracts from reviews printed at the end of the volume, we find that the *Blackburn Standard* and the *Bristol Times* are the most laudatory. The *Spectator* contents itself with calling it "effective." The *Yorkshire Herald*, to be sure, says it is "inexpressibly fine:" but the wary reader knows that kind of phrase. If he takes up the book himself, he will find a fairly written story, quite unexciting, and much too long drawn out. There is some pretty writing about Bohemian scenery, and the character and surroundings of the heroine, Lieschen, are made somewhat interesting by dint of insistence on details. But the book is trying to read. The writer must be a lady—there is so much fuss about the mooning "aspirations" of the poor girl, such an unsteady hand in the delineation of the young Englishman of the period, and so much lady-like prose in the shape of reflections. The men have a burlesque swagger about them, as if they were women masquerading in men's clothes. The tragedy, such as it is, is the tragedy of "Faust" over again; and the writer commits the mistake, which English people usually make, of leaving out the religious element altogether. The Catholic girl, brought up in the practice of Mass, confession, and holy Communion, is represented as having no more faith or religious principle than the ordinary English parson's daughter, whose "religion" usually consists of her social environment. Hence the tale is unreal, and not very edifying.

The Lindsays; a Romance of Scottish Life. By JOHN K. LEYS. Three Vols. London: Chatto & Windus. 1888.

IT is not difficult for a moderately skilled novelist to make a good deal out of the old machinery of a millionaire, a will, and a forgery; and Mr. Leys has succeeded in making his romance interesting. But there are symptoms about the book which betray

the existence in the writer's breast of a nobler ambition than merely to tell a good story. The reader once or twice is led to think himself in for a religious novel. There are some very clever, if caustic, sketches of clergymen and clerical doings. The author's experiences are all on the north of the Tweed. The Kirk of Scotland and the Free Kirk are described with a light and easy touch, but in a way that makes one feel the writer has no sympathy with either. An honest but undecided medical student, a Highlander, and the only character in the book who is not either narrow or indifferent, appears here and there and enlivens the story with a good deal of humorous observation. He thus describes the two rival communions at Glenstruan:—

There's old Mr. Macfarlane, the parish minister. He's a decent man—a ferry decent man. He ladles oot castor oil an' cod-liver oil as occasion requires to the hail parish, an' the next ane tae, without fee or reward. He's a great botanist, and spends half his time in his gairden—grows a' sorts o' fruit, even peaches—I've been told. When the weather's suitable he gangs fishing. On Sabbath he has apoot forty folk in his big barn o' a kirk. . . . There's Maister MacPherson, the Free Kirk minister. He's a wee, soor, black-avised crater, wi' a wife an' nine weans. He's just eaten up wi' envy an' spite that the parish minister has the big hoose, and he has the wee ane. He mak's his sermons dooble as lang to let folk see that he does a' the wark (i. 133).

The hero is one of those tall, ungainly, awkward, fine, handsome and unconventional Scottish heroes, who conform to a well-known type created by Mr. William Black. He has a father, a Scottish farmer, narrow and exasperating enough to explain John Knox and all his doings; also a sister who carries out the family type, as modified in a handsome girl, with a cleverness which shows the author to understand character. There are two other young ladies, not much more than lay figures, to provide the needful amount of falling in and out of love; and two uncles, both rich, in whose homes the younger people live and have opportunities for the love-making, in the character of wards, cousins, nephews, and nieces, and other convenient relationships. There are some villains, the falsification of a will, and a trial, in which the incompetence of the lawyers on both sides is only to be excused by the requirements of the story. The unconventional hero gets very badly treated at one time, and is reduced to the verge of consumption, although he has a "phenomenally" splendid physique. Of course he goes to Australia, and comes back in that distressingly strong and bronzed condition which is the prelude to somebody leaving him an immense fortune. He then seeks out one of the young lady characters, who has been "expiating" at Brighton as a governess in a purgatory consisting of pert, ugly, and unpleasant children (girls), and, having asked her to marry him, finds she loved him "even then"—viz., when she refused him once before. There is no more, but this sounds promising. The novel is well worth reading, being both clever and good.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica.

Political Economy.—Among the several series of subjects in process of being treated in the pages of this periodical, we would desire to draw special attention to those on Political Economy, embracing as they do questions of most vital importance and interest at the present day, such as the rights of property, the nature of riches and national wealth, and the respective positions and rights of proprietors, of tenants, and of labourers. The opinions of the chief writers on this subject which have obtained credit and authority are always clearly stated, and then tried and sifted by the principles of reason and Christian morality, and what is erroneous or defective in them is lucidly indicated. The subject in the number for the 18th of February is the threefold partition of produced riches, namely, the division of these productions among those who have concurred in producing them—that is, as shown in a previous article, the proprietor, who furnishes the natural agents in their production; the capitalist, who anticipates the necessary expenses; and the workman, who contributes his labour. The writer more than once signifies his disagreement with Ricardo, McCulloch, Mill, and their followers. When the series is complete it will form a most solid and useful treatise on the subject of political economy, and will probably be published in that form.

A Monument to Padre Malagrida.—In these days, when the mania of erecting monuments has invaded Italy, and that, commonly, to individuals of very mediocre pretensions to merit of any order, to say no worse, and simply on account of their disobedience and hostility to the Church, it is refreshing to find the inhabitants of the little Borgo of Menaggio on Lake Como engaged in placing in their parish church a beautiful memorial of a truly great man, their saintly compatriot, the Apostle of Brazil, P. Gabriel Malagrida, of the Society of Jesus, who, in 1761, crowned his apostleship in Lisbon by the martyrdom of the stake, to which he was condemned by Pombal out of hatred to religion and in particular to the Jesuits, to whom, however, that wretched man was indebted for the attainment of the coveted power which he used for their destruction as well as the ruin of all the good works over which they presided, both in the Old and New World. The memory of Malagrida lay for a long time obscured and oppressed under the weight of the atrocious calumnies which his persecutor, not content with having done him to death, continued

to disseminate against him; but at last it has triumphed over all, and come forth in all its stainless purity, with that glorious aureole of sanctity which his contemporaries, and among them the Sovereign Pontiff, honoured in that great servant of God, a sanctity attested by countless miracles. We regret that we cannot do more than draw attention to the two interesting articles (in the numbers for January 5 and February 18) devoted to a sketch of his career. A third has appeared, giving the story of his martyrdom.

The Vatican Exhibition.—An enumeration and description of the different objects of note in the Vatican Exposition continue to occupy a considerable number of pages in each issue of the *Civiltà Cattolica*. It must be a laborious work, desiring, as the writers do, to give satisfaction to the contributors, and omit nothing which can be considered to deserve notice. Yet it must be hard to draw a line where often the zeal and devotion exhibited by donors, poor in this world's goods, seem in one way to entitle to a record their less costly offerings quite as much as the more valuable gifts of the wealthy.

7 Aprile, 1888.

Leo XIII., the Providential Pope in the Nineteenth Century.

—The first article in the issue of April 7 contains a vindication of Leo XIII.'s peculiar claims to this title. When a Pope exercises his apostolic ministry in a manner strikingly suited to the wants of the Church according to the circumstances of the times, we feel that he has been conceded to men by the special and loving Providence of God, and hence we call him a Providential Pope. The writer proceeds, after describing the state of the world, socially, intellectually, politically, and religiously, when Leo was chosen to take the helm of the tempest-tossed bark of Peter, which all the powers of earth and hell seemed banded together to engulf, to cast a rapid glance at the means which this great Pontiff, confident in the promises of God, has adopted to meet and allay the storm. The position in which he found himself bristled with difficulties. Without army, without treasury, deprived of all human aid, Leo appeared before the powers of the world, dominated by the Masonic sects, as heretofore the unarmed David presented himself before the giant, who, scoffing and blaspheming God, swore that he would give his flesh as a prey to the birds of the air and the beasts of the field. Humanly speaking, the cause of the Papacy seemed doomed.

The first thing to which the Pontiff addressed himself was to grapple with one of the strongest roots of the prevailing evils. He considered that this was to be found in the vitiated philosophic and scientific teaching of the schools, whence issued the poison propagated both orally and in the press, penetrating everywhere, and universally infecting education, whether speculative or practical.

To tear up this pernicious root was no slight undertaking. There were few even of Catholic schools which did not more or less adhere to the Cartesian philosophy, the principles of which are irreconcilable with pure Catholic doctrine. It was the origin of the materialism which has tainted the sciences, as the idealistic philosophy of Germany gave birth to the multifold forms of modern Pantheism. To obtain a thorough reform in the field of philosophy, the wise and prudent Pontiff did not put forth dogmatic definitions, but took a milder, but most efficacious line. In his Encyclical *Æterni Patris*, he held up the philosophic doctrine of St. Thomas as the guide to be followed in all Catholic schools, and pointed out the merits and superiority of his teaching over all other systems, of which he exposed the errors and dangers. In all the ecclesiastical colleges where professors teach in the name of the Church, and are therefore bound to obey the bishops, who are responsible for the education and instruction of their clergy, the banner thus raised by the Pontiff was followed with general alacrity. In a very short time the Angelic Doctor was held in his former high esteem, and this naturally reacted on the laity; so that, after many years of neglect and almost contempt into which the saint's doctrine had fallen, it began once more to be favourably regarded and made the basis of philosophic teaching in numerous schools conducted by lay teachers. The unspeakable value of this victory in the realm of ideas we have yet fully to realize. The Pontiff proceeded to put forth many striking documents concerning the duties of Christians, the right notion of the Christian family, and of the laws which govern civil society; and he made open war on the Masonic sects, exposing their pernicious character and ends. From his very first encyclical Leo XIII. thus manifested himself as the restorer of true wisdom, and his words were very generally regarded with even a certain respect outside the boundaries of the Church. The sects alone stood apart, gnashing their teeth, and vowing yet fiercer hostility against the Papacy, with a still firmer resolve, if possible, to annihilate it.

The writer then goes on to give a brief sketch of Leo's further conquests: how, by his mingled prudence, patience, forbearance, and firmness, he has won the esteem and consideration of those Governments which, at the outset of his Pontificate, were all either openly hostile or coldly indifferent. His success was the more wonderful, as the position of the Pope with regard to the Italian Government, ruled by the sects, was more critical than ever. Of all human power and all human help he was utterly despoiled; but Divine wisdom was with him, and guided his counsels. His triumph as respects Germany, where the Kulturkampf reigned at his accession, is fresh in all our memories; and the saying of the man of iron, the great German Chancellor, who, vanquished by his experience of Papal truth and justice, exclaimed, "We have gone to Rome without passing by Canossa"—is still ringing in our ears. Nay, more, we have seen the Pope chosen by the leading Protestant power in Europe as the arbiter of its political differences with a Catholic

State—differences which threatened to result in war—and receiving his verdict with as complete acquiescence as could have been manifested in mediæval times. The thoughts and anticipations which this fact arouses in our minds seem to carry us onwards to far larger issues in, perhaps, not a very remote future, which are indicated by the reviewer.

In conclusion, he dwells on the last event of this great Pontificate, which has borne so splendid a testimony to the justice and wisdom of the policy adopted by Leo XIII.—namely, the celebration of his sacerdotal jubilee, when, not Catholic Governments alone, but Protestant and even non-Christian States—Mahometan and Pagan—combined to evince their goodwill, sending him special embassies, precious gifts, and the most respectful and friendly congratulations, expressed in terms of the highest esteem. History, in all its annals, cannot record such a rich, solemn, and universal demonstration in honour of either Pope or monarch. Most true, therefore, was the inscription, written in letters of gold, in the great hall where Leo inaugurated the exposition of gifts: “Rome and the world to Leo XIII.” For, be it remembered, the true Rome, not the imported and official, is his in heart and soul. We refer our readers to the article itself for the conclusions and well-grounded hopes which may be derived from this marvellous act of homage of the entire world to the Vicar of Christ.

21 *Aprile*, 1888.

The Masonic Sect and the Anti-Masonic League.—After the Pope had published the Encyclical *Humanum genus* in condemnation of the Masonic sect, an Anti-Masonic League, as we know, was formed, with the object of preserving Catholics from the venom of its errors, and to combat its operations, so detrimental to the order of Christian society. The League was favoured by the Holy Father with many privileges and graces. In Spain it has been largely propagated, to the great alarm of the Freemasons, as is proved by a document issued by the great Central Lodge of Madrid of the Scotch Rite, and addressed to all the lodges in the Peninsula. The reviewer gives it verbatim, both in the original Spanish and in Italian. We commend it to the notice of those who consider Freemasonry as a harmless and even benevolent institution. Here, at least, its aims are openly avowed, which may be summed up under three heads. 1. To combat Catholicism. 2. To pervert youth. 3. To deprave woman—man’s fair companion, as it calls her—so miserably immured in Spain. The Jesuits figure, as usual, in a position highly honourable to them, that of being reckoned by the devil’s agents as prime movers in compassing the destruction of the “sacred” work—accursed, we should say—which they have in hand. The document, indeed, attributes the authorship of the League to this Society; “more occult than their own Freemasonry, but which the practised eye can discern everywhere, whether under the cassock

of the priest or the garb of the gentleman." It professes not to believe, however, that the Society of Jesus has recovered its former vital energy and prestige; all the same, it is clearly afraid of it, and adds that, if Freemasonry does not wish to be destroyed in detail, its adepts must rally round their banner. In like manner, while speaking with much contempt of a recent homily of the Bishop of Oviedo, directed against Freemasonry, and while making light, in particular, of his exhortation to combat it by the recitation of the Rosary, these "venerable masters" are evidently alarmed at his denunciations, perhaps not a little even by his Rosary; at least, the document lingers over the subject in an almost ludicrous style. Amongst the directions given to their followers, we may specify a particular specimen of boycotting which is recommended—namely, a prohibition "to buy anything at those public establishments which have over their doors the well-known inscription, "Not open on Feast-days."

19 *Maggio*, 1888.

Poland and Ireland.—In this number notice is taken in the *Cronaca Contemporanea* of the attempts made by the Liberalistic party to make capital of the Holy Father's action respecting Poland. It strives to represent him as sacrificing the most vital interests of souls in that country in order to ingratiate himself with the Russian Government, and thus serve the interests of his temporal power. A shameless lie, if ever there were such! Little, it may be supposed, do these men care for the souls of Polish Catholics. This sudden tenderness in their regard is, however, quite intelligible; it is a pretext which they hypocritically seize upon to vilify the Papacy. The conduct of Leo XIII., without taking into account the duties which bind the conscience of him who represents Christ upon earth, has been amply sufficient to prove that in endeavouring to renew relations with the Czar, the object he has at heart is to obtain for the persecuted Church of Poland a return of better days. It is to be hoped that the Poles will not permit themselves to be deluded by this sudden show of sympathy on the part of such suspicious friends. A parallel course is being pursued by the Masonic press of Italy with respect to the late Papal decree concerning Ireland. There, again, has been an outpouring of calumny and vituperation. The Masonic Jewish *Tribuno* has distinguished itself by its vile abuse. Affecting the same sudden tenderness for Ireland which has been manifested for Poland, it deplores its sad fate, and denounces as a flagrant error the Holy See's condemnation of "the Irish League and the whole Nationalist campaign." Now, as we know, the Pope has in no way condemned the National League, of which the Decree says not one word, nor is any *national* campaign censured. The English Government, observes the writer, would, no doubt, have desired that the Church should condemn Home Rule, that great movement, the aim of which is to revindicate for Ireland its autonomy and rights,

of which it was deprived by fraud and violence at the beginning of this century. But the Pope is the vindicator of justice and of charity, not the accomplice of oppressors. What, then, has he meant to say? Nothing more than that he disapproves of illicit means being used to shake off a galling yoke; such as violation of contracts, compulsion, and intimidation exercised over the will of others. In other words, the cause of Ireland is good, but not all the means which have been employed to forward it are justifiable. The writer adds that the English Government cannot but favourably regard the decision of Leo XIII., not, however, as service done to the dominant Tory party, but solely as an act of justice, which should contribute to diminish the number of offences in Ireland and confirm the people's minds in a sense of duty. Duty is the last theory which these Liberals choose to understand or recognize. Hence the *Tribuno* writes, "The people will accustom themselves to consider the Church as the enemy of their country, and the duties of a citizen as opposed to those of a Catholic;" as if Boycotting and the Plan of Campaign were the duty of a citizen, and constituted his legitimate and national means of obtaining and securing liberty. This is what they desire, and right glad would they be if they could by their lies and misrepresentations foment this spirit in Catholic Ireland as well as in Catholic Poland.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

1. *Katholik*.

THE March number contains a learned paper on Cardinal Pecci's recent dissertation on the Divine action on human will and *scientia media*. It would demand more space than is here available for a mere outline of this clever contribution. It must suffice here to give the substance of the concluding sentences of the article; future expositors of this weighty problem cannot afford to ignore the Cardinal's pamphlet. It is useless to attempt to explain God's influence on the human will by following the divines of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and assuming their *praemotio* and *praedeterminatio*. The Cardinal has succeeded in establishing that the latter distinction is totally at variance with the doctrine of St. Thomas. And, again, a solid explanation of God's infallible cognizance of future contingent human acts is not to be found in such a *scientia media* as is a species of the *scientia visionis*. The Cardinal has proved that according to St. Thomas the subject matter of the *scientia media* belongs to the *scientia intellectus*; but even admitting the *scientia media* it would be superfluous could it dispense with decrees of the Divine will.

Another article treats of St. Ambrose's doctrine on canon law. We become acquainted with the great doctor's teaching on the hierarchy, and the privileges enjoyed by the clergy and by Church estates; and this portion of the paper deserves special attention in our own day, when, as in Italy and France, the State has often not

shrunk from despoiling the Church of her most legitimate possession. The writer also explains the position of the Church towards the heathen State, and Ambrose's opinion on the principles which should lead us in treating with those who are outside the Church. St. Ambrose's mildness and clemency obtain high eulogy from the writer; inasmuch as he did not desire heathenism to be destroyed by force, and keenly disapproved the death sentence passed by Maximus on Priscillian.

Dr. Dillmann, from an Oxford Codex, published in his "*Æthiopian chrestomathy*" the "*Oratio eucharistica Ioannis Chrysostomi.*" An article in the April issue of the *Katholik* gives a translation of this Æthiopian document, and enriches it by some critical remarks, from which we gather that the document which has been supposed to be a sermon delivered by St. John Chrysostom is rather a liturgy in the most sublime style.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

The March number brings to our notice a book which will deserve special attention in English-speaking countries. Father Baumgartner, the biographer of Göthe and Lessing, has now devoted a whole book to the great American poet Longfellow. Some idea of the purpose of this long-expected contribution to our literature may be gathered from the title: "*Longfellow's Poems: a Picture of the Literary Life of North America.*" Father Baumgartner does not write a mere biography; he is chiefly occupied with the development of Longfellow's abilities and he judges them from the standpoint of Catholic doctrine. For, although Longfellow was not a Catholic, yet few will deny that Catholic sentiments and thoughts predominate in his chief poems. A special feature of Father Baumgartner's book is the beautiful German translations of the best poems of Longfellow, which for the most part we owe to Father Baumgartner himself, now acknowledged to be one of the best German prosaists of our time.

In the April number we have an account of the gifts presented to the Pope for his golden jubilee by the officials of the Vatican Archives and Library. First comes the gift of the sub-archivist, our learned German countryman, Father Denifle, of the Friars Preachers, "*Specimina palaeographica Regestorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III. ad Urbanum V.*" There are no less than sixty photographic plates, showing such important documents of the Papal registers as throw light on the development of writing. This great work, which henceforth must find a place in every great library, will be of immense service, not only to the palæographer, but also to students of ecclesiastical history, since Father Denifle dwells a good deal on the pontifical chancery during the time named. From among the valuable offerings of the Vatican librarians I must name one which is of English interest; it is De Rossi's "*Dissertation on the Bible,*" offered by Abbot Ceolfrid, of Jarrow, to Pope Gregory II.

It is commonly styled the "Codex Amiatinus," and is preserved in the Lorenzo Library, in Florence; but henceforward this title ought to be corrected to that of the "Codex Ceolfredi." Catholic England may boast that the oldest codex of the *entire* Bible in *Latin* now existing comes to us from the Northumberland monks, and has been preserved by the Holy See, where the pious abbot Ceolfred, out of devotion to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, had it deposited in A.D. 716.

English archæologists will be interested in another article in the April number, which is concerned with the Rev. Joseph Liell's "The Pictures of Our Lady in the Catacombs" (Ratisbon, 1888). This work, which originated in Signor De Rossi's encouraging the author to undertake it, is based on assiduous studies in the Catacombs themselves, where our author was fortunate enough to find not a few pictures of Our Lady which had hitherto escaped the attention of archæologists. Besides these representations of the Blessed Virgin we have a text in which the author is "apologetical," setting himself to destroy the numerous theories recently started in Germany by Protestant scholars, whose object—more or less avowed—is to do away with the solid results of the studies of Commendatore De Rossi. One rather novel and startling opinion of the Rev. Joseph Liell may be here stated. According to him the well-known "Orante" in the Catacombs is representative of the souls detained in purgatory and seeking for the suffrages of the faithful who visited the tomb.

The May issue has some instructive articles on the introduction of the Reformation into the Bishopric of Hildesheim. It perhaps deserves to be here mentioned that in this diocese was situated the English Benedictine monastery of Lamspring, where, in 1693, were deposited and preserved up to 1881 the remains of Venerable Oliver Plunket, the great Archbishop of Armagh, martyred in London in 1681.

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

The March *Stimmen* has a most instructive article from the pen of Father Plenkers, of Copenhagen, on the Catholic Church in Norway in the period preceding the Reformation. He dwells on recent Danish Protestant contributions to the Church history of Norway, supplementing them from his own large stores of study, and correcting not a few mistakes into which the Protestant historians fell when treating Catholic doctrines or institutions. Amongst these we mention Dr. Bang, professor of ecclesiastical history in Christiania, who in 1887 brought out his "Udsigt over den Norske Kirkes Historie under Katholicismen." In another article Father Jietman treats some grave questions of æsthetics; in another Father von Hammerstein examines recent Protestant statements of the proofs for God's existence as set forth in the text-books of our "gymnasiums." He shows that a want of close reasoning and antipathy to the Catholic Church has led to a weakening of the proofs thus set forth, by

appeals to religious *feeling* or belief, whereas the existence of God is a truth of natural religion, and can be proved by human reason apart from supernatural religion. Father Baumgartner sketches an attractive and vivid picture of St. Petersburg, and in the April number he gives fresh proof of his poetical talent by the splendid translation and explanation of the old northern Hymn to the Sun (Solar God). Father Lehmkuhl gives an interesting account of St. Peter Claver, recently canonized by Leo XIII., and he skilfully brings the lessons of this life of apostolic Christian charity to bear on the modern problems of social science. Father Hagen in his article gives an account of the scientific institutions at Washington.

4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.*

Professor Propst has a commentary on the Spanish Liturgy, to the eighth century. Father Fenner treats of the difficult verse 16 of chapter xv. of Judges; whilst Father Michael treats of the Emperor Frederic II.'s opposition to Gregory IX. and Innocent IV.

A. BELLESHEIM.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Etudes religieuses, philosophiques, historiques, et littéraires. Revue mensuelle publiée par des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris: Avril, Mai, Juin, 1888.

AFTER having been discontinued, since their exile in the anti-religious persecution of some years ago in France, the *Etudes* once again makes its appearance, under the editorship of Fathers of the Society of Jesus. We gladly welcome its republication. The new issue began with January last, and, judging from the contents of the three numbers before us, the new series is going to keep up the high reputation long enjoyed by the old. The opening article in the April number, continued in that of May, is from the pen of Père Bonniot, and is entitled "Iconographie des Possessions."

Diabolical Possession in Art.—In these articles, M. Charcot, the learned professor of the Salpêtrière, is sharply taken to task for a work he has published ("Les démoniaques dans l'Art," par J. M. Charcot et Paul Richter), and in which he confidently presumes to show that instances of "possession," even evangelical ones—as represented in pictures which he has collected—are by the testimony of these faithful representations, only forms of the much talked-of "hysteria." M. Charcot has probably got hysteria on the brain; but so have not a few other, otherwise very prudent and able medical men and professors; and Père Bonniot rightly judges that such a publication deserves a more serious refutation than its intrinsic qualities merit because of the influence exercised by M. Charcot,

and of the harm he may thus effect. The writer disposes of M. Charcot very effectually, and of the condemnation in which he gratuitously and unjustly involves both the priest, the doctor, and the judge of past times. These are Père Bonniot's concluding words:—

Terminons par un corollaire. Notre siècle se vante de sa science, et, à certains égards, il a raison ; mais, dans les siècles précédents, à certains égards aussi, on a eu plus de véritable savoir et, en général, plus de modestie et de bon sens.

Blessed Grignon de Montfort.—In this article Père Burnichon gives some interesting particulars, which to many English readers will be new, concerning the missionary career of B. Grignon, whose name was enrolled last January among the "Beati." The newly beatified's book on devotion to our Blessed Lady, is perhaps the one thing connected with his name which most people have heard of. They will here read that he was in his day one of the most original and powerful Mission givers on record. We say "givers," and not preachers merely, because, as is here expressly shown, he used other means besides preaching to make his missions the marvellous success they were.

The chief scene of his labours was his own La Vendée, and the span of his life between 1673 and 1716, but the fame of him and the echo of his words is not yet dead. One gets the impression of a commanding powerful figure, rugged in both appearance, voice and action, but with the ruggedness of native force. Yet he was also an eloquent preacher, and possessed that indefinable something which has marked out a few speakers in the centuries, making them a power in their day and a tradition to after-times. Thus, on one occasion, he had to stop in his discourse, interrupted by the sobs of his audience: "My children," he exclaimed, "do not weep, for your tears prevent me speaking, and if I did not restrain myself I should begin to cry too." But the electric power was not in his words, or not in them only; for, another time an immense crowd had assembled to listen to him. He entered the pulpit, all eyes "devouring him," and eager for his voice; but he spoke never a word! only he took his large crucifix, and showed it to the mass of people with such a fire of love in his countenance, that soon they were crying for mercy! These may have been simple Vendéans; but not seldom the unfriendly, the critical, the thoughtless—desirous merely of a laugh—also came. A few sentences from him, and then they, too, were drawn within his influence, and wept and struck their breasts, just *comme les petites gens*. But there was much more in his influence—a fruitful, not only an emotional one—than even wonderful powers of the natural man. His heroic virtues are worth reading about, and his favourite preparation for the pulpit was a good discipline—for which he once gave this quaint excuse: "Quand le coq s'est bien battu les flancs, il chante plus clair!" Once he walked into the midst of a village fête—lads and maidens all busy dancing and what not, who ought, however, to have been at the

mission. In the middle of the whirl of merriment De Montfort takes out his rosary and begins it, saying nothing else; and in a few moments dancing is over, and all are saying rosary too, and following him! He was a special apostle of devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, to the Blessed Virgin, and to the Sacred Heart.

The Power of Mission Hymns.—It is of Grignion de Montfort as a composer of “*Cantiques Populaires*,” and of his effectual use of them in his missions, that this article chiefly treats. Not only did these “*Cantiques*” stir the hearts of the masses when sung under M. Montfort’s direction, but they are beloved and effective even now among the people. The learned writer gives many specimens of these verses, and analyses the source of power of lyrics which were naïf and devout, of a poetical quality and style defective from the ordinary literary standards. Their excellences are, however, real, if unique. They are, most frequently, forcible and of that direct and piercing simplicity which is more to the simple-minded than subtle imagery or choice diction; but they have their charm both of diction and accent. Their wonderful dogmatic correctness and teaching power is a point worth reading about, when mere doggerel characterizes so many hymns which street-singing now makes so familiar in our English towns. The writer has some interesting remarks on the power of even the most unpretending words when sung, and sung by the people. Grignion de Montfort’s Vendéan peasantry appear to have been as susceptible to the moving influence of hymn-singing as the Welsh peasantry of to-day are, among whom that fascination has been and still is largely to be credited with the power over them of their weak and imperfect Christianity.

Having said so much of Père Burnichon’s very attractive well-written Article, space compels us to make only briefest mention of the chief remaining papers of this quarter’s numbers of the *Etudes*. Père A. Straub writes also in the April issue, to defend the reality of the Divine will and desire for the salvation of infants who die unbaptized. It is “*caviare to the general*,” but will be acceptable reading to the theologian. An article on Victor Hugo, and another on St. Peter Claver and the Negros, are valuable, each on its own topic. The May number opens with an article by Père Desjardins on M. Chotard’s work on Pius VII. at Savona, to which we devoted an article, as may be remembered, in our July issue of last year. Father Brucker considers some present-day objections to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, and Père Delaporte has a paper on the Count A. de Mun as an orator. The June number contains at least two articles to which we should have liked to devote some space, and must hope to do so another time—one is headed “*S. Thomas et la Prédestination*,” and is a review of a recent work with that title by Professor E. C. Lesserteur; the other is entitled “*Une soutenance de doctorat ès lettres en Sorbonne*,” and gives an account of the reception by the Sorbonne—angry and vehement—of this particular doctor’s paper on Education in the old Oratory of France, defending the Church against the Jansenists.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Avril 1888. Paris.

It will be enough to here indicate the chief articles in the April number of this historical quarterly. The number opens with a very elaborate bibliographical article by the Abbé E. Vacandard on the early Lives of St. Bernard, apropos and chiefly founded on the first instalment of Dr. Georg Hüffer's proposed great work on St. Bernard (*Der heilige Bernard von Clairvaux. Erster Band. Münster*), which treats with German thoroughness the subject of "sources." Then follow "Charles VII., et la Pacification de l'Eglise" (1444-1449), by M. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt; "Le Traité de Paris entre la France et l'Angleterre" (1763), by the Count E. de Barthélemy; and lastly, "Frotté au 18 Fructidor," by M. L. de la Sicotière; all three articles of that minute style of accumulating materials for history rather than writing it, which is familiar to this *Revue*.

Among the minor papers in this number is a warm appreciation, by the Abbé C. Douais, of M. Vigouroux's new work, now in course of publication (Paris, Roger & Chernoviz), entitled "Les Livres Saints et la Critique Rationaliste;" and still another good short article is one by the Count A. de Bourmont, "L'Enseignement de l'Histoire aux États-Unis."

Notices of Books.

Life of Blessed John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and Martyr under Henry VIII. By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.

ANY work by Father Bridgett is sure to be widely read and appreciated, and just at present, when the recent beatification of the English martyrs has revived our interest in their heroic deaths, and stimulated inquiry into their personal history, a life of Blessed John Fisher is doubly welcome. The noble example set by the martyred Cardinal, his sterling worth, his uprightness, zeal, and fidelity to duty, would, apart from his elevated rank, have made him a marked man; and there are few, if any, so well fitted by previous work as Father Bridgett to have undertaken the task of writing his biography. Needless to say, the work is done well. From printed books more or less accessible, such as the Lives by Baily and Lewis; from the "Calendars of State Papers," "The Letters and Papers," and other contemporary documents published in recent years by the Government, and from the manuscript account of Bishop Fisher by Hall, on which Baily drew so largely, Father Bridgett has collected nearly every-

thing that can be found relating to the subject of his labours. Lewis is criticized and condemned for his perverseness ; Baily corrected and amplified from the original work of Hall, which he made such poor use of; the other authorities are quoted amply and in sufficient fulness to give us their view of what they were writing about rather than the impressions which unsympathetic writers of an alien faith would draw from their long-buried correspondence. And in style, too, Father Bridgett is at his best—forcible and quiet by turns, patient in explanation, outspoken against abuses, discursive as an historian needs must be in dealing with men and times so different from his own. Looking into the book a little more carefully, let us see how Father Bridgett came first to know the martyred bishop whose life he has just published:—

When, just forty years since, I first entered the refectory, or hall, of St. John's College, Cambridge, my attention was at once arrested by the portraits of the foundress, Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII., and of her confessor, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and the quaint rebus of a fish and an ear [of corn] in the coat-of-arms of the latter, in the chapel window, somewhat distracted my mind amid psalms and prayers. I wished at once to know something of those worthies; and as the senior tutor of my college, Dr. Hymers, had reprinted Fisher's funeral sermon of Lady Margaret, with notes, I was soon able, not so much to satisfy as to excite still more my curiosity. It was certainly not the intention of the editor, a clergyman of the Protestant Church of England, that the perusal of his reprint should lead any student of St. John's College a step back to the Catholicity of Bishop Fisher. Yet such was the case. I soon purchased a copy of the first edition of Fisher's first treatise against Luther, printed in 1523, and, without entering very deeply into controversy, I received a deep impression of the violence and malice of the Reformers, and a gentle drawing towards the defenders of the old faith, which all subsequent studies increased. Though I read no more of Fisher's writings at that time, his spotless character and heroic death gave weight to other arguments, which made me refuse the oath of royal supremacy then required for a degree, and thus obliged me to leave Cambridge in 1850, and seek reconciliation with the Catholic Church.

Father Bridgett goes on to tell us how he followed up the interest in Bishop Fisher's career thus early evoked, till the present work took final shape. He tells us, too, the history of the portrait of Fisher, which Holbein took eight years before his martyrdom, a facsimile of which adorns the volume before us.

A career such as that which Father Bridgett traces so carefully must inevitably be treated in a partisan spirit; compromise is out of the question. The early days of the Lutheran reformation, when Germany was in revolt and England's devout young king winning the title of Defender of the Faith from a Pope whose authority he was ere long to throw off, cannot be viewed, by Catholic writers at least, without some expression of opinion which may not always be acceptable to those who have inherited the opinion of the miscalled reformers. And Father Bridgett introduces very freely, and in the most natural manner in the world, remarks which cannot but go

home to many of his readers. His Protestant critics have already once or twice cried out; to have the plain truth quietly and in the best taste brought under their notice, with telling little inferences and a fund of dry humour, is clearly not to their liking. What he says about the misappropriation of the foundations of Lady Margaret and Bishop Fisher is an example of what we mean (p. 45). Another feature of this biography is the use which the author has made of the writings of the saintly bishop. The lessons of his life, his aims and aspirations, his inner spiritual course, and his external activity have thus a new light shed upon them; and what the bishop thus unintentionally tells us of himself is supplemented by the scattered notices of him which occur in the books and letters of his contemporaries. Chapuys, the Spanish Ambassador; Faleri and Capello, the Venetian Envoys, are drawn upon for many a valuable hint, many a characteristic trait; while, of course, the sceptical and scholarly Erasmus is once more brought in to give his valuable evidence to the piety, worth, and attainments of his friend.

The Bishop of Rochester was so conspicuous among the frightened English prelates of his day by his loyalty to the Holy See, that the history of his unflinchingness only brings into greater prominence the general decadence of the ecclesiastical spirit. Of one or two important details of the bishop's life, and the occasion and dates of terms of imprisonment, mentioned in the correspondence of foreign residents in England, Father Bridgett duly avails himself. Another important novelty is the account of the learned and saintly Bishop's advice to the representative of the Emperor, that forcible means should be taken by his master to supplement the spiritual penalties, so little heeded by Henry, with which the Pope endeavoured to coerce the King. Father Bridgett's disquisition on this episode is one of the best things in the book; though, of course, the parallel he draws between Fisher's conduct on this occasion and that of the Protestant bishops and nobles, who, in 1688, invited over William of Orange, is safeguarded by one or two distinctions which clear our martyr's reputation of any suspicion of guilt like that which hangs over those who ousted James II. from his kingdom. The story of the divorce, as far as Fisher was connected with it; of the Holy Maid of Kent, of the trial, and of the final tragedy on Tower Hill is well told, though Father Bridgett has not, we think, been quite so guarded in his expression of opinion about Elizabeth Barton as was the Bishop of Rochester, who had better opportunities of knowing the merits of her case. Speaking of the final resting-place of the martyred Cardinal, Father Bridgett follows the ordinary tradition, and seems to have overlooked the account of his burial near Sir Thomas More, given by a sub-contemporary writer, whose manuscript in the British Museum is quoted by a critic in the *Tablet*.

We have to thank Father Bridgett for the best life of Fisher which has yet appeared, and for a most valuable contribution to the history of a momentous epoch.

1. *Lady Georgiana Fullerton, sa Vie et ses Œuvres.* Par Madame AUGUSTUS CRAVEN (née LA FERRONAYS). Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1888.
2. *The Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton, from the French of Mrs. CRAVEN.* By H. J. COLERIDGE, S.J. London: Bentley & Son. 1888.

THE well-known author of the "Récit d'une Sœur" has given us what we fear may be her last work, in the volume just named. But we think that few of her readers will find fault with it as manifesting any decay of the charm and power which combine to make her one of the most popular writers of her time. Madame Craven has a congenial theme in Lady Georgiana Fullerton, to whom she was both an intimate friend and a kindred spirit. The volume, of which we notice also the English reproduction, has been written with full access to Lady Georgiana's letters, and even her private journals. The life in itself is one which cannot fail to fascinate the reader. It is often the case that biographies are disappointing, for they tend rather to manifest weaknesses which were before unsuspected than to display unknown excellences. Many a popular idol has had to descend from its pedestal of late years. The lives of George Eliot, Miss Martineau, Carlyle, and Darwin are instances which will occur to every one. Lady Georgiana's life is like one of her books, leaving a pleasant impression all through, and making us rise from the perusal with the feeling that we have been lifted to a higher and purer atmosphere than that which we usually breathe. There is plenty of sorrow in her life, but no gloom; and this seems to us to have been singularly well brought out under Madame Craven's hand. We notice it now in a few lines, hoping to return to it at greater length later on.

We can now only mention the publication of the English "Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton," by Father Coleridge. It is a translation from Mrs. Craven's Life, and yet not a translation. It contains less, and it contains more, than Mrs. Craven's. It has been a happy thought to bring out the English edition together with the French. Both are highly characteristic of their respective writers, and there are no two persons to whom we should look more naturally for Lady Georgiana's Memoirs than to Mrs. Craven and Father Coleridge. These Memoirs are marked by considerable variety. Lady Georgiana's literary works come under notice in a very interesting way. There are many letters, some full of men and on public events, which cannot be read without attention, while the spiritual life—though its history is so very interesting—is its most interesting and instructive. One is not so much surprised, just a little annoyed at the omissions. One's criticisms are apt to be too much weakened by what is revealed of the life, and even to make one crave for the fuller and minuter knowledge which, possibly may be given to the public on some future

The Life and Glories of St. Joseph. Grounded on the Dissertations of Canon Antonio Vitali, Father José Moreno, and other Writers. By EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON, M.A. London and New York: Burns & Oates. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.

MR. HEALY THOMPSON'S new work arrives too late for that space and consideration to be given to it which it so well merits. For such lengthened notice we must wait another opportunity; at present we are glad to welcome the book; and we need do little more. Mr. Thompson's name will be sufficient introduction to the numerous readers who have learned to appreciate his spiritual writings. The book treats exhaustively of its subject, beginning with the place of St. Joseph in the economy of the Incarnation, devoting chapters to each detail of his life, and ending with a chapter each on the cultus of the Saint in the Early Church and in later times. Throughout it is a remarkable book, which cannot fail to interest thoughtful minds. While, of course, perfectly orthodox, like all that the author writes, it includes statements which to many readers will be new. Among such are those which show how little necessary it is to attenuate the relations between St. Joseph and his sacred spouse, as though it had been a nominal or shadowy one, by way of emphasizing the fact that the bond between them was wholly spiritual. It lucidly demonstrates that the Holy Family was the great type of the Family Life as re-created in that new humanity which is grounded on the Incarnation; that the love which bound together the three persons who composed that Holy Family was far the strongest as well as the highest example of human love; and that this truth is especially indicated by the character of St. Joseph, and by the consequences which a thoughtful mind must deduce from the position which he occupied in that Holy Family, his relation to which, like Mary's relation to her Divine Son, was an *essential*, not an *accidental* part of the scheme of the Incarnation. The Holy Family illustrates the spiritualized affection of Humanity as it exists archetypally, and to which it practically approximates in proportion as the Christian Ideal of the Family is realized. With St. Joseph are thus connected high Christian mysteries at once of a dogmatic and of an eminently practical character—mysteries to which the Church may have desired to draw attention when she instituted the Feast of the "Espousals." A remarkable passage illustrating this doctrine will be found at p. 130, and beginning thus: "Of all marriages, not only was that of Joseph and Mary the most holy and the most perfect, but the union of heart was more intimate than it ever was in any other marriage. . . . Of Adam and Eve in Paradise God said that they should be 'two in one flesh;' but of Joseph and Mary it might be said that they were two in one spirit. 'They were one spirit,' says St. Ambrose."

Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics. By JOSEPH GILLOW.
Vol. III. London: Burns & Oates.

IT is with pleasure that we welcome another volume of Mr. J. Gillow's biographical work, as it is destined to maintain its place upon the shelves of our libraries for many years. A Dictionary of Biography is a book of reference, and can only be reviewed as such. To expect to find in its perusal all the attractions of a formal historical narrative is unreasonable. What we do require is such comprehensiveness as will afford information concerning individuals in any way noted amongst English Catholics, and when we have met with what we sought we look for historical research and accuracy. It is by no means undeserved praise to say that in Mr. Gillow's volumes we find all that we have a right to expect. Certain prominent notices give us much more than this, and carry with them the interest that ever belongs to well-written history.

Two or three past events are just now prominent before the English public. The Gunpowder Plot has won back a little of its now almost forgotten popularity by the candidateship of Father Garnet for the honours of beatification. The notice given to John Grant, of Norbrook, has a valuable note appended to it, in which references are given to the various sources of information relating to that criminal conspiracy.

Two centenaries are this year being celebrated in England—namely, the destruction of the Spanish Armada and the Revolution of 1688. Both these events ought to hold a prominent place in the present volume. We must, however, own disappointment as to the first, since the name of Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, has appended to it merely a reference to another volume. The Revolution meets with better fortune. James II. has a full and interesting article devoted to his almost romantic career. The Duke of York's prowess in battle cannot be questioned. Had he as Sovereign manifested the same noble qualities as he evinced when Lord Admiral of the English fleet, his reign would have been very different from what it was. In these days of great naval preparations it would be well for this nation if it could again meet with a thoroughly efficient organizer, as the Duke of York proved himself to be. Full justice has never been done to his success in retrieving the naval supremacy of England in the seventeenth century. Mr. Gillow has described graphically the Duke's dauntless courage in his encounters with the Dutch fleet. His words ought to re-echo in every English heart at a time like the present, when fears of invasion have taken hold of valiant hearts, and when the useless squandering of public money over inefficient ships has left our merchant shipping at the mercy of the first great Power that assails us. Englishmen will never forget the Revolution of 1688. But if they truly love their country they must also recall to mind the services rendered to their greatness by James, Duke of York, and emulate his unsparing activity and singleness of purpose in the service of their country.

English Catholics and Nonconformists have ever entertained a

true sympathy for the unfortunate James II. His most ardent wish was to relieve them from the bitterness of religious persecution, and to insure to them freedom of conscience. If he failed, it was not from lack of devotedness, but from too stubborn a zeal and too unwary trust in faithless men.

-
1. *Publications of the Catholic Truth Society.* Vol. VI.
 2. *Lourdes and its Miracles.* By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. 6d.
 3. *Story of St. Mary Magdalene and of other Women of the New Testament.*
 4. *St. Philip Neri, "Apostle of Rome."* By G. AMBROSE LEE.
 5. 189: or, *The Church of Old England Protests.* By The Rev. J. D. BREEN, O.S.B.
 6. *A Few Reasons for Submitting to the Church of our Fathers.* By H. MORDEN BENNETT, M.A. Oxon.
 7. *Father Cuthbert's Curiosity Case.* By the Rev. LANGTON G. VERE. London: Catholic Truth Society, 18 West Square, S.E. 1888.

THE new volume (the sixth) of the collected publications of the Catholic Truth Society is quite up to its predecessors in interest of the subjects and in literary quality. It contains ten single tracts, which have been all published at a penny each (except one), and are still so to be had. We explained in our last number that the Truth Society is thus issuing at intervals its various issues gathered into bound volumes for ready reference in parochial library, &c. A pastor or teacher can at once discover the tract they need, perhaps for distribution in numbers. But the volumes are a valuable addition, also, to any Catholic library. We need not add to what we have before said of the really unusually high excellence of the matter in the controversial and biographical works. This volume contains a sketch of our Holy Father Leo XIII. by Father Rickaby; penny lives of St. Thomas of Canterbury (by Father Goldie, S.J.) and of St. Francis of Sales (by Father Mackay, S.J.); three numbers of tales and poems; controverso-historical papers—"Was Barlow a Bishop?" a capital series of letters by the late Serjeant Bellasis; "The Faith of the ancient English Church concerning the Holy Eucharist," a good tract by Provost Northcote; and lastly, the first of Cardinal Newman's "Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England," which the Society is reprinting at two-pence each—a marvellous two-pennyworth. The second lecture has just arrived, since the completion of the volume.

As to the remaining works of the Society heading this notice, we have no space to enter into particulars; and must be content with saying that we have read Father Clarke's brochure on Lourdes (describing the place, pilgrimages, and entering into the question of the miracles) with very great pleasure. It is excellent, both as to matter and style of treatment, and should do a great work

in making Lourdes favourably known to many an English reader who may be ignorant or prejudiced concerning this place of wonders.

We must also merely mention three newest penny volumes: "St. Mary Magdalene" (in the words of the New Testament—and needing a few more notes); "S. Philip," by Mr. Lee (well-written); and "189," by Father Breen, well known for his former pamphlets on the Orders and Jurisdiction of Anglican Clergy. This is a very able and complete reply to the oft-repeated boast that the old clergy of the English Church reformed themselves, conforming to the new orders, only 189 of them protesting and being deprived in the visitation of 1559. Mr. Morden Bennett's "Few Reasons," occupying only eight pages, is tersely and cogently put—excellent for distribution. Lovers of tales have a further instalment in "Father Cuthbert's Curiosity Case;" well worth reading, all of them. Eighty pages of healthy light literature here for three-pence!

Aristotle and the Christian Church. An Essay. By Brother AZARIAS, of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

THE writer has endeavoured in this essay of 140 pages, first to place before the English reader (for the first time, as he believes) the true record of the attitude of the Church towards the Aristotelian philosophy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and, secondly, to prove that the philosophy of the Schoolmen is very different from that of Aristotle. As to the first, it cannot be said that the promise of novel treatment is altogether fulfilled. All the facts are found in the ordinary and perfectly accessible sources; for example, in Goschler and in Professor Seth's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Brother Azarias prints in full, in an Appendix, the Brief of Gregory IX., which orders an examination of the "Physica," but the terms of this document have always been well understood. The author is more successful in setting forth the difference between Aristotelianism and St. Thomas; this part of the essay may prove useful. Full justice, however, is not always done to the philosopher. It is not right to call his "Intellectus agens," a "creative" intellect, and to insinuate that it was the same thing as the universal separated intelligence of the Arabian commentators. The style of the Essay is too hasty and jerky; the present and past tenses are exasperatingly mixed together. Some Americanisms—at least we suppose they are Americanisms—spoil the narrative: such as the statement that St. John "premiered" his Gospel with a certain statement, the word "gotten," the phrases "happen upon," "back of all," &c.

Essays on Various Subjects. By His Eminence CARDINAL WISEMAN. With a Biographical Introduction by the Rev. JEREMIAH MURPHY. London: Thomas Baker. 1888.

THIS volume is a republication of some of Cardinal Wiseman's Essays, and we are cordially glad to welcome it. Nine out of the eleven selected Essays originally appeared in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW, and were subsequently published, in a collected form, in volumes that have long been out of print. Mr. Baker has perhaps wisely elected to omit many of the Essays which were of a more ephemeral nature than those he has now reprinted. The Essays themselves are too well known to need any remarks upon their interest and value. The Biographical Introduction by Father Murphy gives us an excellent account of the late Cardinal's life. This volume, which is well and clearly printed, and otherwise admirably brought out, reflects great credit on the publisher, and deserves every support.

The New Procedure in Criminal and Disciplinary Causes of Ecclesiastics in the United States. By the Rev. S. B. SMITH, D.D. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1888.

The Elements of Canon Law. By OSWALD J. REICHEL, B.C.L., M.A. London: Thomas Bosworth & Co. 1887.

WE have put these two books together because they are both interesting contributions to Canon Law, though from very different points of view. From the eminent American Catholic divine, Dr. S. B. Smith, we have the second edition of his Commentary on the Instruction "Cum magnopere," by which the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda (through the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore) has definitively settled the mode of procedure in the trial of clerics accused of criminality. The ecclesiastics of the United States, as become citizens of a free country, have for many years been anxious to be so far protected from the arbitrary exercise of episcopal authority as judicial forms can effect; and this Instruction substantially assimilates criminal procedure in America to the general Canon Law of the Universal Church. The criminal clerk is to have every chance—a preliminary investigation, a regular accusation by an official of the Bishop's court, a patient hearing, an opportunity to meet and rebut evidence, and leave to appeal. Dr. Smith's annotations are very full and explicit. He interprets the Instruction by the light of the ordinary principles of Canon Law, as laid down by himself in his two well-known volumes. His task is not without its difficulties. Like all human systems of law, the terms and procedure of church law are liable to change or to grow obsolete in this or that country or century. To introduce a regular canonical "process" into the United States, where there are no canonical traditions, is like starting a cricket club with only the M.C.C. rules and the light

of nature. One or two concessions to modern ideas may be observed in the Instruction. The "citation" need not now be served by "apparitors," or by personal service at all, but may be sent by a "registered letter"—*per publicos tabellarios commendatæ*. The old rule in canonical processes, that everything should be in writing, is now done away with—as it was in the English Ecclesiastical Courts some fifty years ago—and witnesses may be examined *vivâ voce*. Dr. Smith does not seem clear whether the accused or his advocate is allowed to cross-examine; but there seems no doubt the American Episcopal Courts will allow it now. The whole Instruction shows a most laudable wish that the substantial ends of justice and truth should be clearly gained; and we are not sure that such an antiquated rule as the exclusion (with some exceptions) of women as witnesses against the accused would now be upheld, especially as there is nothing about this in the Instruction. Dr. Smith's learned and painstaking Commentary is presented to the public with the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of New York. In England, before a priest can be expelled, there is a process to be gone through less formal and complicated than this Instruction, but we venture to say not less effectual. It was drawn up by Cardinal Wiseman in 1853.

Dr. Reichel's "Elements of Canon Law" is an ably written, clear, and fair handbook, by an Anglican clergyman of High Church leanings. Making allowance for his views as to the Holy See—which are, however, wonderfully un-Protestant—all students may learn much from this book. It deals with definitions, legislative authority, history, canonical texts, and discipline.

Étude Morale sur l'Hypnotisme. Par M. L'ABBÉ TROTIN, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Lille. (Extrait de la *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques*). Lille: Bergès. 1888.

A PAMPHLET on Hypnotism, from the point of view of moral theology, has been sent for notice. The author is the Abbé Trotin, a professor in the Theological Faculty of Lille. He has evidently studied the recent literature of the subject very thoroughly, and the conclusions to which he has come are expressed with great care and moderation. He considers it completely proved that hypnotism in itself is a natural process, and that its use is therefore lawful when it appears to be the only mode of treatment likely to be of service in serious disease, such as grave hysteria. Every suitable precaution should be taken. The operator should invariably be a physician, a third party should always be present, and the subject should be warned before awakening that no one else will be able to hypnotize him. In all other circumstances, he holds that the practice is wrong in itself, and liable to be complicated by transgression against other commandments, either in the way of superstition, immorality, or the various sins against justice which may arise. M. Trotin fully agrees with many medical authorities, that its public exhibition at least should be forbidden by law. He points out that the opinions he has

thus expressed are in accordance with the well-known Encyclical of the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition, which strikingly anticipates the possibility of a scientific use of processes which then, even more than now, were mixed up with pretensions to a power beyond that of nature.

Manuale Sacerdotum diversis eorum usibus, tum in privata devotione tum in functionibus liturgicis et sacramentorum administratione, accomodavit P. JOSEPHUS SCHNEIDER, S.J. Editio undecima cura et studio A. LEHMKUHL, S.J. Coloniae: J. P. Bachem. 1887.

THERE is no need that we should dwell on the excellences of this now popular manual. It is in its eleventh edition; and in the few years since its first appearance, not much fewer than 40,000 copies have been sold. This immense sale is not, however, greater than one might have ventured to predict for so complete and useful a priest's *vade-mecum*. Father Schneider's *Manuale* is just the faithful friend which supplies the priest entering on active life with the *practical* information which it is generally so difficult for him to lay his hands on, because manuals of theology do not treat of the matters. A method of meditation and "matter" for numerous "points," on subjects special to priests; several different forms of preparation and thanksgiving; morning and night prayers, and a full collection of indulgenced prayers make up the first, or *pars ascetica*. The second part "*Liturgica et Pastoralis*," contains an abundance of the kind of matter we have just referred to—practical, yet otherwise not easy of access, on the ceremonies, &c., of the Mass, on the manner, &c., of administering the sacraments and other rites, together with a number of useful *formulae*. The two parts are paged and indexed separately, and may be bound together or apart, which is an advantage. This new edition is the first, since the author's lamented death, and is brought out by Father Lehmkühl. His name is the best possible guarantee that the theological and liturgical portions of the book are trustworthy, and we may add that the latest decisions of the Congregations have been embodied. The author has some valuable remarks on the authority of different decrees. Lastly, an appendix of prayers for the sick and dying is published in several languages; purchasers should ask for them in English.

Ownership and Natural Right: An Examination of the Land Theories of Messrs. Herbert Spencer and Henry George. By the Rev. R. J. HOLAIND, S.J. Baltimore. 1887.

THIS little book, written in a lively and attractive style, will be of great use to any weak-kneed brethren who are in danger of being led astray by Mr. George's rhetoric. The contradictions, injustice and mischief involved in the proposed nationalization of land are well

explained, and the absurdity of the hope that such a revolution would extirpate pauperism, elevate morals, and purify government. But for English readers the most useful part is the chapter in which he attacks the theory of absolutism in property, summed up among ourselves in the maxim: "A man may do what he likes with his own." Be it observed that, just as in politics, those who promote arbitrary and absolute rule are unconsciously playing into the hands of revolutionists, so in economics, those who favour arbitrary use of property and absolute dominion (like the Liberty and Property Defence League) are playing into the hands of socialists. It would be well for them to listen to the following excellent passage from Father Holaind:—

When we say that the right of ownership is *absolute*, . . . if we mean that it can hold in abeyance the Dominion of God, the Eminent Domain of the State, or the claim of extreme necessity pressed by a fellow-man, then we put on the right of ownership a strain that human liberty itself could not bear, for even human liberty must yield to a superior moral power. . . . The supreme dominion of God limits the ownership of man. None can acquire property in defiance of Divine Law, of moral principles, or of a just law enacted by the civil power.

In the use of his property, man must bear in mind that the right is derived from the right of God. Hence he cannot avail himself of it to defeat the purposes for which it has been granted, nor shirk the special duties entailed by the very nature of the property held. . . .

With regard to the State every citizen must respect Eminent Domain—that is, the right inherent in the supreme power of civil society to use the property of its members when it is indispensable for the *Being or Well-being* of the Commonwealth; with the understanding, however, that a suitable compensation be given, whenever public burdens would otherwise fall unequally on the various units of the body politic.

Hence no citizen can lawfully obstruct the avenues to public prosperity, or avoid bearing his share of public burdens, all the claims of private ownership notwithstanding.

With regard to his brother men, the owner is bound to remember that the claims of charity must be met, and that, in the case of extreme necessity, no right whatever can free him from the duty of relieving the wants of his neighbour (p. 105-107).

Thus Father Holaind by no means allows us to look on ownership as a delicious plateful of rights; it is a compound, not nearly so nice, but much more wholesome, of rights and duties.

Amid various other good points in this little volume, one weak point has struck me—namely, in the seventh chapter, on Increment. The author seems hardly aware that it is one thing to justify the ownership of so much land as a man and his family can cultivate by their own exertions, and another thing to justify owning so much that other workers, who are not co-owners but mere labourers, have to be called in to help in the cultivation, if the land is not to lie untilled. The second kind of ownership can be justified undoubtedly, but not on the same grounds as the first; and to my mind it is quite insufficient to appeal to the maxim that "accidents follow the substance," when the title to the substance is in dispute; or to be

satisfied "if the owner has given a compensation to the labourers for their exertions," when the question is why these labourers, by whose exertions the land has been brought into cultivation, should not themselves be the owners of the land. Remember that Mr. George is not the only revolutionary preacher; others would imitate the Greek democracies, and seize the lands of the rich and cut them up into small farms to be owned by the poor. It was a recognized stroke of politics, generally combined (to make people comfortable all round) with the cancelling of debts, and there was a regular phrase for the transaction. The only satisfactory answer to such claims and the only satisfactory justification of large estates or any kind of large income, is to point out the benefits of inequality, the need of a leisured and cultivated class, and the dispositions of Divine Providence that has placed some in high positions and others low down. It would have increased the value of Father Holaind's book had he recognized the difficulty and given the answer explicitly and at length. But it is rather ungracious to complain, when he has given us so much, that he has not given us more. Moreover, that justification of riches is to a great extent implied in the limitations which he puts to the rights of owners, making them rather the holders of an office or trust, than unrestrained lords and masters. And I will conclude with two of his sayings, commending the one to the notice of our Joint Stock Companies, namely: "Away with the monstrous principle that Corporations need not have a soul!" and suggesting that the other be put on all title-deeds: "The owner cannot at the same time claim State protection and reject State control."

C. S. DEVAS.

Ireland and the Celtic Church. A History of Ireland from St. Patrick to the English Conquest in 1172. By GEORGE J. STOKES, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

THE above work is a series of lectures delivered in Trinity College by the Rev. George J. Stokes in his capacity of Professor of Ecclesiastical History. As the author disclaims any acquaintance with the Celtic language, he labours under the disadvantage of being an outsider in the great movement of Celtic research, the issues of which, in these days, control so largely the very subject which he has undertaken to treat. He adduces the fact that attendance at his classes was voluntary, and that the need of attracting his audience placed him under the necessity of putting what he had to say into a popular form. The result has been a gain for his readers as well as his hearers, at least in the sense that it has rendered his book by several degrees more readable than much that has hitherto been written on the subject. Whether such causes do as much to make its reading profitable as they do to make it pleasant, is quite another matter, and one on which students above the average of the general reader class will be apt to have an opinion of their own. For readers

and listeners who have still to be interested and occasionally amused, we conceive that Mr. Stokes must prove a delightful lecturer. He does not intrude upon such a class any of those advanced and more serious problems of Irish Church history, which alone to graver minds have anything of interest or value. His good nature in this respect has given to his work the air of being superficial. Questions which men who have grown grey in the work of historical research still approach with anxious countenance and knitted brows are disposed of by Mr. Stokes with an ease and airiness which imply that his responsibilities as Professor of Church History in Trinity sit lightly upon him.

Nothing can be more laudable than the anxiety which he has shown to separate what is reliable from what is unreliable in the matter of early Irish Church history. One cannot help feeling that certain Catholic writers might, with profit to themselves and their readers, have displayed a little more zeal and discretion in the same direction. No case is made really stronger by the indiscriminate use of matter, the evidence for which is weak or halting. No picture is made really brighter by the use of colours which are false or fading. To take the work of Joceline, which was certainly of the twelfth century, and the Tripartite, which was possibly of the tenth, and weave them into the same narrative with unquestionable documents of the fifth and sixth centuries is a very doubtful service to history. It is perilously near to the production of the historical novel, with all its certainty of containing an amalgam of fact and fiction, and its delightful uncertainty of knowing which is which. Mr. Stokes, we take it, had no very strong temptation to fall into this fault or to make use of the later materials. Besides being very monastic and miraculous, they abound in testimonies of a kind which can hardly be expected to form pleasant reading, much less pleasant writing, for a Protestant Church historian. In any case, he has been well advised to build his account, as he has done, upon the Confession and Letter of St. Patrick, and the other undisputed portions of the Book of Armagh, with the hymn of St. Fiacc from the "Liber Hymnorum."

At the same time, it is not quite easy to understand Mr. Stokes's position. He sets out by promising to hang upon his forehead, or to have ever before his eyes, the canon of criticism that genuine documents are to be distinguished from those that are not genuine by the fact that the latter abound in the supernatural and miraculous. In other words, the introduction of miracles show that the record is not of early date, but mediæval, or unauthentic. The surprising fact is not that Mr. Stokes should have used this canon, but that, having used it, he should have anything left wherewith to write the early Church History of Ireland or of any other country. Like the famous canon of Mr. Stokes's fellow-countryman, the difficulty lies "in letting it off easily." If we adopt the rule of disqualifying all documents as non-historical which contain the miraculous element, how much of the Church literature of the first six centuries—not to speak of Scripture—would survive its application? Or does Mr. Stokes simply mean that he sets aside only the *superabundance* of the

supernatural? In other words, that he has no objection to a saint working a mild miracle or two, provided that he will hold his hand and use his power in moderation, and not turn the whole natural order upside down seven days in the week from sunrise to sunset, as the middle age hagiographers seem to take a fierce delight in doing.

If such be his meaning, it is a pity that he does not candidly say so. His words read like a negation of miracle altogether, and a desire to exclude the whole element of the miraculous from the realm of historical matter. If such be indeed his mental position, Mr. Stokes will need all the sympathy of his best friends in the difficulties he must encounter in lecturing upon Church History.

But, as a matter of fact, Mr. Stokes uses his famous canon in a very sparing way, and once he has passed his Coercion Act, he lets the miracle-containing records off very easily. The fact is he needs them for his narrative, and, if he condemned them, there would be no story to tell and no materials to tell it from. Thus, he has just assured us that he will protect us from all that is mediæval and miraculous, and has taken the Confession and Letter of St. Patrick in one hand, and the hymn of St. Fiacc in the other, and introduced them as the only historical documents upon which we can rely. But he has had hardly time to utter the promise when we are launched into the very midst of the supernatural, and, what is worse, by St. Patrick himself. The Saint tells us how, when he had fasted and prayed in the midst of snow and ice, during his captivity, he had a vision in which he heard a voice which commended him for his fasting, and told him that a ship was ready for his deliverance. Professor Stokes asks us to believe that this was due to his "highly strung imagination." Evidently, St. Patrick himself did not think so, since he made a journey of two hundred miles on the strength of it. When he found, at the end of it, the ship waiting for him as the voice had foretold, he was probably more than ever of his own opinion. Besides, St. Patrick's visions did not end there. They are all along the line of his confession. Later on, Professor Stokes has to deal with the vision of demons on Croagh Patrick. More "imagination?" No, this time he gravely tells us it was due to the Saint's "disordered digestion." Medical authorities hardly realize the enormous extent to which "highly strung imaginations" and "disordered digestions" prevailed amongst the Christian saints and writers of the first twelve centuries.

When St. Patrick tells us of his fasting and prayer amid snow and ice, and St. Fiacc describes his rock pillow and wet-sack covering, and when St. Patrick congratulates the land on being filled "with monks and virgins of Christ," Professor Stokes surely owes us a word of explanation how all this asceticism and monasticism is to be reconciled with the spirit and teaching and practice of the modern Reformed Churches.

By-and-by the author comes to the scene on the hill of Slane, where the Saint meets the monarch Laoghaire, and works a series of miracles to convince him of the truth of Christianity. After all, one cannot convert an angry obstinate king and a band of fanatical pagan

priests by mere imagination, or even by indigestion. At last, Professor Stokes frankly admits that his material breaks down, and that here the story "indulges in legend." But is not this very account contained in the "Book of Armagh?" It is hardly "mediæval," since it was, as the author himself admits, written by Maccumathenius, who lived in the seventh century. Why does the professor not logically observe his own canon, and remove Maccumathenius from the list of his materials? On the contrary, he builds one half of his narrative upon it. Then there is the hymn of St. Fiacc, upon which Professor Stokes says we can rely. But the hymn is full of the supernatural and the miraculous. St. Patrick, according to it, was brought back to Erin "by visions of angels." When arrived, "he healed the lame and the lepers," and "the dead he restored to life," and when he died, "there was radiance for a whole year," and "the angels kept choir around his body." Now all this is just the kind of material from which the professor, with his canon, promised to deliver us. But what can he do? St. Fiacc is not mediæval. He even lived and spoke with St. Patrick.

The author touches, and as lightly as possible, on the great question of the Roman mission of St. Patrick. He thinks that the facts are *apparently*, but not *necessarily*, against it. In any case he sees no difficulty in admitting it, and conceives that it no more implies the subjection of the Irish Church to Rome, than the fact of the first Protestant bishop for America being ordained in this country would imply a subjection of American Episcopalianism to the Anglican Church. The view is at least original—rather too original in fact, for a professor of Church history. As such, he might surely have been expected to know the significance of an apostolic mission in the fifth century. When, moreover, the Church history is that of Ireland, he cannot but know that the unanimous tradition of the Irish Church, voiced by a whole consensus and catena of authorities, declares just the opposite of the view he has adopted. There was no analogy of Anglican jurisdiction any more than there was an analogy of Anglican orders. There is the usual amount of special pleading about the Easter controversy, though Professor Stokes is willing to admit that St. Cumman and at least one half of Ireland was on the side of Rome. That, with the concession that St. Patrick *may* have been sent from Pope Celestine, registers a considerable advance on the position occupied by Protestant writers represented by Dr. Todd some years ago.

The picture presented by this work on the whole is neither very clear nor very complete. Its general effect is sadly marred by a painful effort to run an Anglican wash over the canvas, despite which the strong Catholic colour of the groundwork is perpetually coming through.

In our day there are many who feel that history has nothing to lose, but much to gain, by being kept as far as possible out of the realm of controversy; that the time devoted to refuting and counter-refuting had much better be given to research; that workers in the

field, instead of facing one another, should face the work which lies before them; that if both sides will only seek simply and sincerely all that is fullest, surest, and best in history, questions of controversy may be trusted to gradually shape their own course and to find their own solution; and that many of them will resolve themselves after the manner of ghosts in the light of the dawning.

Evidently it is not to that school that Professor Stokes belongs, and his work seems to have no higher aim than to initiate, interest, and bias the general reader in what is already the well-trodden ground of Irish Church History.

J. M.

Ave Maria. A Catholic Magazine devoted to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin. Edited by a Priest of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. Vol. XXIV., Jan.—June, 1887. Notre Dame, Indiana: Office of the *Ave Maria*.

Tales for Eventide. A Collection of Stories for Young People. Same Publishers.

THIS American weekly magazine is an excellent family serial, and contains pieces to suit different ages and tastes. There are not only choice gatherings from many sources on the doctrine and practice of Catholic devotion to the Mother of God, as the title leads one to expect, but also tales, short stories, and “bits,” poems, and reviews, on all sorts of topics interesting to Catholics. There is much useful information on passing events, chiefly Catholic. Towards the end of this half-yearly volume (p. 533) we note, for example, a remarkable article on a recent pronouncement in a public journal, of an American judge—Judge Bennett—on the terrible social consequences of divorce. In some of the States, it appears, divorces mount to 20 per cent. of the marriages, so that one in every five marriages comes to that ending; or rather, because Catholics, as the judge points out, never seek the divorce court, the percentage among non-Catholics is really higher. The judge, not a Catholic himself, then dwells on the causes of so much divorce, and finally suggests remedies, and these last are actually a going back—as the *Ave Maria* shows—to the often ridiculed disciplinary matrimonial regulations of the Catholic Church, which are still in force within her pale, such as publication of the banns, &c.

“Tales for Eventide” is a little volume, containing twenty-five short stories selected from the pages of the *Ave Maria*. The volume would make an excellent gift or prize-book for younger children.

The Bookworm. With which is incorporated *Book Lore*.
London: Elliot Stock.

A LITTLE tardily, but with much pleasure, we call our readers' attention to a new periodical, which is likely to be of considerable use. In these days, when the rapid accumulation of information *de omni re scibili* renders the existence of journals devoted

to one or other special department of literature or learning not only desirable but even necessary, there is plenty of scope for a publication like the *Bookworm*. Its quaint title, pleasant get up, homely illustrations, and varied contents, ought to recommend it to the legion of book lovers, combining, with notices of new books, something of the *Retrospective Review* with a *souçon* of *Notes and Queries*. Mr. Elliot Stock's new venture seems calculated to play a useful part, and if the promise of the earlier numbers is fulfilled, its value will increase as the years go on.

Curious Creatures: their Ways and Habits. With Illustrations. By MARIANNE BELL. London: St. Anselm's Society. 1888.

THIS is a collection of interesting papers on subjects of Natural History, which Miss Bell originally contributed to the pages of the *Month*. Popular descriptions of the lives and ways of seals and sea-lions, otters, beavers, moles, rats and mice, bats, bears, and birds are sure to prove interesting, especially to the young; and perhaps the St. Anselm's Society has had the young more especially in view in republishing these papers. They have been well advised; and we can recommend this attractive volume to the purveyors of general reading for library or home. The illustrations will add to the value of the volume with the young. It makes a good prize-book.

The Churgress. By "THE PRIG." London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

THE clever author of "The Life of a Prig" makes another welcome appearance. There have, it seems, been readers who, mistaking his delicate satire, have concluded that "The Prig" was "a fervent admirer of the Church Establishment!" But we do not think it possible that any reader of "The Churgress" can suffer from that widely-spread and hide-bound complaint, the *ignoratio elenchi*; for in this volume our author, while not abandoning his former delightful vein of humour, uses satire less thinly veiled and hits out from the shoulder at the "impossible and absurd position" very vigorously indeed.

In "The Churgress" some selections from statements reported in the newspapers to have been actually made at the "Church Congress" are given in italics. They serve admirably as texts for "The Prig's" most amusing comments, in which the inevitable contradictions and incongruities of such an assembly are unsparingly depicted in all their conspicuous silliness. While "The Prig" is somewhat more didactic in "The Churgress" than in his previous volumes, there is no lack of mirth-provoking humour throughout the book. As a specimen of his more serious manner we quote the following from the paper, which "a quiet-looking Papist" is supposed to have been permitted to read to "The Churgress:"—

I now come—rather late in the day you will say—to the main point of my paper, namely, the appearance of Anglicanism from a Catholic standpoint. Well, a few words will suffice. We regard the Anglican Church as a gigantic compromise, and I may add that all you have said at this Churgress about intercourse with this Church and that Church, these Nonconformists and those Nonconformists, only confirms us more than ever in this opinion. It is needless that I should tell you that we Catholics are by no means alone in looking upon your Church in this light. If compromise between truth and error were the chief mark of the Church of Christ we should not have to go beyond the Church of England to find it. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that while you “draw closer and closer” to religious bodies, holding doctrines as various as the colours of a kaleidoscope, and heresies as opposite as the Poles, you accuse us of stultifying our reasons because we believe that God will not allow the head of our Church to lead us into error on matters of faith and morals.

We have no doubt that “The Churgress” will greatly extend the number of “The Prig’s” readers.

Annuaire de l'Enseignement Primaire. Publié sous la direction de M. Jost. 1888. Paris: Armand Colin.

ANYBODY interested in official primary education, whether French or otherwise, will find every variety of information in this compact annual, issued by the Inspector-General of Public Instruction, from the name of every schoolmaster and mistress in France and Algeria, to a collection of useful scholastic articles on recent geographical discoveries, astronomy, German systems, &c., &c., together with the French “Code.” We are somewhat surprised to find the saints’ days still retained in the Calendar, for, with a few religious who still teach schools in Algeria, this appears to be the sole remnant of Christianity about the French system of education.

Early Lincoln Wills. An Abstract of all Wills and Administrations recorded in the Episcopal Registers of the old Diocese of Lincoln, 1280–1547. By ALFRED GIBBONS. Lincoln: James Williamson, 1888. Printed for subscribers.

WE are exceedingly glad to welcome this collection of ancient wills. Hitherto the value of these records has certainly not been sufficiently recognized. The Surtees Society has indeed devoted several volumes to the “*Testamenta Eboracensia*,” which have proved a mine of information, genealogical and archæological, about the northern counties and families. On the other hand, the Camden, a kindred Society, has apparently never thought it worth while to give its members the volume of “*Wills in Lambeth Registers, 1349–68*,” which it announced in 1844. There can be no doubt that the testamentary dispositions of past generations teach us much more about their manners and customs than would be believed by any one who has not made them a special study. To Catholics, above

others, these old wills are full of interest and instruction. They come like voices from their dead Catholic forefathers, speaking of the faith and practice of centuries ago. Their frequent bequests to the Church, their constant care in providing for Masses and prayers for the dead, and the abundance of charity displayed for their poorer brethren, are lessons of earnestness in belief which we of a later and a colder age might well take to heart.

The volume before us includes the wills proved in the Lincoln Diocese for nearly three centuries, and are extracted from the registers of the bishops. The abstracts of these documents occupy some 218 closely printed pages, which are followed by careful indexes of persons and places, and one page devoted to a third index of subjects. In this latter, Mr. Gibbons points out the chief subjects of archæological interest to be found mentioned in the wills he has printed. There is hardly a page in this little volume which is devoid of interest. The pedigrees of some families for these three hundred years could be almost constructed from the wills here recorded, and almost every will contains some item of general interest. There are very few, indeed, which do not name some specific bequest, often of considerable amount, to some monastery or church, while most leave sums of money for the Holy Sacrifice, and for prayers for the repose of the soul of the testator and his family. Often the first sentence of the document displays the earnest piety and filial trust in God's mercy of those who died in those days of faith. There are, of course, many little errors and uncorrected mistakes to be found in the volume; but they are so obviously slips that, as we do not wish to appear to be finding fault, we pass them over. Although we are glad to have the original Latin in all cases where there could be the least doubt as to the exact meaning, there are many places where we should have thought no manner of doubt could exist. This care of the compiler, however, in giving us the Latin word is a fault on the right side. Our cordial thanks are due to Mr. Gibbons for this volume, which we have read with delight, and from which we have derived much profit and instruction.

La Bibbia offerta da Ceolfrido Abbate al Sepolcro di S. Pietro, Codice tra i superstiti delle biblioteche della Sede Apostolica. Memoria di GIOVANNI R. DE ROSSI, prefetto del Museo sacro e scrittore della Biblioteca Vaticana. Roma: Tipografia della Propaganda.

THIS Essay of the Commendatore De Rossi was one of the offerings to the Pope on the occasion of his Jubilee. It is devoted to the discussion of a topic which, for several years, has occupied the attention of scholars—what, namely, was the country and century of the famed Codex Amiatinus? The dissertation does not exceed twenty-two pages; still, the writer has succeeded in bringing into this small space such aspects of the question as cannot fail to excite lively interest in Catholic England. In order that the reader may the

better follow his explanations, he has furnished the work with a phototype of the first page of the Codex, the size of the original, *i.e.*, 32 by 47 centimètres. The Codex formerly belonged to the Lombardian Convent of Amiata, but is now preserved in the Lorenzo Library of Florence. As early as 1885 De Rossi examined the title-page, and saw that the words "Petrus Langobardorum extremis de finibus Abbas," by palimpsest, had been formed out of the original text, "Ceolfridus Britonum extr. de fin. Abbas." Now Bede tells that Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Northumberland, in 716, when setting out for Rome, took with him a "Pandectes sacrorum librorum," which he wished to present to the Pope, or rather, to place on the tomb of St. Peter; and that he was prevented from carrying out this noble design, death overtaking him at Langres, in France. His companions carried out the wish of their father, and made over the bible to Gregory II. Recent investigations into the so-called Codex Amiatinus have had the result of showing it to be the oldest existing manuscript of the *entire* Vulgate that has belonged to the library of the Holy See. The Hamilton collection, of late years purchased by the Prussian Government, is, indeed, possessed of a bible codex written in golden letters on purple parchment, which Professor Wattenbach attributes to St. Wilfrid, of York (670-680), but it has never been in the possession of the Holy See. It once belonged to Henry VIII., and was a present to him in acknowledgement of the merits of his book against Luther; not sent to him, however, from Leo X., but from a now unknown person. The result of De Rossi's investigations as to the Codex Amiatinus, differs from Bandini's, who, in the last century, fancied he could read on the title-page, "Servandus Latii extremis de finibus abbas," and connected the manuscript with St. Servandus, a disciple of St. Benedict. English scholars have followed up De Rossi's investigations, and to Professor Hort, of Cambridge, we owe the fortunate hint as to the original dedicatory words of Abbot Ceolfrid, which Dr. Giles had published, from an anonymous life of Ceolfrid, in his "Opera Bedae" (vi. 418). The least doubt as to the identity of the Codex Amiatinus with the bible offered by Ceolfrid, in 716, has, thus, now disappeared. Students of palæography will take a keen interest in chapter v. By the help of Ceolfrid's dedicatory distich, as given in his anonymous life, De Rossi ingeniously reconstructs the original Latin verses from the first page of the Codex Amiatinus. He next examines the text of the Codex, which quite agrees with the Vulgate. From Bede we learn that Ceolfrid, having accompanied Abbot Biscop several times on his Roman journeys, in 678, brought with him from Rome to England, a "Pandectes vetustae translationis"—*viz.*, the old Itala. In England, he ordered to be transcribed three copies "novae translationis," of St. Jerome, and destined them as presents for the convents of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and for St. Peter's, Rome. The original, from which these three manuscripts, the latest of which is precisely our Codex Amiatinus, or Ceolfridi, were to be copied, was a bible codex brought from Rome by Biscop for his "Nobilissima

Bibliotheca," and was St. Jerome's translation, as Bede attests. England may thus be proud of having furnished St. Peter's, Rome, with the fine codex of the complete Vulgate, that has, in our day, excited the liveliest interest among Bible scholars. If we wished for a proof of the intimate intercourse, during the seventh century, between the church of Northumberland and Rome, the centre of unity, a more striking one could scarcely be wished for than that which the dedicatory distichs of Ceolfrid afford. They run thus:—

Corpus ad eximii merito venerabile Petri,
 Dedicat Ecclesiae quem caput alta fides,
 Ceolfridus Anglorum extremis de finibus abbas
 Devoti affectus pignora mitto mei,
 Meque meosque optans tanti inter gaudia patris
 In caelis memorem semper habere locum.

BELLESHEIM.

Geschichte der katholischen Kirche im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Erster Band.—Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland. I. Von Dr. HEINRICH BRÜCK, Professor der Theologie am bischöflichen Seminar in Mainz. Mainz: Kirchem. 1887.

PROFESSOR BRÜCK has set himself an immense task. The first volume, now before us, treats of the vicissitudes of the Catholic Church in Germany in the first part of the nineteenth century, from the invasion of the French to the opening of the negotiations between the several Courts of Germany and the Holy See which resulted in the Concordats. The author's special qualifications for this arduous undertaking are beyond question. His "History of the Ecclesiastical Province of the Upper Rhine" (Archbishopric of Freiburg); his "Text-book of Church History," in four editions, translated in English and Italian; his "History of the Irish Veto," sufficiently witness to his capabilities for this new work. In it he intends, to use his own words, "to present a history of the German Church, derived from the best authentic sources, as complete as is possible, unprejudiced, and aiming only at setting forth the facts as they are, since it is only by such a method that the noble influence of the Church may be duly weighed and old prejudices against her can be dispelled."

Before entering on his special period, Dr. Brück lays the foundations by tracing the condition of the Church in Germany in the last part of the eighteenth century. Then she still stood in ancient splendour. Notwithstanding the considerable losses suffered at the time of the Reformation, she enjoyed A.D. 1800 great wealth and political rights. Witness the fact that she could boast of not less than eighteen universities, and the schools connected with so many ecclesiastical communities, or directed by priests or religious. By the "secularization" of 1803 she was, by one sudden stroke, deprived of all these institutions. The religious condition of the Church left much to be desired. Not many Courts of the then reigning Prince;

Bishops were exempt from the errors of Gallicanism, Josephism, or Febronianism. Divine chastisement for this was doubtless richly deserved; and it came sooner than could have been anticipated.

Dr. Brück's work is divided into five parts:—The time of secularization; the usurpation of the Church's rights by the State; the attempts to bring order out of chaos; higher and intermediate education; *cultus*, or the condition of the Church with regard to divine service. It may be noted here that a more accurate, solid, and dispassionate narrative of the numerous incidents of the plundering of the German Church in 1803 than that presented in this work could scarcely be looked for. Only in our day could such a history be written, with the help of the now published memoirs of some of the leading men of the period. No doubt the principal agent in the spoliation of the Church was Bonaparte, then First Consul; but he never would have succeeded in his impious schemes but for some of the German bishops, who, by declining to resort to decisive measures, supported him in suppressing both Germany and her Church. For the picture traced by Dr. Brück of the disastrous effects of the secularization on religion, morals and education, we must send the reader to the book. One of the worst results of the immense spoil was the dependence of the spiritual power on the State. As the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg wrote to Pius VII., July 1, 1803, not so much the secular as the spiritual power of the bishops is to be brought under the yoke of the secular princes. Nor must the sad fact be passed over in silence that the State, in stripping the Church of her wealth, were supported by not a few Catholic priests who had given up their vocation, and in this way gave vent to the fury of their hearts against their mother.

The fourth chapter lays open the intricate negotiations between the Governments of the German States and Pius VII., for re-establishing the Church in each territory. The main discussion was whether there should be an Imperial Concordat, or treaties of the Holy See with each single State. Rome, of course, favoured the former alternative, the secular Powers the latter. The Pope was at last obliged to give way, and thus the several Concordats originated, Count Metternich, the then all powerful Prime Minister of Austria, has left Memoirs, published only a few years since, which throw considerable light on the schemes of the Austrian Government. It aimed at giving the German Church a position little less than independent of the Holy See, the centre of unity. The Pope, therefore, might have congratulated himself on getting rid of the need of negotiating an Imperial Concordat.

A noteworthy feature of Dr. Brück's history is the diligent care with which he traces the development of theology and canon law in those troublous times. Philosophical systems of the day, unfortunately, fascinated many Catholic doctors during that period, and dragged them from the path of tradition. Far from following St. Thomas, they preferred Kant, Fichte, and Hegel, and their unsound systems. The havoc entailed on the Church by this robbery of

sound doctrines far surpassed in gravity her immense losses of secular wealth.

Professor Brück deserves high praise for this first instalment of a valuable work, which we trust he may be able to finish without delay.

—

BELLESHEIM.

Praelectiones Metaphysicæ Specialis, quas in Collegio Maximo Lovaniensi, S.J., habebat Gustavus Lahousse, E.S. Vol. II. : "Psychologia." Lovanii : Car. Peeters. 1888.

THE second of Father Lahousse's treatises on "Philosophy" in no way detracts from the great reputation which its author enjoys. His lectures on psychology will prove a very valuable boon to students. It must be borne in mind that, in writing this course of lectures, the author has looked principally to those who have time and opportunity for the study of Christian Philosophy. Hence he has written in the Latin language, which, however good it may be for the use of students, is unfitted to convey to the majority of mankind any idea of the great connection between the truths of reason and those of faith. Keeping in mind, then, the class of readers who will make use of this work, and for whom alone it is intended, we think a more admirable treatise on Psychology could not be desired. A few general remarks on the chief characteristics of the work will show the truth of this assertion. All the arguments adduced by Father Lahousse are set forth in strict accordance with the syllogistic laws. Conciseness and clearness are the invariable qualities of every proposition. No argument is so convincing or so easily retained as that in which the "major" and "minor" are at once brief and clear, and Father Lahousse has successfully combined these two qualities. Again, it has often been remarked that many of our text-books of philosophy are sadly wanting in references to modern works. But this is a fault not to be found in the present treatise. Copious references are everywhere given, not only to St. Thomas and Suarez, but to writers such as Tongiorgi, Palmieri, Pisch, Sanseverim Liberatore. While the opponents of the scholastic theories have no reason to complain that their views are not represented, and that students are not afforded the means of verifying the opinions ascribed to them, they will invariably find themselves courteously treated at the hands of Father Lahousse. Another feature of this work is the vast array of difficulties which are here collected and solved. Numbering over 350, they are all put in syllogistic form, and in many cases are so arranged as to make a little disputation, which is, at times, carried through four or five "subsumptions." Although we cannot pretend to give a detailed account of this work, there are one or two points which we are unable to pass over in silence. In the article devoted to the Origin of Species, the author gives a good, though, to our mind, brief, account of Evolution as maintained by Darwin and his adherents. Father Lahousse rejects Darwinism mainly on two grounds: first, because it does not satisfactorily account for some incontestable

facts; and, second, because it assigns certain effects to inadequate causes. He devotes special attention to the fabled descent of the human race from the ape, and argues that, even granting that there is a perfect similarity between the body of a man and that of an ape, which he denies, nevertheless the difference between man possessing an intellect and the ape devoid of reason is so great that it precludes any possibility of their being naturally descended from a common origin. The theory of evolution as proposed by its more moderate supporters does not, we think, receive sufficient attention, nor does Father Lahousse seem to pronounce any definite judgment on its merits. Of course it is quite natural to expect that the author adopts the scholastic theory on the Origin of Ideas. The explanation and development of this theory is, perhaps, the most interesting subject contained in the work. Many points which are overlooked in ordinary text-books are here explained. Father Lahousse considers that the opinion of those who uphold the real distinction between the "intellectus possibilis" and the "intellectus agnus" is more probable than that which only acknowledges a mental distinction. As usual, the author devotes more attention to what he considers the right system, than to explaining or refuting false ones. Nevertheless, in view of the recent condemnation of Rosminian propositions, we think too little attention has been bestowed upon the theory which takes its name from Rosmini. That a system which has called forth from friends and foes volumes innumerable, can be adequately described in fifteen lines, seems preposterous. In conclusion, we must add that only those who have had to lament the want of a good index to most of our standard text-books of philosophy will be able to appreciate the valuable one which Father Lahousse has appended to this volume.

English Men of Letters: Keats. By SIDNEY COLVIN. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

KEATS died before he had completed the twenty-sixth year of his age, and the hereditary disease, which ultimately proved fatal, disabled him from active work when he was only twenty-four. That the immortality of fame should have been achieved at so early an age is sufficiently remarkable, but the wonder grows when we find that the poet in his early years gave no indications of unusual precocity, and that the circumstances of his life were wholly unfavourable to the production of those ideal works which are now so famous. His father was the keeper of a livery stable—a position to which he had risen from that of ostler, by marrying his master's daughter—and the poet was born, October 29, 1795, at the stable in Finsbury Pavement. He received at Dr. Clarke's school, at Enfield, a sound, middle-class education, but he learned no Greek. His school-days passed without his giving any indication of the greatness in store for him. He was, indeed, remarkable only for his extraordinary pugnacity, a quality recorded by Holmes, one of his

years been hampered. And the spirit which animates him is essentially the spirit of delight : delight in the beauty of nature and the vividness of sensation, delight in the charm of fable and romance, in the thoughts of friendship and affection, in anticipations of the future, and in the exercise of the art itself which expresses and communicates all these joys."

The chapter on "Endymion" is particularly good, and "Endymion" itself will be read with increased pleasure after its perusal. While thus bestowing on Mr. Sidney Colvin the praise of having effectively treated his subject in the most essential particulars, we cannot pass over without notice the occasional slovenliness of composition which disfigures his pages. Take for example the following sentence, where the author is speaking of Haydon's writing: "But in this, the literary, form of expression also, as often as he flies higher, and tries to become imaginative and impressive, we find only the same self-satisfied void turgidity, and proof of a commonplace mind, as in his paintings." The punctuation here is itself worthy of study, and "void turgidity" may exercise the mind for an indefinite term. In the same page we read: "*While* his imperious and importunate egotism wore out others after a *while*." Such expressions as "In the long run," "regrettable," "stock-raptures," "Portraits, verbal and other;" "Much the chief portion of the book," "In the matter of metre," do not seriously detract from the merit of the work; but they might have been so easily avoided that the author deserves censure for having made use of them.

Le Développement de la Constitution et de la Société Politique en Angleterre. Par E. BOUTMY, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

THE English Constitution has long exercised a peculiar fascination over Frenchmen. Since the days of Montesquieu they have looked upon it as the realization of the perfect form of government. Their historians have made it the subject of careful study; their politicians have in vain attempted to reproduce it. M. Boutmy is the latest addition to the long list of writers. He has made himself familiar with the most recent researches and theories, and has worked up his materials so as to produce a book which may be heartily recommended to English readers. It is philosophical rather than historical, or, to speak more plainly, it is more a study of causes and consequences than a record of events. His main contention is that the English Constitution is chiefly due to circumstances, and not to the characters of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman races. Thierry laid too great stress on Norman influence; Bishop Freeman and Gneist attribute too much to the Anglo-Saxons. The true sources of the constitution, according to M. Boutmy, were not so much ethnical as historical. The English nation, he says, "is a political society,

which, having fallen in the eleventh century into a state of disorganization . . . went through at the right moment the ordeal of a great military, economic, and administrative revolution, and received, less from the event itself than from the gradual pressure of its consequences, less from the characters of the component races than from the physical and moral conditions in which the whole body of the nation was placed, that consistence and that form which it has substantially preserved to our own times."

But to the ordinary reader the most interesting part of the book is the account of what the author styles the Aristocratic Revolution of the eighteenth century. We are accustomed to look upon the Revolution of 1688 as the last of our revolutions. M. Boutmy, however, draws our attention to the silent and gradual change which took place in the country districts during the reigns of the early Georges. At the beginning of the last century a large portion of the land was owned by small proprietors called yeomen. For many centuries they had been the brain and backbone of the country. The sentiment of ownership cultivated in them a spirit of independence. Local government was in their hands, and they exercised the parliamentary franchise with freedom and discretion. The extermination of this class is the great blot of the eighteenth century. Huge estates became everywhere the rule, and the ancient proprietors were forced to emigrate, or to sink into the degrading position of tenants-at-will. The Squire now became monarch of all he surveyed. He was a despot among his tenantry, and when he went up to Westminster it was only to frame with others of his class, new laws to strengthen his power. M. Boutmy shows that Goldsmith's pathetic poem is no exaggeration but sober truth. The aristocratic supremacy was, however, soon threatened by the extraordinary development of industry. The Reform Bill of 1832 dealt the first successful blow at the great landowners. The struggle has continued ever since.

— — — — —
T. B. SCANNELL.

Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries. An Attempt to illustrate the History of their Suppression. By FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, O.S.B. Vol. I. Third Edition. London: John Hodges. 1888.

WITH great pleasure we note the publication within a few months of a third edition of Father Gasquet's volume. From the first it has received from the non-Catholic press a large amount of attention and a warm welcome. In the case of a book by a monk on the "suppression," this is a sign of the times; it is also a clear testimony to the author's historical ability and fairness, and to the possession by his book of the qualities which His Eminence the Cardinal claimed for it in his article (on the first edition) in our last number. There is no need, after that article, for us here to say any single word about the book itself: the third edition is a reprint of the first and second; there has been no time, had there even been

any call, to make alterations. But we may be pardoned for taking the opportunity to dwell on our gratification at the sudden and notable success of the book, and to congratulate the author on it. The sale has been great, far beyond his most sanguine anticipations; and the knowledge that his volume has gone widely among all classes of the Protestant public must give him great pleasure. Their recognition of its merits has also been emphatic and generous; and only lately another unexpected and spontaneous mark of recognition to Father Gasquet from the learned world has been his election on the Council of the Camden Society. That a Benedictine should prove himself a laborious and patient investigator and able historian is in keeping with the traditions of his Order; that Anglican clergymen and scholars generally should come forward to welcome him and eulogize his merits is very honourable to them. Father Gasquet undertook his work at the word of His Holiness, a Pope who has already done so much for history. And now, since the issue of his third edition, a letter from Cardinal Rampolla has conveyed to him the Pope's congratulations and a fresh benediction on his further labours. The Pope speaks lovingly of Father Gasquet's book in this letter, as having been begun at his desire; and expresses his confident expectation that the book will reflect honour on both its writer and the illustrious Order to which he belongs.

Many Catholics think that little can be said for the "monks of old." They may here learn otherwise; and we trust that, while Protestants are quick to read Father Gasquet's volume for the sake of knowing the truth, they themselves will not be behindhand in laudable curiosity. It is in all the libraries.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

(Notices of many of which have to be held over until October).

"Meditations for Every Day in the Year." By Father John Crasset, S. J. Translated and Edited by the Very Rev. T. B. Snow, O.S.B. Two Vols. London: Washbourne.

"Britain's Early Faith." By W. H. Anderdon, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.

"Procès des Frères et de l'Ordre du Temple." Par M. Lavocat. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

"Mabillon et la Société de l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés, 1664-1707." Par Emmanuel de Broglie. Two Vols. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

"The Story of the Nations"—"The Goths," by Henry Bradley. "Assyria," by Z. A. Ragozin. "Chaldea," by the same. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

"Histoire des Papes, depuis la fin du Moyen Age." Par le Dr. Louis Pastor. Traduit de l'Allemand par Furcy Raynaud. Two Vols. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

"Historia Aliquot Martyrum Anglorum, maxime Octodecim Cartusianorum, sub Henrico VIII.," &c. A V. Patre Domno M. Chauncy, Londin. Cartusie Professo Conscripta, &c. Londini : Burns & Oates.

"At the Gates of the Sanctuary ;" or, the Postulant and the Novice. Translated from the Latin Works of Dom. Rupert Presinger, O.S.B. By the Very Rev. Francis Cuthbert Doyle, O.S.B. Dublin : Gill & Son. New York, &c. : Benziger Bros.

"One of His Little Ones, and Other Tales, &c." By J. S. Fletcher. London : R. Washbourne.

"Dean Church's Miscellaneous Writings." Five Vols. Vol. I., "Miscellaneous Essays." Vol. II., "Dante." Vol. III., "St. Anselm." Vol. IV., "Spencer." London : Macmillan & Co.

"Twelve English Statesmen." "William the Conqueror," by E. A. Freeman. "Cardinal Wolsey," by M. Creighton. "William III.," by H. D. Traill. "Oliver Cromwell," by Frederic Harrison. London : Macmillan & Co.

"The Ancient World and Christianity." By E. de Pressensé, D.D. Translated by Annie H. Holmden. London : Hodder & Stoughton.

"A Visit to Europe and the Holy Land." By Rev. H. F. Fairbanks. New York : Catholic Publication Society Co. London : Burns & Oates. 1888.

"The Blessedness of the Dead in Christ, and other Sermons." By the late William Maturin, D.D. London : Macmillan & Co. 1888.

"St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel." By Howard Heber Evans, M.A. London : James Nisbet & Co.

"The Biblical Illustrator." By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. "S. Mark." London : James Nisbet & Co.

"The Banshee, and other Poems." By John Todhunter. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

"Le Duc d'Enghien, 1772-1804." Par Henri Welschinger. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

"Mémoires et Souvenirs du Baron Hyde de Neuville." Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

"Prælectiones Philosophicæ, quas in Collegio Anglorum Vallisoleti olim habebat Thomus Quintianus Fleming. Ontologiæ Pars. III. London.

Record of Roman Documents.

BEATIFICATIONS.—The following are passing through the different processes:—

Venerable Leopold della Gaiche, Professed Priest of the Reformed Friars Minor. *Vid. Tablet*, March 24, 1888.

Father Fortunatus Redolfi, of the Barnabites of Carrobiole, in Monza.

Jerome Tiraboschi, Novice of the Regular Clerks of the Ministers of the Sick. *Vid. Tablet*, March 17, 1888.

Venerable Claude de la Colombiere, of the Society of Jesus.

Venerable Perboyre, Priest of the Congregation of the Mission of S. Vincent de Paul, Martyr in China. *Vid. Tablet*, May 19, 1888.

BERRETTA, PURPLE.—Privilege of wearing a purple berretta granted to all Bishops *in perpetuum*, as a Jubilee favour, Feb. 3, 1888. *Vid. Tablet*, April 14, 1888.

BUILDING OVER AN ORATORY.—Allowed, but not for sleeping apartments. (*S. C. C.*, July 23, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 31, 1888.

CANONIZATION, Proceeding with:—Blessed Pope Urban II. *Vid. Tablet*, March 17, 1888.

CONFRATERNITIES, RECTORS OF.—A parish priest, whose predecessor was Rector of a Confraternity, becomes himself Rector of the same Confraternity without requiring a fresh appointment. (*S. Cong. Indulg. et Reliq.*, Jun. 25, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, Jan 14, 1888.

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.—A church once consecrated, being afterwards enlarged, the altar pulled down, and the inside lined with stucco, is declared to be still consecrated, the lateral walls having been left standing. (*S. R. C.*, Jan. 16, 1886). *Vid. Tablet*, Feb. 11, 1888.

CROSSES BLESSED for the Indulgence “in articulo mortis, toties quoties,” are intended to be used only by the person for whom they were blessed. (March 25, 1888.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June, 1888.

DE PROFUNDIS.—Indulgence of fifty days, to be gained thrice a day, for reciting this Psalm with versicle, “*Eternal rest give to them,*” &c. (*S. Cong. Indulg. et S. Reliq.*, Feb. 3, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 9, 1888.

FORT AUGUSTUS.—Allotment of funds. (*S. Cong., Ep. et Reg.*, Aug. 12, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, April 7, 1888.

HOLY PLACES.—Brief of Pope Leo. XIII., ordering a collection for the Holy Places to be made in every parochial church at least once a year, and that on Good Friday or some other day at discretion of the Bishop. It bears date Dec. 26, 1887. *Vid. Tablet*, March 24, 1888.

INDEX.—I. Placed upon the Index:—

“*Histoire d'Israel,*” by E. Ledrain.

in detail, let us for clearness, sake enumerate the inaccuracies we shall have to examine. They are then :—

1. The changes that brought about the renunciation of the authority of the Pope “were not acts of the State forced upon the Church but acts of the Church herself” (p. 4).

2. “There was a widespread aversion of the clergy, in its different ranks, to the working prerogatives of the Roman See, which may be referred in part to impatience of taxation, but which obtained even with some of its highest, purest, and ablest members” (p. 9). These last words are explained by our next quotation.

3. A basis of legality, in its determining conditions, for the proceedings of the Reformation, was laid . . . before Cranmer and the reforming prelates had mounted into seats of power, and claims the authority of Warham, of Tunstall, of Gardiner, and (not to mention many others) even of Fisher (p. 5).

4. There were legislative “acts of the governing body in the Church, done within its lawful competency under Henry the Eighth,” which retained their ecclesiastical force through all subsequent reigns (p. 6). This is the early part of a cluster of inaccuracies, the latter portion of which appears in number 9.

5. The words, *unicus et supremus dominus*, applied to the King by Convocation without any limiting clause, exclude the Pope’s headship of the Church, and, without raising any scruple about Christ’s headship, recognize the King’s.

6. The limiting words, *quantum per Christi legem licet*, cannot be understood [that is, cannot have been understood by those who proposed or accepted them] as annulling the whole force of the phrase, *supremum caput* (p. 6).

7. The words, “supreme head,” meant, then, in 1531 what they meant a little later. Mr. Gladstone does not say this in so many words, but he assumes it throughout.

8. In further proof of the sentiments of the clergy with respect to papal jurisdiction, Mr. Gladstone refers to “their perfectly voluntary, if suggested, petition in Convocation during the year 1531, for the abolition of Annates or Episcopal first-fruits” (p. 8). This sentence contains almost as many inaccuracies as it has words.

9. Under Mary “there was no doctrinal and no legislative action of the Convocations : there was no attempt to disturb the proceedings of 1531 or 1534” (p. 10). Thus Elizabeth “found in full force, as ecclesiastical declarations and enactments, the synodical acts of the reign of her father” (p. 10). This is the later statement of the group of inaccuracies which are commenced in number 4.

10. It is asserted by Lingard that [under Elizabeth] they presented a petition to the House of Lords declaring, among other things, belief in the papal supremacy. On reference to the records we find that the allegation is radically erroneous (p. 11.) The error is not in Lingard but in Mr. Gladstone.

11. The Anglican bishops and clergy under Henry the Eighth, and before the accession of Cranmer, the divorce, and the remarriage with

Anne Boleyn, believed themselves entitled to deal with . . . the ordinary jurisdiction of the Pope (p. 13).

12. The Episcopal succession through Parker is unassailable up to this point, that it did not displace any legitimate possessors or claimants of any of the Sees (p. 12).

We may now begin at the beginning, and willingly acknowledge that we are concerned only with an historical investigation. Mr. Gladstone wisely lays aside the theological aspects of the discussion, at the same time that he naturally betrays his own theological bias. But he very fairly enumerates the theological points, which for argument's sake he passes over, an adverse decision upon which, he candidly acknowledges, would utterly neutralize the force of his historical inquiry. The theological propositions, which if proved against the Church of England would be fatal to her claim of continuity or identity with the Catholic Church before the Reformation, are stated by him thus (p. 4):—

1. By changes of doctrine she altered the one perpetual Christian faith and became heretical.

2. By changes of rite, she failed to fulfil the sacramental communion of the Church, and her ordinance, or vital portions of them, became ineffectual or invalid.

3. By changes of law she destroyed the jurisdiction of the Roman See in England, which, as being divine, it was beyond her power lawfully to touch, and she thus became schismatical.

With these three propositions, as properly theological, Mr. Gladstone in his article is not concerned; his sole purpose is the discussion of a proposition which affects not the nature of the changes made, but the nature of the authority which made them. The objection that he proposes to answer is, that the theological changes in question were "not made by the Church at all, but that they were made without or against her by the action of the civil power, which, as such, was incompetent to act in the matter, and that the changes were therefore null." His object, then, is properly historical, and it is, "without prejudice to any portion of the subject, to establish the negative of this proposition, and to show that in the last and determining resort, the changes in question were not acts of the State forced upon the Church, but acts of the Church herself, which supply the key to her juridical position, held ever since down to the present day."

Mr. Gladstone tells us that "a cloud of vague misrepresentation has, down to a recent period, overlain the facts." No systematic effort, he says, has been made to clear the ground even by Burnet and Collier, and he prides himself on the novel discovery, which, he truly says, will probably be "matter of surprise to most readers," that the "basis of legality in its determin-

ing conditions for the proceedings of the Reformation," is due, not to Cranmer and the reforming prelates, but to Warham and Tunstall, to Gardiner, and even to Fisher. We follow Mr. Gladstone in confining ourselves strictly to this limited field of historical inquiry.

Mr. Gladstone's position is that the Reformation was legally established by the Church herself in England, and that it was not forced upon the Church by the State. And yet his first proof curiously begins with the statement that, "in 1531, Henry VIII., by legal chicane, entangled the clergy in the penalties of *Præmunire* for having acknowledged the legatine jurisdiction of Wolsey. . . . From the clergy he demanded (1) a great subsidy; and (2) the unconditional and unlimited acknowledgment of his headship over the Church" (p. 6). If Mr. Gladstone had wished to prove that the Church was being forced by the State, could he well have found a better argument? The penalties of *Præmunire* rendered each member of both Houses of the Convocation liable to imprisonment at the king's pleasure, and to the forfeiture of all their goods. The screw was as powerful as it could be, and it was in remorseless hands. The members of Convocation fully understood how thoroughly they were in the king's power. No one of them was safe for a moment without the Royal Pardon. That pardon had to be bought, and they were willing to pay for it a heavy price. They voted the king a subsidy of £100,044 8s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$., moderately estimated at a million of our money, as a mark of their gratitude to the king who had defended the "Universal Church, of which we are most humble members, most zealously with his pen and with costly wars, and had bound to him the whole Church of Christ, and these his subjects more in particular; and now, more especially, as became the pious Defender of the Faith and of the Church, he had repressed her enemies, especially the Lutherans, who were conspiring to the injury of the Church and clergy of England * and were maligning the fame and the persons of the prelates and the clergy,"† and they trust that the Defender of the Faith will grant a general pardon and grace for all penalties incurred by them (they do not say how) under the Statutes of Provisors and *Præmunire*.

This subsidy was carried in Convocation on January 24, 1531.‡ On February 7, Archbishop Warham, after an interview with the king's councillors and justices, proposed for discussion in the Convocation five articles added to the preface of the concession of the subsidy, with the first only of which we are now concerned. That first article was that, after the words "of the Church and clergy

* Here the parenthesis of the Royal Supremacy was ultimately introduced.

† Wilkins, iii. p. 742.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 725.

of England," there should be inserted "whose Protector and Supreme Head he (the king) alone is." On the following day the king's justices exhibited a copy of the exceptions made in the king's general pardon which was to be granted in consideration of the subsidy, the justices declaring that they were not empowered to conclude the matter until the bishops and clergy had come to a conclusion on the first article. The recognition of the king's supremacy, as stated in that article, did not please the bishops and clergy, who demanded that it should be modified. For three subsequent sessions discussion was carried on with the Privy Council how they could induce the king to permit them to express that article in milder words. At last the king sent them a message by Viscount Rochford insisting on the insertion of the words, "whose Protector and Supreme Head, after God, he only is," and refused further communication with the Convocation on the point. On the 9th the justices came and demanded an answer on the articles, the king refusing to accept any modification. The Lower House asked for more time for discussion. The next day, after an attempt made by the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Exeter to see the king, and after long discussions on the articles, Lord Rochford appeared and demanded a full answer. The prolocutor asserted that the clergy had not yet agreed. At last, on February 11, Archbishop Warham proposed that the article on the king's supremacy should be in these words: "of the Church and clergy of England, whose singular protector, sole and supreme lord, and as far as the law of Christ allows, also supreme head, we recognize his Majesty." When Warham asked the consent of the bishops he said, *Qui tacet consentire videtur*; and some one answered, "Then we are all silent;" and so both Houses unanimously subscribed this article. Such is the narrative taken from the Journal of Convocation. Let us now see what use Mr. Gladstone makes of it.

Perhaps it is hardly worth noticing that, according to Mr. Gladstone, Archbishop Warham "was answered, 'Then we are all silent.'" Burnet had written before him, "They cried out," but his editor has corrected him by the note, "It was only one. *Quidam respondebat.*" The historian should be careful in the way he states his facts; but of course no one dreams of denying that all the members of that Convocation were responsible for their silence.

What was it that they allowed thus to pass without a contradicting voice? It was, that in the sentence of the concession of their subsidy, after their praises of the king for the benefits conferred by him on the universal Church, and for the particular advantage conferred upon the Church of England by his royal zeal against Lutheranism, a parenthesis should be inserted when

the Church of England was named, giving him the title he coveted in the form on which they ultimately agreed.

Now be it remembered that Mr. Gladstone is not putting forward the moral, but the legal, force of these words. How can Mr. Gladstone consider a statement parenthetically made to be a legal enactment of the governing body in the Church? Would he hold a similar parenthesis in a judge's sentence to be more than an *obiter dictum*, or was there ever a law from any legislator whatsoever, the enacting portion of which was in like form? Yet this is Mr. Gladstone's sole position. He contents himself with a pure argument upon law. What law does he find here? He calls it a declaratory law; but no declaration deserves the name of law unless it be the authentic declaration of a legislator as to the force and meaning of his own law. All other declarations are but expressions of opinion.

We will now follow Mr. Gladstone in an examination of the terms employed in this important parenthesis. The sentence, he rightly says, branches into three divisions. According to the commencing words, the king is the *singularis protector* of the Church, and he adds that these words "hardly affect the question at issue, as they seem manifestly to refer to action in the exterior forum." The rightful meaning of the words *singularis protector* cannot be far to seek; and it is hard to see why they should not be regarded as perfectly synonymous with the title conferred on the king by the Pope of Defender of the Faith. To defend and protect are much the same thing.

The next limb of the sentence declares the Sovereign to be the *unicus et supremus dominus* of the Church. Mr. Gladstone says that "these words, which excited no scruple on the part either of the prelates or of the clergy, appear to indicate with great precision the idea of the relation between the Church and the Sovereign, as it has been conceived in English law" (p. 7).

It is fatal to Mr. Gladstone's assumption that the words should mean this, when, according to his own statement, they excited no scruple on the part of the prelates and the clergy. Mr. Gladstone is even understating it when he says thus much. The words in question are not found in the original draft of the parenthesis, nor are they in the form brought by Lord Rochford to the convocation as the king's *ultimatum*. They are inserted, as far as it appears, by Warham and by the Convocation that had sat so many days contesting the royal supremacy with the king's Privy Councillors and Justices. It is therefore plain that they can only mean that the King of England was their supreme feudal lord; and of course the only one, as no one had ever dreamt of attributing such a position to the Pope. In Mr. Gladstone's opinion these words were inserted to exclude the Papal and all extraneous

jurisdiction, without the use of terms which would seem to derogate from Christ's supreme headship over the Church. He has not noticed that the *ultimatum*, of which Lord Rochford was the bearer, had provided for this very scruple by the insertion of the words "after God" in the title of the king's supreme headship; and that these words "after God" were not adopted by the Convocation, as they evidently exclude the Pope. As for the Papal jurisdiction, it is by no means clear that it was at that time specifically under consideration at all, as we shall see when we come to the conclusion of the parenthesis. Meanwhile, it is absurd to suppose that the title of feudal lordship had anything to do with the exclusion of the spiritual jurisdiction of any one whatever. It was one title more with which they thought they could please the king; and they were safe in giving it, as the term *dominus* no more trenching on their spiritual authority than did the previous term *protector*.

And now let us remark the great peculiarity of Mr. Gladstone's position. He looks upon himself as a discoverer; the legal force of these words has never been perceived before. To him it matters little that Henry himself should have written a long letter in justification of the titles employed by the Convocation of Canterbury, and had never found out that these words indicated what Mr. Gladstone supposes.

It does not concern Mr. Gladstone that there should be no trace of his interpretation, "even in works so important, because of having been largely drawn from the fountain-heads of information as those of Burnet and Collier." All this is part of the "cloud of vague misrepresentation," which it is the business of Mr. Gladstone to dissipate. This really means that a Church lawyer has arisen at last, and that the legal force of words, which has been hitherto unperceived, is to be now fixed with precision, though the Convocation that used them had no thought of such a meaning, nor even the king that accepted them.

We now come to the third and last clause of the parenthesis: "And, as far as the law of Christ allows, we recognize his Majesty to be also Supreme Head." Mr. Gladstone's observation is, that the "limiting words apply to the term of headship" only. Is it to be supposed for a moment that they would not have been extended to the preceding phrase, if it had meant what this phrase means? He adds that, "though they are important words, they cannot be understood as annulling the whole force of the phrase." That will surely depend on the belief of those who used them as to what was the law of Christ in the matter. They were suggested directly against the king's wish by such prelates as Warham and Fisher, who, seeing that the Convocation would probably be so intimidated that it would accept the king's new

title, did their utmost to check the evil. It was a poor remedy, it is true, for "what was there to prevent the advocates of the Royal Supremacy from pushing it to any extreme, on the grounds that it was not forbidden to do so by the Law of Christ? And this was what really happened, and was foreseen as likely to happen; and some better safeguard should have been provided than an elastic or disputable clause." * Fisher's latest biographer speaks of him as consenting to adopt the obnoxious title, with a clause that made it tolerable, rather than that, standing aloof, he should leave the clergy to give a title without a clause to indicate its dangerous character.

To the same book we must refer our reader for an excellent argument to show that in 1531 the question before the minds of the clergy had as yet no explicit bearing on the authority of the Holy See. People have naturally interpreted by subsequent history the words then used. The title of Supreme Head was in a very short time put into such direct opposition to the authority of the Pope, that in 1534 the assertion of the one was invariably accepted as identical with the rejection of the other. But in 1531 this point, though visible enough to outsiders, such as Chapuys, the Emperor's ambassador, was not directly before the minds of the members of Convocation.

For this view we may quote an authority that Mr. Gladstone will not despise, who uses words that Mr. Gladstone with his theory before his eyes could not use. Bishop Stubbs, in his valuable Historical Appendix to the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts' Commission" (p. 36), says that in 1531—

The king had not formally broken off his relations with the Pope; and it is quite certain that neither Warham, Fisher, nor More would have accepted the words if they had necessarily implied a renunciation of papal authority. This was probably understood to be covered by the words of compromise, *quantum per Christi legem licet*, which each party might for the time interpret in their own way, and Warham and More might interpret as implying no greater negation of papal power than was immemorially part of the legal system of England. But the idea of the supremacy, after the formal vote in 1533, that the Pope has by Holy Scripture no greater power in England than any other foreign bishop, was very much extended. . . . The definition [in the Statute of Appeals], which is clearly the work of the king himself. . . . could not have been accepted by Warham and More, and could not be pressed upon the clergy as an explanation of their form of recognition without the additional negation of papal authority.

Archbishop Warham died in August, 1532, and in the prece-

* "Life of Bd. John Fisher," p. 208. By the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R. London: 1888.

ding February he protested "that he could not consent to any statute passed in the Parliament derogatory to the rights of the Apostolic See, or to the subversion of the laws, privileges, prerogatives, pre-eminence, or liberties of the Metropolitan See of Canterbury."* Mr. Gladstone is surprised that the Archbishop did not extend his protest to the proceedings in Convocation. It is strange that he does not perceive that he furnishes here a very strong argument, drawn from the conduct of the man who had presided, that what had passed in Convocation did not carry the same meaning as that which had passed in Parliament.

In the letter of Henry VIII. to Bishop Tunstall, we have a singular proof of this view of the sense then ostensibly attaching to the words. The Convocation of York had, under the guidance of the Bishop of Durham, as the metropolitan See of York was vacant, demurred to the use of the titles employed by the Convocation of Canterbury in the famous parenthesis. Henry writes to persuade them to follow the example of the southern province; and not only all through his letter is there no word against the authority of the Pope, but several phrases are employed that assume it. The Pope is even called the *Caput Ecclesiæ*; and the king's argument is that though the title is used absolutely and without qualification, every one understands it as not clashing with Christ's Headship of the Church. So the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England," may well be given to Henry himself, without fear of his taking therefrom anything more than the superiority that rightly belongs to all kings. In other places of the letter the Pope is spoken of without a shade of disrespect, as "when we write to the Pope *Sanctissimo*, we mean not holier than St. Peter, though it sounds so;" and again, "why else doth the Pope suffer any other besides himself to be called Archbishop, seeing that he himself indeed challengeth to be *Princeps Apostolorum et episcoporum* in Peter's stead, which the name of an Archbishop utterly denieth, but by addition of the country they save the sense." That is, an Archbishop may be so called if his local See is added, as then it does not deny that the Pope is *Princeps episcoporum*.†

It is true that Mr. Gladstone protests that "the mitigatory explanations tendered by Henry VIII. in 1531 to the clergy respecting the headship are only of importance in so far as they may have affected the conduct of prelates or others in the Convocation, and cannot govern the legal and constitutional meaning of the documents." But we have already seen that the Convocation passed no law, but only used a title, and surely the "mitigatory explanations" of the king must be of the

* Wilkins, iii, p. 746.

† *Ibid.* pp. 762-765.

highest importance in determining what was then meant by that title.*

Mr. Gladstone makes a most surprising statement respecting Blessed John Fisher. He says—and it is almost incredible that he should say it—that “after the Act of Headship had been passed by Parliament in 1534, and the Oath of Succession was framed by the king so as to include the headship, *Fisher took it*” (p. 8). While many refused the oath of the king’s supremacy, there are two men at least of whom it can be positively asserted that they did not and would not take the oath of succession, and these two were More and Fisher. As to Fisher, his second Act of Attainder (26 Hen. VIII. c. 22) expressly recites that: “Forasmuch as John, Bishop of Rochester [and others], contrary to the duties of allegiance, intending to sow sedition, murmur and grudge within the realm among the king’s loving and obedient subjects, *by refusing the oath of succession*, since the 1st of May . . . be it enacted that the above be attainted of misprision of treason, and shall suffer the penalties.” “Both he [More] and the Bishop of Rochester refused it,” says Burnet,† whose authority should satisfy Mr. Gladstone, as he quotes him‡ in proof of his statement.

Mr. Gladstone sums up with his usual rhetorical skill:—“Upon the whole, it appears that the recognition of 1531 was a solemn instrument of the kind known as declaratory; that it was no mere submission to violence, but the result of communications ending in a deliberate arrangement; that it was followed in and after 1534 by the less formal, but even wider, acknowledgments of the episcopal body at large; and, while some allowance must be made for royal pressure, that it was expressive of that aversion to the papal jurisdiction which had spread generally among the English clergy, and which was altogether distinct from the desire

* Bishop Stubbs is far from agreeing with Mr. Gladstone in thinking this letter irrelevant as to the meaning of the title admitted by Convocation. “This explanation,” he says, “is very important as Henry’s own interpretation of the title he assumed.” The learned Bishop has hardly given full consideration to the passages in the king’s letter respecting the Pope which are quoted in the text, for he falls short of the truth in saying that the letter “is curiously reticent on the point in which at the moment the title was most important—that is, the exclusion of the Papal authority as supreme” (“Ecclesiastical Courts Commission,” p. 36). The Bishop means that it is curious that the letter does not repudiate the Pope, but it is surely much more curious to find it speaking of him in the natural way in which he had always previously been spoken of.

† Burnet’s “History,” ed. Pocock, vol. i. p. 257.

‡ Under the reference i. 206. This passage cannot be found, nor a corroborative word in Sander or “The Letters and Papers,” which are also referred to in Mr. Gladstone’s note in support of his assertion respecting Fisher.

for doctrinal reformation" (p. 8). Not so Mr. Gairdner, whom Mr. Gladstone apparently does not recognize, as he quotes the volume edited by him as the late Mr. Brewer's.

Even with the reservation contained in the words *quantum per Christi legem licet*, the concession was made with considerable reluctance; but at the Archbishop's suggestion, it was passed unanimously. It was repented almost as soon as it was made; for, however theoretically defensible might be the title to which they had agreed, and whatever pains they might have taken to guard against misconstruction, the clergy could not but feel the moral disadvantage at which they now stood in having yielded anything at all. Yet they were altogether helpless. Under the existing law of *Præmunire* they were quite at the king's mercy. It was an engine that might be turned against them capriciously on the most slender pretexts; and, knowing its power, they might well have been glad to purchase immunity for the future by a frank recognition of that supremacy to which they were already compelled to bow in practice.*

So far from summing up as Mr. Gladstone sums up, it would be more in accordance with historical truth to say that the recognition of the royal supremacy is as little like a solemn instrument as it possibly could be; that it was extorted from the clergy to save them from destruction; that it was most reluctantly passed after several days' resistance; and that, when passed, it was with a qualifying clause that at the least made it disputable.

"It is not at first sight plain," says Mr. Gladstone, "why to the grant of the subsidy should have been tacked the acknowledgment of the headship. There was no ostensible plea for the introduction of the subject. There was not a single reforming bishop on the bench." Such are, naturally, difficulties in Mr. Gladstone's way, who wishes to make out that a declaration of the king's supremacy was a voluntary act on the part of the Convocation; but an unbiassed reader of the documents cannot fail to see that the clergy offered their subsidy as a bribe for a general pardon, and that the King replied that his supremacy must be recognized as a part of the price. The clergy flattered themselves that they *had* given it, and yet *had not* given it in consequence of their qualifying clause; but Henry ends by quoting the Convocation as having assented to his supremacy without qualification. The clergy found that it is not easy to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds; but there is no ground whatever for saying with Mr. Gladstone that the parenthesis in the concession of the subsidy "was expressive of that aversion to the papal jurisdiction which had spread generally among the English clergy." What proof is there of such aversion?

* "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. v. p. 15.

Now it is exactly because Mr. Gladstone's mind is filled with this prepossession that the English clergy of that time were really averse to the Pope and to his authority that he comes to make his next mistake. He reads a paper utterly unlike any document that had ever up to that time emanated from Convocation. It is so violently anti-papal that no one who is really familiar with the temper of Convocation could fail to see that Strype, who has been blindly copied by Wilkins, was egregiously wrong in heading it "an address from the Convocation to the King." The document, which Strype has copied from the Cottonian Collection,* is simply called in the catalogue "A paper against the payment of Annates to Rome." The original has no heading nor endorsement, unless the words on the back "Capita rerum" could be so called. The records of Convocation may be searched in vain for any mention of it. Mr. Gairdner,† making reference to Strype and Wilkins, as well as to the Cottonian original, calls it "a petition *from Parliament* to the King to abolish Annates exacted by the Pope." A controversialist might make use of Strype's heading and attribute this document to the clergy, but it is wonderful to find any one claiming to write as an historical student who could bring himself to do so. Mr. Gladstone goes so far as to call it a "perfectly voluntary, if suggested, petition by Convocation in the year 1531." The document has no date, and it would be extremely interesting to learn where Mr. Gladstone has discovered that it was "suggested" to Convocation to make such a petition, and that when made it was "perfectly voluntary." There cannot now be much interest in examining the terms in which this paper is written, for, be they what they may, they cannot affect Mr. Gladstone's position with respect to Convocation. But as to the aversion from Rome, it is well worthy of notice that the Act of Parliament, when it came to be passed (23 Henry VIII., cap. 20), is remarkable amongst the anti-papal statutes for the clause that "The Parliament, not willing to go to extremities, remitted the final ordering of that Act to the King, that, if the Pope would either charitably and reasonably put down the payment of Annates, or so moderate them that they might be a tolerable burden, the king might, at any time before Easter, 1533, or before the next session of Parliament, declare by his letters patents, whether the premisses or any part of them should be observed or not, which should give them the full force and authority of a law;" and, indeed, the Act was not a total abolition of Annates to the Pope, as it still left five pounds in the hundred payable to Rome, "that the Pope and Court of Rome might have

* "Cleopatra," E. vi. p. 262, now p. 274.

† "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. v. 344, No. 722 (5).

no just cause of complaint." The document that Mr. Gladstone calls "the Petition from Convocation" is incomparably more hostile to the Pope than the Act of Parliament, suggesting even that "the obedience of the king and the people be withdrawn from the See of Rome, as in like cases the French king withdrew his obedience of him and his subjects from Pope Benedict XIII."—who, by the way, must have been Pedro de la Luna, the anti-Pope. And as to "the widespread aversion of the clergy, in its different ranks, to the working prerogatives of the Roman See, which may be referred in part to impatience of taxation, but which obtained even with some of its highest, purest and ablest members," how does Mr. Gladstone account for it that the Upper House of the Convocation, to which he attributes the violently anti-papal petition against first-fruits, and to whom, amongst others, he attributes this aversion to the Pope and his taxes, should, in their places in the House of Lords, have unanimously voted *against* the Bill? Chapuys wrote to Charles V., March 20, 1532,* "The king has been at the Parliament three times lately, and has played his part so that the Bill about the *Annates* has been passed. All the bishops and two abbots opposed it. The lords, who were about thirty, all consented except the Earl of Arundel, so that the majority was for the king. The matter was decided yesterday."

To finish with the reign of Henry VIII. Mr. Gladstone is undoubtedly right in saying that in March, 1534, the Pope was renounced by Convocation in the Lower House, which denied "that the Bishop of Rome had any greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in Holy Scripture in this realm of England than any other foreign bishop." But it was early in the same year, 1534, that the Act of Succession was passed in Parliament, in virtue of which the king exacted from the clergy an oath explicitly renouncing the Pope's authority. And this was followed in November of that year by the two Acts which conferred on the king the title of Head of the Church, with all papal powers, and declared it high treason to deny that title. A third Act in the same Session of Parliament ratified "the oath that every of the king's subjects hath taken and shall hereafter be bound to take." † The members of Convocation, with Cranmer to lead them, had not the spirit of More and Fisher, and Mr. Gladstone can hardly regard their action as spontaneous. It was in April, 1534, that More and Fisher were sent to the Tower for refusing the oath, the terms of which were not ratified by Parliament till the November

* "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. v. No. 879.

† Mr. Gladstone (p. 9) ignores this Act of Parliament (26 Hen. VIII. c. 2), but it is of importance as showing that the oath could not be refused without direct collision with statute law.

following. Henry's determination to push matters to extremes with all who should resist him was evident, and he had now little difficulty in obtaining from the Universities and Convocations such expressions of opinion as he required.

The remainder of Mr. Gladstone's article consists of this, that under Mary the Convocation did not repeal the legislative action of the Convocation under Henry VIII. "No attempt was made to disturb the proceedings of 1531 or 1534." Yet in the Convocation of Mary's first year he had read these words:—"That the Statute of the submission of the clergy made anno 25, Henry VIII. (1534), and all other Statutes made during the time of the late schism in derogation of the liberties and jurisdictions of the Church from the first year of Henry VIII., may be repealed and the Church restored 'in integrum.'" Mr. Gladstone would avoid the force of these words by saying that they are but a petition to the bishops from the Lower House, which, as in the reign of Elizabeth, "outstripped the Upper." He has no such comment upon the rejection of the Pope's authority in 1534. Yet, as it happens, all we know of it is, that it was an answer from the Lower House to the dogmatic question proposed to them whether the divine authority of the Bishop of Rome was in Scripture. The formality of the one in no way exceeds the formality of the other. And if further abrogation was necessary, was it not enough that the clergy should have joined in the petition to Cardinal Pole for absolution for the schism? And still further, surely, the legatine council held by Pole, "in order that this Church of England, which by the calamity of the late schism was greatly deformed in doctrine and morals, might be reformed to the standard of the Sacred Canons,"* as fully represented the Church of England as Henry VIII.'s Convocations. Mr. Gladstone's assertion therefore is absolutely erroneous that Queen Elizabeth "found in full force as ecclesiastical declarations and enactments the synodical acts of the reign of her father."

Of the Convocation that met in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, Mr. Gladstone tells us that "it is asserted by Lingard that they presented a petition to the House of Lords declaring, among other things, belief in the Papal Supremacy," and he adds that, "on reference to the Records, we find that the allegation is radically erroneous." We have tried in vain to discover what it is in this allegation that Mr. Gladstone has declared to be erroneous. The petition contained the words: "That to the Apostle Peter and his lawful successors in the Apostolic See, as the vicars of Christ, is given the supreme power of feeding and ruling Christ's Church militant, and of confirming their

* Wilkins, iv. p. 151.

brethren.”* The petition that contains these words was presented, as Mr. Gladstone says, by Bonner, their president, to the Keeper of the Great Seal as Speaker of the House of Lords. What is it, then, in Lingard’s statement, that is “radically erroneous?” Though there is no mention of the concurrence of the bishops by any formal vote with this petition of the Lower House of Convocation, no one surely can complain that an historian, who calls this in general terms a petition from Convocation, is saying that which is radically erroneous.

Mr. Gladstone expects of Convocation what Convocation never thought of doing. It never passed enactments by formal legislation on such a subject as the supremacy of the Pope. It could, and did, make laws for the spiritual and ecclesiastical government of the province of Canterbury; but on a dogma, such as the headship of the Church, the two Houses could give their opinion certainly, but they could not make a law. The assertion of the royal supremacy by Convocation in 1534 was nothing but an answer by the Lower House to the question whether the Pope had authority in England by divine right, and their answer to this question had no more legal force than the similar answers of the universities. It would not have been wonderful if Mary’s Convocation had taken no notice of it whatever. It was an act of schism, not to say heresy, and was therefore necessarily rejected by those who returned to the obedience of the Pope. An historical fact cannot be repealed. The Convocation under Mary could repeal the laws of the Convocation under Henry, but it could not repeal its opinions. It could differ from them, and it did so; but as there was no law of the Church on the subject to repeal in Convocation in Mary’s time, so there was no “ecclesiastical enactment” to be found in full force on the accession of Elizabeth. This was why, under Mary, “no attempt was made to disturb the proceedings of 1531 and 1534.” It never occurred to any one that there was need explicitly to repeal the parenthesis of 1531, or the answer of the Lower House to a doctrinal question in 1534. But Convocation petitioned Parliament to repeal the statutes made against the Church, and it knelt for absolution for its own misdeeds. What more could it do?

All the passages quoted from Mr. Gladstone at the beginning of this article have now being sufficiently touched upon, with one single exception. Speaking of the accession of Elizabeth, he says: “The episcopal succession through Parker is unassailable up to this point, that it did not displace any legitimate possessors or claimants of any of the Sees.” It displaced all except Kitchin of Landaff. Of sixteen bishops, fifteen were displaced.

* Wilkins, iv. p. 180.

Ten Sees in the Province of Canterbury were vacant on the accession of Elizabeth, or became vacant very soon after. There were twelve bishops left in the Province, and of these eleven were deprived. In the Province of York, Man was vacant, and the four English bishops of the Province were all deprived. "It is difficult to conceive a more regular proceeding," says Mr. Gladstone. "The Sees were legitimately cleared before the new appointments were made. The avoidance was effected, in a majority of instances, by death, in the remainder by expulsion for a legal cause, with all the authority which the action of the National Church could give for such a purpose." What was "the action of the National Church" that displaced all her bishops but one? It sounds like nonsense that this should be attributed to the Church herself. Lay it on the right shoulders, and you have "The Elizabethan Settlement of Religion."

The "Elizabethan Settlement" gives the name to Mr. Gladstone's article, though the greater part of his space is occupied by the proceedings under Elizabeth's predecessors. But this is wise, for the "Elizabethan Settlement of Religion" is the legal and statutory settlement of religion to this day, and its character depends upon its history. Mr. Gladstone's argument may at first seem to be academical in its bearing, rather than practical, when the dogmatic grounds, on which the binding force of such proceedings must depend, are expressly excluded. But this would be to undervalue the importance of the investigation into which Mr. Gladstone has led us. It is in reality nothing else than a re-statement of the old controversial assertion that the Church of England washed her own face, and that thereby she was not substantially changed. Whether the change was substantial or not, depends on the doctrinal points that have here been excluded from consideration; but Mr. Gladstone has tried to show that if the face of the Church of England was washed, it was she herself who did it. If he had not given a plausibility to the argument, the writer of it would not have been Mr. Gladstone; but we venture now to say, without fear lest our readers, be they who they may, should give their verdict otherwise, that if it had not been by the help of many historical inaccuracies, he never could have given to his thesis even a plausible appearance. If anything is historically certain, it is that the royal supremacy was forced by Henry VIII. on an unwilling clergy, and that the ecclesiastical laws thereupon made were the work of a servile Parliament, and not of the clergy of England in Convocation.

JOHN MORRIS, S.J.

ART. II.—A MISSING PAGE FROM THE “IDYLLS
OF THE KING.”

ALTHOUGH the “Morte d’Arthur” was one of the first books printed in the English language, the great semi-historical figure of Arthur, together with his knights of the Round Table, and all their romantic exploits, had well-nigh died out of the memory of the English people, when Tennyson published his “Idylls of the King.” Many, ignorant of the source from which he had drawn the materials for the most popular of all his works, imagined that he had woven the fascinating stories of Sir Galahad and the Holy Grail, of Lancelot and Guinevere, of the “lily maid of Astolat,” out of his own inner consciousness. Others, better informed, were yet ignorant of the extent to which he had made use of existing materials, as to how far he had reproduced the characters of the original romance, and of how much was due to his own inventive genius.

Moved by the charm of the Laureate’s verse, no less than by his wonderful gift of story-telling, we determined to devote some careful study to a book that had proved so rich in poetical inspiration.

The “Morte d’Arthur,” carefully preserved in the library of the British Museum, was translated from the French original (of which there exists now no trace as a whole) by Sir Thomas Malory, in the ninth year of Edward IV., and was first printed in 1485. The black letter copy, to which we have had access, contains a preface by William Caxton, describes itself as “newly imprinted and corrected,” and bears the date, 1557. It is in many ways a venerable and edifying book, in spite of blemishes which belong to the unreserve and bluntness of an age which not only called a sin a sin, but described its make with a directness to which we are no longer accustomed.

Whether we agree with Caxton, that “it might full well be averted great folly and blindness to say or think that there was never such a king called Arthur,” or whether we are of those “divers men who hold opinion that all such books as be made of him be but fayne matters and fables, because that some chronicles make of him no mention, nor remember him nothing, nor of his knights,” we must admit that, at least incidentally, the “Morte d’Arthur” is a picture of early English faith and pious beliefs. Its composition is mediæval, and represents the tone of thought common in those days. Comparing the “Idylls of the King,” with it we are sometimes reminded of those Catholic books of

devotion "adapted" for members of the Church of England: all that savours too much of Catholicity is left out. There is no doubt a strong Protestant prejudice in Tennyson, struggling with his sense of artistic beauty, and repeatedly the Protestantism wins the day. It is to be regretted; for, from a mere dramatic point of view, much that he rejected is finer than anything he took. Thus his Lancelot is a grand conception, as mournfully, but with noble self-abasement, he says:—

in me there dwells no greatness,
Save it be some far-off touch of greatness
To know well, I am not great."

He is the very knight of courtesy, in chivalry above all other knights save Arthur—so strong that "whom he smote, he overthrew;" he is brave, noble, scornful, and "falsely true," but he is not the Catholic Lancelot of the "Morte d'Arthur."

The story of the real Lancelot is incomplete in the "Idylls," and the incompleteness is not merely a stopping short at a given point, but the absence of a refrain that should be there throughout. It is true, that at the end of "Lancelot and Elaine," one single line hints vaguely at the penance that crowned his sad and sin-stained life, where he is described as—

Not knowing he should die a holy man.

And in another place the long account of his confession, absolution, contrition, and the exhortation of the priest is slurred over in these words:—

Then I spake to one most holy saint;

but in the original there is a frequent anticipation of an after life, at whose threshold Tennyson leaves him.

It is not merely as if we had the history of St. Augustine up to the eve of his conversion, and no further, but as if there had been no fights with conscience, no turning towards the light, no sorrowful confessions at all. Tennyson has given us a great deal, but we venture to say that what he rejected, a Catholic poet would have seized, as the great culminating point of his epic.

The same remark does not apply to his conception of Arthur's character. Although there is much that is beautiful in him, as he is portrayed in the original, although, when pierced with many wounds, he fought on bravely, because he was "so full of knight-hood, that knightly he endured the pain," it is Tennyson that has exalted him into the "blameless king," the "highest creature here." If it had only been for what he has given us in King Arthur, the "Idylls" would still have been worth writing.

The object of this paper is to bring out some of the Catholic points of the "Morte d'Arthur," passed over by the Laureate,

and to show how far he departed from the main lines of the original story. Thus, in the first place, it is the fashion now, outside the Church, to declare that England, although Catholic, was never Papal, in spite of the masses of evidence to the contrary, and it is therefore interesting to see how the supremacy of the Pope was such a recognized fact in England, that it is constantly alluded to in this book in the most homely way, and as a matter of course.

When Arthur had defied the Roman Emperor who had sent to claim tribute, and had carried his victorious arms to the gates of the Eternal City, the legend goes on to say that senators and cardinals came out and sued for peace; that they invited him in, and that there he was crowned Emperor, "with all the solemnity that could be made, and by the Pope's own hands."

King Mark of Cornwall, for good reasons of his own, wanted to get rid of Tristram, and set about it in this wily manner:—

He let do counterfeit letters from the Pope, and made a strange clerk for to bear them unto King Mark, the which letters specified that King Mark should make him ready, upon pain of cursing, with his host, for to come to the Pope, to help to go to Jerusalem, for to make war upon the Saracens.

Mark, pretending he could not leave home, proposed that Tristram should go in his place, *since the command of the Pope must be obeyed*. "But," said Sir Tristram, "Sythen the apostle Pope hath sent for him, bid him to go thither himself." "Well," said King Mark, "yet shall he be beguiled," and counterfeited other letters, and the letters specified that the Pope desired Sir Tristram to come himself to make war upon the Saracens. But Tristram began to suspect the King of Cornwall, and at last Mark was obliged to walk into the trap he had set for his enemy, and to make "an oath that he would go himself unto the Pope of Rome for to war upon the Saracens."

The book abounds in such illustrations as this, but enough has been said to show in what light the Pope was considered in this country in the reign of Edward IV. One other instance, still more striking than the above, belongs to the story of Lancelot, and will be given in its proper place. We may remark here, that, whatever the shortcomings of some of Arthur's knights, they one and all evinced a lively faith, profound veneration for holy things, and a truly Catholic desire for reconciliation with God, through the reception of the Sacraments, whenever they fell into any sin. Thus the knights who were convened to assist at Arthur's coronation "made them clean of their lives, that their prayer might be the more acceptable unto God." And when Balan fought with his brother Balyn by mistake, and both were

mortally wounded, Balan entreated the Lady of the Tower to send for a priest: "Yea," said the lady, "it shall be done." And so she sent for a priest to give them their rights. "Now," said Balyn, "when we are buried in one tomb and the mention made over us how two brethren slew each other, there will never good knight nor good man see our tomb, but they will pray for our souls." Wherever the knights errant slept, they never set out on their journey on the morrow, without first hearing Mass; and if they had been riding all night, and came to a chapel in the morning, they "avoided their horses and heard Mass." There are many allusions to devotion to the Blessed Virgin. On one occasion a tournament was proclaimed in honour of the Assumption. The book literally teems with Catholicity, but space forbids us to linger.

In the poem "Lancelot and Elaine," Tennyson has followed closely on the lines of the original, both as to general design and detail.

The idyll "Geraint and Enid" does not belong to this history at all, but is taken from the "Mabinogian," a collection of Welsh legends, translated into English by Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Guest. "The Coming of Arthur," as related in the idyll, is throughout an invention of Tennyson's, or culled from other sources, and differs entirely from the story of his origin as told in the "Morte d'Arthur." But the legend that has suffered the most from poetical license is that of the "Holy Grail."

When the young Galahad, Lancelot's son, had been brought to Arthur's court, had been dubbed knight, and had sat in the mystical "siege perilous," fashioned by the wizard Merlin, he drew the sword from the magic stone that hovered over the water, and that no other knight could take. Then the queen, hearing of these marvels, and of his great exploits and chivalry, desired greatly to see Sir Galahad, and as he was riding by,

the king, at the queen's request, made him to alight and to unlace his helm, that Queen Guinevere might see him in the visage. And when she beheld him she said: "Sothely, I dare well say that Sir Lancelot begat him, for never two men resembled more in likeness. Therefore it is no marvel though he be of great prowess." So a lady that stood by the queen said, "Madam, for God's sake, ought he of right to be so good a knight?" "Yea, forsooth," said the queen, "for he is of all parties come of the best knights of the world, and of the highest lineage. For Sir Lancelot is comen of the eighth degree from our Lord Jesu Christ, and Sir Galahad is of the ninth degree, therefore I dare well say that they ben the greatest gentlemen of all the world."

After the meeting between Sir Galahad and the queen, the book goes on to say how that the king and all the estates went home to Camelot, and that as they sat at supper the Holy Grail

appeared. Tennyson relates the vision almost in the exact words of the original.

Sir Perceval having retired from the world, tells the monk Ambrosius the history of the quest:—

And all at once, as there we sat, we heard
A cracking and a riving of the roofs,
And rending, and a blast, and overhead
Thunder, and in the thunder was a cry.
And in the blast there smote along the hall
A beam of light seven times more clear than day :
And down the long beam stole the Holy Grail
All over covered with a luminous cloud,
And none might see who bare it, and it past.
But every knight beheld his fellow's face
As in a glory, and all the knights arose,
And staring each at other like dumb men
Stood, till I found a voice and sware a vow.
I sware a vow before them all that I,
Because I had not seen the Grail, would ride
A twelvemonth and a day in quest of it,
Until I found and saw it, as the nun
My sister saw it ; and Galahad sware the vow,
And good Sir Bors, our Lancelot's cousin sware,
And Lancelot sware, and many among the knights,
And Gawayn sware, and louder than the rest.

It was, in fact, Sir Gawayn who spoke first :

Certainly [said he] we ought greatly to thank our Lord Jesu Christ, for that he hath shewed us this day of what meats and drinks we thought on, but one thing beguiled us, we might not see the Holy Grail, it was so preciously covered. Wherefore, I will make here a vow, that to-morrow, without any longer abiding, I shall labour in the quest of the Sancgreall, that I shall hold me out a twelve months and a day, and more if need be, and never shall I return again unto the court, till I have seen it more openly than it hath been seen here. When they of the Round Table heard Sir Gawayn say so, they arose, the most part of them, and avowed the same.

As the knights rode out of Camelot to begin their quest, there was weeping of the rich and of the poor : " the queen made great moan and wailing, and the king might not speak for weeping."

After some adventures Sir Perceval comes to a chapel to hear Mass, and there he sees a sick king lying on a couch behind the altar ; and he was covered with wounds.

Then he left his looking and heard his service, and when it came to the sacring, he that lay within the perclose dressed him up and uncovered his head. And then him beseemed a passing old man, and he had a crown of gold on his head, and ever he held up his hands and

said on high : " Fair sweet father, Jesu Christ, forget not me." And so he laid him down. But always he was in his prayers and orisons. And when the Mass was done, the priest took our Lord's body and bare it unto the sick king. And when he had received it he did off his crown, and he commanded the crown to be set on the altar.

This king's name was Evelake. He had been converted by Joseph of Arimathæa, who was sent by our Lord to " preach and teach the Christian faith." Evelake, says the legend, followed Joseph of Arimathæa into England, where he brought the Holy Grail, the cup in which our Lord celebrated the institution of the Blessed Sacrament. This cup, or chalice, is said to have contained some drops of the Precious Blood.

And ever Evelake was busy to be there as the Sancgreall was. And upon a time he nighed it so nigh that our Lord was displeased with him. But ever he followed it more and more, till that God struck him almost blind. Then this king cried mercy, and said : " Fair Lord, let me never die till that the good knight of my blood of the ninth degree be comen, that I may see him openly when he shall achieve the Sancgreall, that I may once kiss him."

This " good knight " was, of course, Sir Galahad. Meanwhile—

Sir Lancelot rode overthwarte and endlong in a wild forest, and held no path but as wild adventure led him. And at the last he came unto a stone cross which departed [pointed] two ways, in waste land ; and by the cross was a stone that was of marble. But it was so dark that Sir Lancelot might not well know what it was. Then he looked by him and saw an old chapel, and there he wend to have found people. And so Sir Lancelot tied his horse to a tree, and there he put off his shield and hung it upon a tree, and then he went unto the chapel door and found it wasted and broken. And within he found a fair altar, full richly arrayed with cloth of silk, and there stood a fair candlestick which bear six great candles, and the candlestick was of silver. And when Sir Lancelot saw this light, he had a great will for to enter into the chapel, but he could find no place where he might enter. Then was he passing heavy and dismayed. Then he returned and came again to his horse and took off his saddle and his bridle and let him pasture ; and unlaced his helm and ungirded his sword, and laid him down to sleep upon his shield tofore the cross. And so he fell on sleep, and half waking and half sleeping, he saw come to him two palfreys, both fair and white, the which bare a litter, therein lying a sick knight. And when he was nigh the cross he there abode still.

All this Sir Lancelot saw and beheld, for he slept not verily, and he heard him say : " Oh, sweet Lord, when shall this sorrow leave me, and when shall the holy vessel come by me, wherethrough I shall be blessed, for I have endured thus long, for little trespass." And thus a great while complained the knight, and always Sir Lancelot heard it. With

that Sir Lancelot saw the candlestick with the six tapers come before the cross, but he could see nobody that brought it. And then came a table of silver and the holy vessel of the Sanggreall, the which Sir Lancelot had seen tofore. And therewithal the sick knight set him upright and held up both his hands, and said : " Fair, sweet Lord, which is here within the holy vessel, take heed to me that I may be whole of this great malady." And therewith, upon his hands and upon his knees, he went so nigh that he touched the holy vessel and kissed it. And anon he was whole, and then he said : " Lord God, I thank Thee, for I am healed of this malady." So when the holy vessel had been there a great while, it went unto the chapel again with the candlestick and the light, so that Sir Lancelot wist not where it became, for he was overtaken with sin that he had no power to rise against the holy vessel. Wherefore, afterward, many men said of him shame. But he took repentance afterward.

Then the sick knight dressed him upright and kissed the cross. Then anon his squire brought him his arms, and asked his lord how he did. " Certainly," said he, " I thank God right heartily, for through the holy vessel I am healed. But I have right great marvel of this sleeping knight, which hath neither had grace nor power to awake during the time that this holy vessel hath been here present." " I dare it right well say," said the squire, " that this knight is defouled with some manner of deadly sin, whereof he was never confessed." " By my faith," said the knight, " whatsoever he be, he is unhappy, for, as I deem, he is of the noble fellowship of the Round Table, the which is entered into the quest of the Sanggreall." " Sir," said the squire, " here I have brought you all your arms, save your helm and your sword, and therefore, by mine assent, now may ye take this knight's helm and his sword," and so he did. And when he was clean armed he took Sir Lancelot's horse, for he was better than his. And so they departed from the cross.

Then anon Sir Lancelot awaked and sat himself upright, and be-thought him what he had there seen, and whether it were dreams or not. Right so he heard a voice, that said : " Sir Lancelot, more harder than is the stone, and more bitter than is the wood, and more naked and bare than is the leaf of the fig tree, therefore go thou from hence, and withdraw thee from this holy place." And when Sir Lancelot heard this he was passing heavy and wist not what to do. And so he departed, sore weeping, and cursed the time that he was born. For the words went unto his heart till that he knew wherefore he was so-called.

Then Sir Lancelot went to the cross and found that his helm and his sword and his horse were taken away. And then he called himself a very wretched and most unhappy of all knights, and there he said : " My sin and my wretchedness hath brought me unto great dishonour ; for when I fought worldly adventures and worldly desires I ever achieved them and had the better in every place, and never was I dis-comfited in no quarrel, were it right or wrong. But now I take upon me the adventures of holy things, I see and understand that mine old sin hindreth me, and also shamed me, so that I had no power to stir nor to speak when the Holy Blood appeared before me." So then he sorrowed till it was day, and heard the fowls of the air sing.

Then was he somewhat comforted, and departed from the cross on foot into a wild forest, and there he found a hermitage, and a hermit therein that was going to Mass. And then Sir Lancelot kneeled down upon both his knees, and cried our Lord mercy for his wicked works that he had done. When Mass was done. Sir Lancelot called the hermit to him and prayed him for charity to hear his confession. "With a goodwill," said the good man. "Sir," said he, "be ye of King Arthur's court and of the noble fellowship of the Round Table?" "Yea, forsooth, and my name is Sir Lancelot du Lake, which hath been right well said of and greatly magnified. And now it is so, my good fortune is changed. For I am the most wretched and caitiff of the world."

Then the hermit beheld him and had great marvel how he was so sore abashed. "Sir," said the good man, "ye ought to thank God more than any knight living, for He hath caused you to have more worldly worship than any, and for your presumption to take upon you in deadly sin for to be in His presence, where His flesh and His blood was, that caused you ye might not see it with your worldly eyes. For He will not appear where such sinners be, but it be unto their great hurt and shame. And there is no knight living now that ought to give unto God so great thank as ye. For He hath given to you beauty, seemliness, and great strength above all other knights, and therefore ye are the more beholden to God than any man to love Him and to dread Him; for your strength and manhood will little avail you and God be against you.

Then Sir Lancelot wept, and made full heavy cheer, and said: "Now I know well ye tell me truth." "Sir," said the good man, "hide none old sin from me." And then he told there that good man all his life, and how he had loved a queen unmeasurably many years. "And all my great deeds of arms that I have done I did for the most part for the queen's sake, and for her sake would I do battle, were it right or wrong, and never did I battle all onely for God's sake, but for to win worship and to cause me to be the better beloved, and little or nought I thanked God for it. Then," said Sir Lancelot, "I pray you counsel me." "I will counsel you," said the hermit, "if ye will ensure me that ye will never come in that queen's fellowship again as much as ye may forbear." And Sir Lancelot promised the hermit by his faith that he would never come in her company. "Look that your heart and mouth accord," said the good man, "and I shall ensure you that ye shall have more worship than ye ever had."

It is impossible not to be struck with the truth and beauty of this scene; the author, whoever he may be, knows his religion well.

After this Lancelot tells the hermit of the voice that proclaimed him harder than a stone, bitterer than wood, and more bare and naked than the leaf of the fig-tree; and the hermit expounds the vision. He accepts humbly the reproof of his confessor, and expresses contrition, upon which:

the good man enjoined Sir Lancelot such penance as he might do, and

A Missing Page from the "Idylls of the King."

to serve knighthood. And so he *assoyled* him and prayed him to abide with him all that day. And then Sir Lancelot repented him greatly.

He remained three days with the hermit, when, being newly provided with a horse, a sword and a helmet, he took his leave and rode away.

Soon he came to another chapel, wherein a dead monk was lying. When the hermit, who served this chapel, knew who the stranger knight was, he took the hair shirt in which the dead monk was clothed, and put it upon Sir Lancelot, telling him to eat no meat, and drink no wine, but to hear Mass daily, until he had achieved the Holy Grail. After this, Lancelot rode away into the forest,

till he came to a cross, and took that for his host for that night; and he put his horse to pasture, and took off his helm and his shield, and made his prayers to the cross, that he might never again fall in deadly sin—and the hair pricked so Sir Lancelot's skin that it grieved him full sore, but he took it meekly, and suffered the pain.

On the morrow he joustured with many knights, and for the first time was thrown and overcome, all which he endured patiently as penance for his sins. That night he laid himself down to sleep under an apple tree and dreamed a strange dream. At day dawn he arose, armed himself, and went on his way. He next came to a chapel "where was a recluse which had a window, that she might look up to the altar, and all aloud she called Sir Lancelot, and asked him whence he came, what he was, and what he went to seek." He told her all his dreams and visions, which she expounded, and gave him pious counsel, but told him that he was "of evil faith and poor belief."

About this time, he met Sir Galahad and knew that he was his son. Then, after various adventures, he came as near the Holy Grail as it was given to him to come. His vision was as follows: As he was kneeling before a closed door, "he heard a voice which sang sweetly, that it seemed none earthly thing. And him thought that the voice said, Joy and honour be to the Father of Heaven. Then Sir Lancelot wist well that there was the Sanggreall in that chamber." Then he prayed.

And with that the chamber door opened, and there came out a great clearness, that the house was as bright as though all the torches of the world had been there. And anon he would have entered, but a voice said, "Flee, Sir Lancelot, and enter not, for, and if thou enter, thou shalt forethink it." Then he withdrew him aback, and was right heavy in his mind.

Then looked he up in the midst of the room, and saw a table of silver, and the holy vessel covered with red samite, and so many angels

about it, whereof one of them held a candle of wax, brenning, and the other held a cross and the ornaments of the altar. And before the holy vessel he saw a good man, clothed like a priest, and it seemed that he was at the sacring of the Mass.

And it seemed unto Sir Lancelot that above the priest's hands there were three men, whereof the two put the youngest by likeliness between the priest's hands, and so he lift it upright high, and it seemed to show unto the people. And then Sir Lancelot marvelled not a little, for him thought the priest was so greatly charged of the figure, that him seemed he should have fallen to the ground; and when he saw none about him, he came to the door, a great pace, and said:

"Fair sweet Father, Jesu Christ, ne take it for no sin, though I help the good man, which hath great need of help." Right so, he entered into the chamber, and came toward the table of silver; and when he came nigh he felt a breath, that him thought was intermeddled with fire, which smote him so sore in the visage that him thought it all to brent his visage.

This is the culminating point of Lancelot's quest; he swooned away, and lay as one dead for twenty-four days. Nearer he might not come to the Holy Grail, and the sequel shows why, for, after a time, he returned to the court, and fell into sin again, and forgot his good resolutions.

For, as the French book saith, had not Sir Lancelot been in his privy thoughts and in his mind set inwardly to the queen, as he was in seeming, outward unto God, there had no knight passed him in the quest of the Sancgreall; but ever his thoughts were privily upon the queen.

But soon there arose a bitter quarrel between Lancelot and Guinevere, and she banished him from her sight. During his absence from the court, she made a dinner, at which one of the guests, Sir Modor, was poisoned, and the queen accused of the crime. Guinevere was therefore impeached, and so truly did all the Round Table believe in her guilt, that at first no knight would come forward to defend her.

Ultimately, however, the "good Sir Bors," Lancelot's kinsman, was prevailed on to be her champion, provided, that at the moment of the contest, a better knight did not appear to answer for her. Of course, when Sir Bors is about to enter the lists in the meadow, before Winchester, where there is a great fire and an iron stake, at which Guinevere is to be burned if her champion is overcome, a strange knight appears in unknown armour, and turns out to be Lancelot, fights for the queen, and overcomes her accuser.

Here comes in the exquisite story of Elaine, to which the poet has done such ample justice.

Soon after the death of the "lily maid," Sir Agravaine, moved

by jealousy of Arthur's greatest knight, discloses the story of Lancelot's treachery, and extracts from the king a reluctant permission to take him. But Sir Mordred is the real instigator of the plot, working upon Agravaire's weakness, and Tennyson has altered little in the dramatic situation which immediately follows. His description of the parting scene between Lancelot and the queen is most graphic :—

And then they were agreed upon a night
(When the good king should not be there) to meet
And part for ever. Passion pale they met
And greeted: hands in hands, and eye to eye,
Low on the border of her couch they sat
Stammering and staring; it was their last hour,
A madness of farewells. And Mordred brought
His creatures to the basement of the tower
For testimony; and crying with full voice
"Traitor, come out, ye are trapt at last," aroused
Lancelot, who rushing outward lion-like
Leapt on him, and hurled him headlong, and he fell
Stunned, and his creatures took and bare him off,
And all was still; then she, "The end is come,
And I am shamed for ever;" and he said,
"Mine be the shame; mine was the sin; but rise,
And fly to my strong castle over seas:
There will I hide thee, till my life shall end,
There hold thee with my life against the world."
She answered, "Lancelot, wilt thou hold me so?
Nay, friend, for we have taken our farewells.
Would God that thou couldst hide me from myself!"

Lancelot will not yield himself up lightly to his enemies; Sir Agravaire and another knight fall in the struggle with him; but it is not now that Guinevere betakes herself to Malmesbury, and the whole beautiful scene between her and Arthur, and his most touching farewell to her, are weavings of the poetical imagination. Beautiful the scene is, although wanting in the true Catholic spirit; for Tennyson lays greater stress on her sin against her husband, than on her sin against God, which is the very backbone of Guinevere's repentance. What really happens is this: Lancelot takes counsel with Sir Bors and his other friends, as to how he may save the queen, and it is decided that if on the morrow, she is brought to the fire to be burned, Lancelot and all his kinsmen shall rescue her.

Accordingly, Arthur's nephews, Gawayn, Gahers, and Gareth, lead Guinevere forth, "without Cærleyell, and there she was despoiled unto her smock, and so then her ghostly father was brought to her, to be shriven of her misdeeds." But Lancelot's messenger gives the alarm duly, and Lancelot appears, with all his

friends. There is much fighting and bloodshed, and in the confusion Sir Gahers and Sir Gareth are slain.

Then Sir Lancelot rode straight unto the queen, and made a kirtle and a gown to be cast upon her, and then he made her to be set behind him, and rode with her unto his castle of *Joyous Garde*, and there he kept her as a noble knight should, and many lords and kings sent Sir Lancelot many good knights. When it was known openly that King Arthur and Sir Lancelot were at debate, many knights were glad of their debate, and many knights were sorry. But King Arthur sorrowed for pure sorrow, and said: "Alas, that ever I bare any crown upon my head!"

Sir Gawain, mourning the death of his brothers, incites the king to besiege Lancelot in *Joyous Garde*, and at length, reluctantly, Arthur consents to make war.

Of this war was noise, throughout all Christendom. And at last, it was noised before the Pope, and he considering the great goodness of King Arthur and Sir Lancelot, which was called the most noble knight of the world, wherefore the Pope called unto him a noble clerk that at that time there was present: the French book saith it was the Bishop of Rochester. And the Pope gave him Bulls under lead, unto King Arthur of England, charging him upon pain of interdiction of all England, that he take his queen, dame Guinevere, to him again, and accord with Sir Lancelot.

Arthur would have made peace at once, but at first Sir Gawain prevented him. Then the bishop went to Lancelot, and charged him to bring back the queen.

"And the bishop had of the king his great seal and assurance, as he was a true anointed king, that Sir Lancelot should go safe and come safe, and that the queen should not be reprovèd of the king, nor of none other for nothing done before time past."

To Lancelot, the bishop ended his exhortation in these words: "Wit ye well, the Pope must be obeyed."

Lancelot answered, "That it was never in his thought to withhold the queen from his lord King Arthur, but in so much as she should have been dead for my sake, me seemeth it was my part to save her life, and put her from that danger till better recover might come. And now I thank God, that the Pope hath made her peace, for God knoweth," said Sir Lancelot, "I would be a thousandfold more gladder to bring her again than I was of her taking away."

So he brought Guinevere to the king, and when they had both knelt down before him, he said:—

My most redoubted lord, ye shall understand, that by the Pope's commandment and by yours, I have brought unto you my lady the queen, as right requireth. Then King Arthur and all the other kings

kneeled down and gave thankings and louings (praises) to God and to his Blessed Mother.

But Sir Gawayn would not be reconciled to Lancelot, who in vain offered to do penance for the death of Gahers and Gareth. In vain he said :—

This much shall I offer you, if it may please the king's good grace, and you my lord Sir Gawayn. And first I shall begin at Sandwich, and there I shall go in my shirt and barefoot, and at every ten miles end, I will found and cause to make a house of religion, of what order ye will assign me, with a whole convent, to sing and to read, day and night, in especial for Sir Gareth's sake and Sir Gahers; and this shall I perform from Sandwich unto Cærleyell. And this, Sir Gawayn, me thinketh were more fairer and better unto their souls than that my most noble lord Arthur and you should war on me, for thereby ye shall get none avail.

But Sir Gawayn answered him in hard words, ending thus :—

And if it were not for the Pope's commandment, I should do battle with my body against thy body, and prove it unto thee that thou hast been false unto mine uncle, King Arthur, and to me both, and that shall I prove upon thy body, when thou art departed from hence, wheresoever I find thee. Then all the knights and ladies that were there, wept as they had been mad, and the tears fell upon King Arthur's cheeks. Then Sir Lancelot kissed the queen before them all, took his leave, and departed with all the knights his kin.

He went to his estates over the sea; but Gawayn gave Arthur no rest, till he had made ready an army and crossed the sea to make war on him. Mordred, in Arthur's absence, seized the kingdom, and would have wedded the queen by force, had not the Archbishop of Canterbury threatened to curse him with bell, book and candle. When Mordred defied him, the Archbishop departed and "did the curse, in the most orgulous wise that might be done." But Arthur, receiving tidings of Mordred's conduct, returned to Dover, where the usurper met him, and "there was much slaughter of gentle knights." Here Sir Gawayn was mortally wounded, and Arthur made "great sorrow and moan." Two hours before his death, Gawayn wrote a letter to Lancelot, telling him of Mordred's crime, and beseeching him "the most noblest knight," to come back to the realm.

And so at the hour of None, Sir Gawayn betook himself into the hands of our Lord God, after that he had received his Saviour. And then the king let bury him within a chapel, within the castle of Dover, and there, yet to this day, all men may see the skull of Sir Gawayn, and the same wound is seen that Sir Lancelot gave him in battle.

In the "Passing of Arthur," Tennyson has kept mainly to the

original, and it is at this point that the king is overcome by his enemies, receives his deadly wound, and sails away in the barge with the three queens to the island valley of Avlylon.

But on the morrow, Sir Bedevere finds him lying dead in a little chapel on a rock. "And when Queen Guinevere understood, that her lord King Arthur was slain, and all the noble knights, Sir Mordred and all the remnant, she stole away and five ladies with her. And so she went to Almsbury, and there she let make herself a nun, and wore white clothes and black. And great penance she took, as ever did sinful lady in this land, and never creature could make her merry, but lived in fastings, prayers, and alms deeds, that all many of people marvelled how virtuously she was changed. And there she was abbess and ruler as reason would."

Meanwhile Sir Lancelot had returned to England to avenge King Arthur's death. When he had wept and prayed for two nights on Sir Gawain's tomb,

He wandered westward, and sought seven or eight days, till he came to a nunnery. And then was Queen Guinevere ware of Sir Lancelot, as he walked in the cloister. And when she saw him there, she swooned three times, that all the ladies and gentlewomen had work enough to hold the queen up. So when she might speak, she called the ladies and gentlewomen to her and said: "Ye marvel, fair ladies, why I make this cheer. Truly," said she, "it is for the sight of yonder knight which yonder standeth, wherefore I pray you all to call him unto me."

And when Sir Lancelot was brought unto her, she said: "Through this knight and me, all these wars been wrought, and the death of the most noble knights of the world. For through our love that we have loved together, is my most noble lord slain. Therefore wit ye well, Sir Lancelot, I am set in such a plight to get my soul health. And yet I trust, through God's grace, that after my death for to have a sight of the blessed face of Jesu Christ, and at the dreadful day of doom to sit on His right side. For as sinful creatures as ever was I, are saints in heaven.

"Therefore, Sir Lancelot, I require thee and beseech thee, for all the love that ever was between us two, that thou never look me more in the visage. And furthermore, I command thee, on God's behalf, right straightly that thou forsake my company, and that unto thy kingdom shortly thou return again, and keep well thy realm from war and wrake. For as well as I have loved thee, Sir Lancelot, now, mine heart will not once serve me to see thee. For both through me and thee is the flower of kings and knights destroyed. Therefore, Sir Lancelot, go thou unto thy realm, and take thee a wife, and live with her in joy and bliss. And I beseech you heartily, pray for me unto our Lord God, that I may amend my missliving."

"Now, sweet Madam," said Sir Lancelot, "would ye that I should return again into my country, and there to wed a lady? Nay, Madam,

wit ye well, that I shall never do while I live. For I shall never be so false to you of that I have promised ; but the same destiny that ye have taken you unto, I will take me unto, for to please God and specially to pray for you." "If thou wilt do so," said the queen, "hold thy promise. But I may not believe but that thou wilt return to the world again." "Ye say well," said he, "yet wist ye me never false of my promise, and God defend, but that I should forsake the world, like as ye have done. For in the quest of the Sancgreall, I have forsaken the vanities of the world, had not your lord been. And if I had done so, at that time, with my heart, will and thought, I had passed all the knights that were in the quest of the Sancgreall, except Sir Galahad, my son. And therefore, my lady dame Guinevere, sithen ye have taken you unto perfection, I must needs take me unto perfection of right. For I take record of God, in you have I had mine earthly joy, and if I had found you so disposed, I had cast me for to have had you into my own realm and country. But sithen I find you thus disposed, I ensure you faithfully that I will take me to penance, and pray while my life lasteth, if I may find any good hermit, either grey or white, that will receive me. Wherefore, Madam, I pray you, kiss me once and never more." "Nay," said the queen, "that shall I never do, but abstain you from such things," and so they departed. But there was never so hard a hearted man, but he would have wept to see the sorrow that they made. For there was a lamentation, as though they had been stung with spears, and many times they swooned. And the ladies bare the queen to her chamber, And Sir Lancelot awoke and went and took his horse, and rode all that day and all that night in a forest weeping. And at the last, he was ware of an hermitage and a chapel that stood between two cliffs, and then he heard a little bell ring to Mass, and thither he rode and alighted, and tied his horse to the gate, and heard Mass.

And he that sang the Mass was the Bishop of Canterbury. There was also Sir Bedevere, and both the bishop and Sir Bedevere knew Sir Lancelot, and they spoke together after Mass. But when Sir Bedevere had told him his tale all whole, Sir Lancelot's heart almost braste for sorrow, and he threw abroad his arms and said : "Alas, who may trust this world !" And then he kneeled down on his knees, and prayed the bishop for to shrive him and assoyle him. And then he besought the bishop that he might be his brother. Then the bishop said : "I will right gladly," and then he put a habit upon Sir Lancelot, and there he served God day and night with prayers and fastings.

Within half a year, seven other knights joined themselves to him and "endured in great penance six years ; and then Sir Lancelot took the habit of priesthood, and in twelve months he sang Mass. The other knights read books, and helped for to sing Mass, and rang bells, and did lowly all manner of service. And so their horses went where they would, for they took no regard of no worldly riches."

But Lancelot, with all his fasting and austerities, "waxed full

lean." One night he had a vision, in which it was told him that he should, in remission of his sins, hasten towards Malmesbury, where he should find Queen Guinevere dead.

"He was to take his fellows and purvey him a horse-bier, and bring the corpse of her and bury it by her lord and husband, the noble King Arthur, and this vision came thrice unto Lancelot in one night." On the morrow they all set out; but, although the distance from Glastonbury to Malmesbury is only about thirty miles, they took two days to make the journey, for they were "weak and feeble to go."

The queen, meanwhile, had had the same vision as Lancelot, and had died, half an hour before his arrival, having prayed aloud constantly for two days thus: "I beseech Almighty God, that I may never have the power to see Sir Lancelot with my worldly eyes." "And there Sir Lancelot saw her visage; but he wept not greatly, but sighed. And so he did all the observance himself, both the dirge at night, and the Mass on the morrow; and there was ordained an horse-bier, and so, with an hundred torches ever burning about the corpse of the queen, Sir Lancelot with his seven fellows went about the bier, singing and reading many an holy and devout orison, and frankincense upon the corpse incensed. Thus they went on foot, till they came to Glastonbury, and when they were come to the chapel and the hermitage, there they had a dirge with great devotion. And on the morrow, the hermit that was sometime Bishop of Canterbury sang the Mass of Requiem."

It was not long after the death of Guinevere, that Lancelot "began to wax sick, and for evermore, day and night, he prayed; but needfully as nature required, sometimes he slumbered a broken sleep. And within six weeks he lay in his bed, and then he said: 'Sir Bishop, I pray you that ye will give me all my rights that belongeth unto a Christian man.' So when he was houseled and eneled, and had all that a Christian man ought to have, he prayed the bishop that his fellows might bear his body unto *Joyous Garde*. That night the bishop dreamed he saw Sir Lancelot with two angels, and he saw the angels heave up Sir Lancelot towards heaven, and the gates of heaven opened against him. And then they went to Sir Lancelot's bed, and there they found him dead, and he lay as he had smiled; and the sweetest savour about him that ever they felt."

J. M. STONE.

ART. III.—THE APOSTLES' CREED AND THE RULE
OF FAITH.

1. *Lehre und Gebet in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten.* Von Dr. F. PROBST. Tübingen. 1871.
2. *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Altenkirche.* Von Dr. A. HAHN. 2 Ausgabe. Von Dr. G. L. HAHN. Breslau. 1877.
3. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel.* Von Dr. C. P. CASPARI. 3 Bände. Christiania. 1866-75.
4. *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds: their Literary History.* By C. A. SWAINSON, D.D., &c. London: J. Murray. 1875.

THERE is no testimony to the continuity of the Catholic Church, and to its lineal descent from the Apostles, comparable to that Creed which we learned in infancy next after the Lord's Prayer, and have since recited day by day. If this constant use did not blunt our perception, we could not fail to be impressed with the fact, that the earliest extant statement of the faith is the watchword of the Church in our own time. The divine office has grown and expanded in the course of ages into the splendours of the Breviary; the Liturgy itself has undergone the changes which the altered discipline of the Church required; but we not merely hold the same faith, we confess it in the same language, as did our forefathers of the Church of Rome in the times of heathen persecution. Hidden amid the darkness which shrouds so many details of the infant Church, the apostolic origin of the Creed has ever been a firm tradition of the faithful; who for that very reason have made but little inquiry into the documentary proofs of its antiquity. The Maurists, indeed, have inseparably connected their name with this as with every other department of Patristic literature, and Dom. Toutté's excursus, in the Benedictine edition of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, is still one of the chief authorities on the subject. Besides this, I only know of one Catholic work on the creed—Meyers' "*De Symboli Apostolici titulo origine et auctoritate*" (Treves, 1849). But, providentially, the work which Catholics have not thought necessary has been taken up earnestly by Anglicans and Lutherans. For, wonderful as it must seem when we reflect that our Creed of to-day has come to us from the earliest ages of Christianity, it is

far more portentous that those who separated from the Church of Rome at the Reformation should have carried with them a symbol, which comes to them only from that Church. They had to seek a historical basis for the Creed, and much was written on the subject, the best known work being of course that of Pearson. In the last generation Professor Hahn of Breslau published a collection of all the Symbols of the early Church, which, in the new edition brought out by his son, is the most convenient work for reference. But the most exhaustive treatise is that of Professor Caspari of Christiania, who in the nine years 1866-75 ransacked every library in Europe for unnoticed passages bearing on the Creed, collected all those from the early Fathers in which it is referred to, and critically examined the whole. This is now, and will probably long remain, the chief authority on the Creed; and it is hardly possible to do more than to verify and weigh anew the mass of information it contains. Unfortunately it is ill-arranged, exceeding even the license allowed to German professors. The reader loses himself in excursions and notes of prodigious length, interesting indeed, but digressions from the main point, which is to be found in the notes to the third volume. The principal service I can hope to perform, is to bring his conclusions before my readers in an enduring order and bulk. Had Professor Caspari's work not been so considerable as to dwarf all others, I should have had more frequent occasion to quote Dr. Heurtley's "*Harmonia Symbolica*," of which I can only here acknowledge the learning and judicial character. Dr. Swainson's volume is one of greater bulk and pretensions, but not, as I venture to think, of more value. It contains the results of much original study of manuscripts, particularly bearing on the history of the Athanasian Creed, which are of permanent interest, but it is marred by gratuitous innuendoes against those who differ from him, such as his assurances that *he*, at least, "will not lie for God," and the severity of his remarks upon Cardinal Newman and the other editors of the Oxford Library of the Fathers, for errors, which, if they exist at all, are trivial indeed compared to those which we shall see he has himself committed.

These are the principal authorities on which I shall rely. We meet, however, with a difficulty at the outset, which has to be resolved before we can proceed further in our study of the subject. In the earliest Christian writers we find no Creed given us literally and entirely, this being only what we might expect, since later Fathers unanimously declared that it was not to be committed to writing, but handed down as an unwritten watchword. This is of course a hindrance to our obtaining any evidence of the primitive form of the Creed. But the difficulty is much increased by finding St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and others often refer to

a collection of doctrines, following the same general order and covering the same ground as the Baptismal Symbol, which they term the "Rule of Faith," or "of the Truth," "The Preaching of the Apostles," or "of the Church." We have, then, first to determine whether this is the same as the Creed, and, if not, what is the relation between them. For this purpose we cannot do better than follow the guidance of Probst, the chief modern Catholic authority in all departments of Ante-Nicene Christian history. His view is briefly this: the whole Apostolic College agreed upon a common basis and order for their teaching, a "doctrina tradita," which they handed down to their successors as a summary of the defined and publicly recognized teaching of the Church. As such it was known to the early Fathers as the Rule of Faith, or of the Truth, and is found in them with a remarkable agreement in the matter, though with slight verbal differences. This teaching of the Church was summarized in her two most important formularies: the Canon of the Liturgy and the Baptismal Creed. To go into the matter in detail, we must begin with the New Testament. We find in the Acts several expositions of Christian doctrine, in the sermons of St. Peter and St. Paul,* all remarkably alike, and covering the same ground as the Creed. This similarity arose, no doubt, from the requirements the Apostles had to meet. They had to testify to the Jews the Godhead, public life, death, and resurrection of our Lord, with their consequences—the resurrection and judgment of all mankind; and to these doctrines, when preaching to the heathen, St. Paul had to prefix that God was the creator of heaven and earth. The similarity between these discourses extends, however, to the language and turn of the sentences, as will to some extent appear when I presently compare the Creed with the New Testament, and as can be more completely seen by reading them together; and this fact suggests there must have been an agreement among the Apostles as to the form as well as the matter of their teaching. The same conclusion follows from a study of the several descriptions of the public teaching of the Church in the New Testament and Apostolic Fathers. Perhaps the most interesting is connected with the word *κηρυξ* and its derivatives. It was evidently adopted from the LXX. in order to claim for Christian teachers the infallibility belonging to the inspired prophets of the Old Law. St. Paul significantly connects the act of preaching with being sent, and in his own case laid the Gospel which he preached privately before the heads of the Church in Jerusalem (Rom. x. 14, 15; Gal. ii. 2). *κηρυξ*, again, is twice used by him in a manner which implies that it had acquired a definite connotation at the

* Acts ii., iii., iv., x., xvii.

time the Pastoral Epistles were written (1 Tim. i. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11). There is still more evidence that the word *κήρυγμα* gradually obtained a technical sense, in St. Paul and the early Christian writers, for the defined and official teaching of the Church. This is inevitably obscured in the Latin and other versions, where "praedicatio," "preaching," has to do duty for the act of preaching as well as for the things preached, the matter of the doctrines taught by the Apostles. Probst avoids this ambiguity by using the word "Kerygma" wherever it is possible to do so. When this is done, the significance of the word comes out in such passages as—"the foolishness of the Kerygma" (1 Cor. i. 21); "that through me the Kerygma might be fully proclaimed" (2 Tim. iv. 17); "the Kerygma wherewith I was intrusted" (Tit. i. 3). But the most remarkable passage for our purpose is 1 Cor. xv., in which it has sometimes been thought that the Apostle was quoting the Creed. It would take too long, in what is only the introduction to my subject, to show in detail that his appeal is really to the defined and universally received teaching of the Church. But I think this will be clear to every one who carefully reads the whole passage. I will only call attention to the unusual emphasis of v. 1; the appeal to a common teaching in "whether it be I or they," of v. 11; and the correlation between this teaching and the belief of the faithful in vv. 11 and 14. It will also be noticed that St. Paul reminds the Corinthians, not merely of what they had been taught, but of the language employed.* In St. Irenæus, and in the precious fragments of the early Christian writers preserved for us by Eusebius,† we find the word constantly used in the same sense, the most remarkable instance for us being where he quotes St. Irenæus as saying, that the tradition of the Apostles and the Kerygma of the truth, had reached the Christians of his time by the apostolic succession of the Bishops of Rome.‡ The amplest evidence of the use of the term is to be found in Origen. In the preface to his treatise "De Principiis," his object is to show that, beyond the doctrines which must be held as of faith, there are large fields open to theological speculation. He begins by saying (sect. 2): "Let the Kerygma of the Church,§ delivered by the order of succession from the Apostles, be observed; also that the Apostles delivered "most openly" to the faithful, what they considered necessary

* *τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμεν ὑμῖν εἴτε οὖν ἐγὼ, εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι* (the other Apostles) *οὕτως κηρύσσομεν.*

† H. E. iii. 27; iv. 22; v. 28, and in many other places.

‡ *τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διαδοχῇ, ἣ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσις, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα, κατήντηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς* (v. 6).

§ This, in the fragments preserved by Pamphilus (in Titum) is called the "regula pietatis" and "Ecclesiastica regula."

to be believed, going on to enumerate (sects. 4-10) the doctrines thus publicly taught in the same order as the Creed does.

The word "deposit," used by St. Paul for the same body of doctrines, is not employed by the early Fathers; but Tertullian explicitly recognizes its meaning to be, not an "occultum evangelium," but the public teaching of the Church.* On the other hand they—St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and Novatian—use a term for the Kerygma which we do not find in Scripture; *κανῶν τῆς ἀληθείας*, "Regula fidei," or "veritatis."† But on comparing the passages I refer to, it will be seen that the same thing is intended by all these different phrases.‡ Another interesting example of the same is to be found in St. Irenæus, who (iii. 3, 3) points out that St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians has the Kerygma for its framework, while that Pontiff himself begins by appealing to "the glorious and venerable rule of our tradition."§ We seem here to have got at the origin of the term "Rule" as applied to the teaching of the Church.

The Rule of Faith, which thus originated in the apostolic preaching, impressed itself on the most solemn act of worship, the Holy Sacrifice. This is most obvious in the earliest extant form of the Liturgy, found in the Apostolic Constitutions,|| but it can still be discerned in the Mass we use to-day. In the Clementine Liturgy the celebrant recites, in the long preface, the blessings of creation and government of the universe, next commemorates the Son as Redeemer, the Words of Institution being inserted after the mention of His Passion and Death, and then speaks of the Holy Spirit. The similarity is too great to be accidental, and shows that the Eucharistic prayer traversed the whole extent of revealed truth to find material for thanksgiving and praise.

The connection between the Rule of Faith and the Baptismal Symbol is, naturally, much more intimate. It is, indeed, so close that Anglican divines have generally followed Bingham in supposing that the term Rule of Faith is merely a synonym for the Creed; and among Catholics, Denzinger, if we may judge from his *Enchiridion*, is of the same opinion. The arguments adduced by Probst and Canon Swainson are, however, I think, conclusive that

* *Praesc. Haer.* 25.

† *St. Irenæus*, i. 10, 1; iii. 4, 2; iv. 33, 7. *Tertull. Vel. Virg.* 1; *Praesc. Haer.* 13; *Contra Praxeam*, 2. *Novatian de Tim.* 7.

‡ *St. Irenæus* expressly calls his Rule of Faith, *τὸν τὸ κήρυγμα* (i. 10, 2).

§ *Ἐλάβωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνκλεῖν καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα* (vii. 2).

|| See Probst, "Liturgie," and Bickell, "Messe und Pascha." The lately recovered passages of St. Clement contain so many coincidences with the Clementine Liturgy, as materially to strengthen their argument. The Liturgy itself may be most conveniently studied in Hammond's "Antient Liturgies."

the two are not identical. Dom Massuet recognized a distinction between them in St. Irenæus,* whose language would be the strongest basis for the other opinion. They are clearly distinguished by Clement of Alexandria; and even more explicitly by St. Cyprian, who first applied the term "Symbolum" to the Creed, while he calls the Rule of Faith "lex."† Later, St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Isidore are decisive witnesses to the same.

I think it will also be seen that St. Paul in one passage ‡ intends to distinguish the "form" or formulary "of sound words," which had been learned from himself, by word of mouth, from the "good deposit," which was to be preserved by the Holy Spirit that dwelt in himself and in Timothy. The Rule of Faith, as St. Irenæus says, § was committed to the Bishop; while the Creed was intended for the laity; hence it did not contain the more strictly theological portions of the former, which were directed against heresy.

The chief object of the Symbol, besides the instruction of the faithful, was to serve as a password, whereby they might recognize each other; great pains were therefore taken to preserve its precise language, and to teach it secretly just before baptism; || while the Rule of Faith varied in its expressions, and was delivered openly.

Probst points out another difference, which is not without interest: the Rule of Faith consisted of two members, the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity being mentioned (as in the apostolic sermons) after our Lord's ascension, the account then returning to the second coming; while in the Creed, from its connection with baptism, the Holy Ghost is the subject of a separate article. This is, however, not so absolute as he represents it to be.

But the distinction between the Creed and the Rule of Faith must not be too strongly pressed. For, in the first place, the different instances of the latter which have reached us have so many features of resemblance to each other and to the Creed as to suggest that this was a compendium of the public teaching of the Church, from which it was derived, compiled for the use of

* Or iii. 3, 1.

† Ep. lxix. 7; Ed. Hartel. Firmilian's use of the word (lxxv. 11) seems, however, to imply that Symbolum was even then the generally received term for the Baptismal Creed.

‡ 2 Tim. i. 13, 14. The absence of articles before *υποτύπωσις* and *εγ. λογ.* suggests that the phrase had already acquired a technical meaning.

§ IV. 26, 4.

|| St. Cyril, for instance, bids the "competentes" whom he is instructing learn the Creed which he repeats to them, "word for word;" "having a care, that no catechumen should overhear what has been delivered to you."

the faithful in that public profession of faith which had to be made by the newly baptized from the earliest times.* Secondly, the early Eastern creeds, as far as we know them, were ampler in language, more variable in expression, and therefore much more like the Rule of Faith, than the Symbol of the great Church of the West. Probably this variability—designed to meet heresies as they arose†—was the chief reason why the Creed of Nicæa so easily took the place of them all, even before the Council of Ephesus directed that no other should be used at baptism. A few Oriental symbols are, however, extant, independent of Nicene influence; for instance, the formularies put forward by Arius and Eunomius, the Creed of the Council of Antioch which ordained Gregory to take the place of St. Athanasius, that which Dom Touttée extracted from the Catecheses of St. Cyril, and the Symbol recited by Charisius before the Fathers at Ephesus. These are enough to show that the Ante-Nicene creeds of the East were more like the Roman Symbol than those drawn up in the councils. We shall presently use them, in the same way as the Rule of Faith, to prove the great antiquity of the Apostles' Creed. The Western Symbol, on the contrary, owes its continuous existence to the zeal with which its literal identity was preserved. Of this there is abundant evidence. St. Ambrose tells us that in his day "Rome kept ever uninjured the Symbol of the Apostles;" and Rufinus, that "in other Churches some additions are found, but in the Church of the city of Rome, this is not the case."‡ The Creed was asserted by the same witnesses to be derived from the Apostles; but not by them alone. St. Leo and Cassian, and a host of later writers, testify to the universal belief of the West, which indeed found expression in the very term, "Apostles' Creed." The word *σύμβολον* being not unnaturally thought in the West to mean something made up of many contributions, it came to be supposed that each Apostle had contributed an article; and this in its turn developed into the well-known legend that assigns each article to its supposed author.§ There is a striking parallel to this in the

* The "profession" (*ὁμολογία*) made on the occasion when St. Timothy "was called to eternal life" can hardly have been any other than this. So, too, St. Justin (*Apol.* 61) speaks of the person to be baptized expressing his belief and assent (*τὸν πεπεισμένον καὶ συγκαταθεμένον*).

† In the West there was less tendency to modify even the Rule of Faith to meet new heresies. (See Tertullian, *Adv. Hermog.* cap. i.)

‡ St. Ambrose, *Ep.* i. ad Siric. Rufinus, *Expos. Symboli.* cap. iii. As Probst remarks, we may accept the latter's testimony to the fact, without endorsing his reason, that it is because heresy was unknown in Rome.

§ Pseudo-Aug. *Serm.* 240 (Hahn, sect. 46).

East, in the Rule of Faith as described in the Apostolical Constitutions,* which shows the universality of this belief as early as the third century. But the apostolical origin of the Creed was asserted nowhere else than in Rome; not even, as Dom Toutté remarks, in the Church of Jerusalem, where we should most of all expect to find such a tradition. Its constant prevalence, therefore, in the Church of Rome, and nowhere else, is a strong antecedent probability of its truth; but for detailed evidence we must look further.

Our first step must clearly be to ascertain what are the wording and date of the earliest Creed that has reached us. I have already remarked on the extreme importance which was attached to its not being written, but kept from non-Catholics; † Rufinus and St. Jerome are witnesses to this as well as St. Cyril. It is therefore remarkable that we find a complete example of the Creed as early as the fourth century. This is preserved in the treatise of Rufinus, to which I have several times referred. It will be most convenient to start from this; first trace the Creed upwards as far as possible, and then see how it came into its present state. The Creed of Rufinus runs as follows:—

“Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Christum Iesum, unicum filium eius, dominum nostrum. Qui natus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria Virgine, crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus est, iudicare vivos et mortuos. Et in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.”

This is identical, in all but a few trivial details, with the Symbols of the churches of Milan (as recorded for us by SS. Ambrose and Augustine‡), of Turin (as supplied by St. Maximus), and of Ravenna.§

Our next step carries us back some fifty years, to an interesting episode of ecclesiastical history. Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, was accused of heresy, and deposed from his see by a Council held in Constantinople in 337 or 338. He, with several other bishops, went to Rome to appeal to Pope Julius, who, “in virtue of the prerogative of the Church of Rome,” and “because the care of all belonged to him on account of the dignity of his

* VII. 4.

† This was the reason why the Creed was called “Symbolum,” a “tessera” or watchword. It is remarkable this Greek word was not so employed in the East (unless Firmilian’s letter be an instance); *πίστις* being used instead.

‡ So at least Caspari and Hahn, following Cardinal Mai, who discovered this MS. of St. Ambrose. Denzinger ascribes it to St. Maximus.

§ “*Et Maria Virgine*” appears to be the Roman form, instead of “*ex*,” as we shall see later.

See,"* restored Marcellus to his bishopric. St. Epiphanius has preserved for us the letter which he addressed to the Pope in his justification before leaving Rome after a fifteen months' stay there. This is a statement of the faith he had received from the Church in baptism, "and had learned from the Holy Scriptures, and from his forefathers in the faith." The main point on which he had to dwell was his belief concerning the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. This he supports by quotations from Scripture, and in the course of his argument introduces the Creed, saying, "I believe, therefore, in God Almighty," and the rest, as follows:—*Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθενου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιά τῶν πατρῶς, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, ζωὴν αἰώνιον.*

It will be seen that this is identical with the Symbol of Rufinus in all respects but the omission of the word "Father," and the insertion of the last article. These two peculiarities have been the only basis for several hypotheses concerning this Creed. Swainson supposed it to be Marcellus' own composition; but the similarity to the Roman Creed is so complete as to make this highly improbable. Moreover, Marcellus' object being to establish his orthodoxy, the very worst course he could adopt would be to put forward a creed of his own, and the best to profess the Symbol which the Roman Church held in such veneration. Lequien and Meyers, more weighty authorities, looked upon it as a translation, by Marcellus himself, of the Roman Creed. I cannot here follow the minute examination—spreading over fifty pages of his work—in which Caspari shows that this is opposed to all the internal evidence of language and order of words. It will be sufficient to remark that there could have been no reason for a fresh translation. A creed must have existed for the use of the Greek-speaking Christians of that city. Nor is the original letter likely to have been written by Marcellus in Latin, and translated by St. Epiphanius; for the Pope, we know, was acquainted with Greek, while there is no evidence that Marcellus knew Latin, a rare accomplishment among the Oriental bishops at that time. It is much more natural to conclude that the two variations are due to an error of the copyist, especially since the extant MSS. of this part of the "Panarion" are derived

* *ἄτε προνόμια τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίας ἐχούσης* (Soc. H. E. ii. 13.), *τῶν πάντων κηδεμονίας αὐτῷ προσηκούσης διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θρόνου* (Sozom. H. E. iii. 8.)

from only one source, and that we have here the Symbol used by the Greek Christians of Rome in the fourth century. This is further proved by a coincidence which is of particular interest to us in England. There is in the library of the British Museum a MS. (Cott. MSS. Galba A. xviii.) called "The Psalter of Æthelstane," at the end of which, in a collection of collects and miscellaneous prayers, are a Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Sanctus, and the Creed in Greek, but written in Anglo-Saxon characters. This volume, as Heurtley and Caspari have shown, must have been written in the ninth century, and have been used for liturgical purposes. Considering the absolute conformity of the Anglo-Saxon Church to that of Rome, we are justified in supposing that the Creed must have been brought from Rome, and one is inclined to think that it was introduced by Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, or Abbot Hadrian, into England. However this may be, we have here a creed identical in all but trifling points with that of Marcellus, except that it has the word "Father" and omits the last clause. It therefore corresponds completely with the Symbol of Rufinus. Whether the Greek or the Latin form of this Creed is the original, or whether both date back to the earliest times, is not clear. There are Græcisms in the Latin Creed and Latinisms in the Greek one,* but neither sufficiently distinct to prove translation. And if we look at the general conditions of primitive Christianity in Rome, we shall not find much more to help us to a positive conclusion. No doubt the Greek-speaking Christians preponderated there for a considerable time. Besides the evidences of catacomb inscriptions, we find the few traces of public worship show that it was carried on in Greek. But there are, at the same time, signs that Latin was also used by the Roman Christians; such as the Latinisms of St. Mark's Gospel, the use of the word "statio" by the Greek Hermas, and the early date (before 170) of the Latin translation of his work. We should, therefore, think it probable that two versions of the Creed, a Greek and a Latin one, have existed side by side from very early times. This is confirmed by an examination of the Rules of Faith. One at least in Tertullian † (a Roman Christian by baptism) is connected with the Greek Symbol; while that of Novatian seems to be based on a Latin creed.

In seeking evidence of the antiquity of the Roman Creed we first

* τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ before ἀναστάντα is a Latinism; while the use of the infinitive "iudicare" is a Græcism, though one not without parallels in the classics and in Tertullian.

† Virg. Vel. i. The articles describing our Lord's life are all expressed by participles, as in the Greek; "natum ex Maria virgine, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis," &c.

naturally turn to the accounts of the Rule of Faith given by the early Fathers. For although, as I have shown above, they are not identical with the Creed, yet they are closely connected with it, and in several instances we are in doubt which is being referred to by the writer. Thus St. Irenæus speaks of "the immovable Rule of Faith which the Catholic has received by baptism";* and St. Justin apparently refers to the Creed in at least three places, as he is treating of exorcisms, for which it was very early employed.† But there is quite sufficient evidence in Tertullian alone that a creed had been in existence for a considerable time in his day, that it had been communicated as a password by the Roman Church to that of Africa, and that it was essentially, at any rate, the same as the Creed of Rufinus. To prove the sufficiency of tradition, he says, many things are done in the Church without any warrant in Scripture, but in virtue of a "consuetudo inveterata"; and he takes, as an example, baptism, in which the Christian answers "something more than the Lord directed in the Gospel."‡ This tells us of a baptismal creed containing something more than the profession of belief in the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Elsewhere we are told the candidate for baptism professed "the law of the faith," one of the synonyms for the Rule of the Faith.§ From other passages it is clear that the baptismal profession included our Lord's birth, passion, and resurrection, and a belief in Holy Church.|| In a still more formal manner, he tells us that the Church of Rome had a password in common with the Church of Africa; and that this began with a profession of belief in the Creator, went on to the Incarnation, and ended with the resurrection of the flesh.¶ We have thus identified, from Tertullian's account of the Creed as distinguished from the Rule of Faith, the Roman Symbol of Rufinus with that current in Tertullian's time; and, putting the date of his works at the beginning of the third century, we may safely say the same Creed must have been recognized at least as much as fifty years earlier.

* Cont. Haer. i. 9, 4. ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῆς, οὐ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐλήφθη, which is presently spoken of as ἡ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κηρυσσομένη ἀληθεία.

† See Dia. l. 85, 126 and 132, with Otto's valuable notes.

‡ "Ter mergitatur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit" (Cor. Mil. 35). The antiquity of the "consuetudo" may be estimated from the date of this treatise, which is put at latest at A.D. 203.

§ De Spectac. 4, compared with Virg. Vel. 1, and Praesc. Haer. 14.

¶ De Bapt. 6 and 13.

|| "Videamus quid (Romana Ecclesia) didicerit, quid docnerit, quid cum Africanis ecclesiis contesserarit. Unum Deum novit, creatorem universitatis, et Christum Iesum ex Virgine Maria, filium Dei Creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem" (Praesc. Haer. 36).

Having got so far, we may now call in the various accounts which have been left us of the Rule of Faith, and compare the Creed with them. For St. Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Justin and Origen agree so closely in their manner of stating the Kerygma, that we cannot doubt they had some common formula before them all; and that this must have corresponded very nearly to the Symbol of the Church of Rome.

I am not able, nor is it necessary, to give all these in detail, for any one who wishes to study the subject can easily verify my statement, but I must point out the differences between them and the Roman Creed.

In the first place, it is remarkable that we do not find in the accounts of the Rule of Faith any mention of the Church or of the forgiveness of sins; but there can be no doubt Caspari correctly ascribes the omission to these two articles not being required for the purpose for which the Rule was generally quoted—that of refuting the Gnostics. This is confirmed by St. Cyprian, in the next age, mentioning these very clauses, as soon as they were needed to oppose heresy.*

On the other hand, there are certain points *omitted* in the Apostles' Creed as we have it in its early form, which are found in the other Creeds and Rules of Faith; and these are of great importance, as enabling us to fix approximately the age of the Roman Symbol.

For it is easy to see how additions should have been made to the statement of Christian doctrine, or to its abbreviation, the Baptismal Creed; while it is quite inconceivable that an article once incorporated by the Church's teachers in either of these should be omitted, especially when the heresy which it contradicted was actively dangerous to the faith of Catholics. Thus, it is very striking that we do not find the word *ἕνα*, "unum," before "Deum" and "Iesum Christum," in the Roman Creed. The first "unum" is found in every one of the Oriental Creeds, and in all the accounts of the Rule of Faith, without exception; the second in all save the Apostolic Constitutions and the Antiochene Symbol. Now, the Church in Rome was greatly troubled by heretics between the years 140 and 167, and it would have been specially important to have retained the affirmation of the unity of God against the Gnostics, had it already existed in the Creed used there. We may, therefore, safely conclude that these two words were added in other Churches to exclude Gnosticism; that the Roman Creed was earlier than such

* The "Interrogatio Baptismi" of the Novatians, and therefore of the Catholic Church before that schism, contained the question: "Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam per sanctam Ecclesiam?" (Ep. 69.)

additions, and therefore more ancient than the middle of the second century. The same applies to the absence of the article "Creatorem caeli et terrae." The Father must have been defined to be the Creator at a very early date; for this is found, with emphasis, in Hermas, in St. Justin, and the other apologists; in the versions of the Rule of Faith given by St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and the Apostolic Constitutions, as well as in all the Oriental Baptismal Creeds. It is, of course, evident that it must have been one of the first articles of faith proposed to the heathen, as in St. Paul's sermon at Athens: "Deus qui fecit mundum et omnia quae in eo sunt" (Acts xvii. 24).

This, again, carries our Symbol back before the rise of Gnosticism in the middle of the second century.

The absence of "Catholicam" as an attribute of the Church is a less decisive proof of the antiquity of the Roman Creed, but tells in the same direction. The first instance of its use in a technical sense* is in the Muratorian Canon, about A.D. 170, and very soon after we find it used in controversy with the Montanists, and by Clement of Alexandria; by the middle of the third century it became general. This omission, then, dates the Roman Creed before the rise of Montanism. "Vitam aeternam" is found in St. Irenæus' and Origen's account of the Rule of Faith; † and, in one shape or another, in all the extant Eastern Creeds of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Again, a clause connecting the Holy Ghost with the prophets was part of the Kerygma as known to St. Justin, St. Irenæus, and Origen, and is found in St. Cyril's Creed, that in the Apostolic Constitutions, and in many later ones. It can be traced back, of course, to St. Peter and St. Clement; ‡ and could not have been omitted from the Roman Creed after the spread of Marcionism.

I believe, indeed, that a claim to even higher antiquity might be made on this ground alone. Let it be remembered that from before the middle of the second century, Rome was the place to which heretics chiefly flocked, some to make proselytes in the capital of the world, others more boldly striving to gain the ear of the Popes, and to make the Holy See their accomplice. Some

* Lightfoot appears to me to prove that St. Ignatius (Smyrna. 9) does not employ the word technically. Its use in the letter of the Church of Smyrna (A.D. 169) is well known. It is most remarkable that St. Irenæus, to whom the catholicity of the Church was such an important dogma, should never have the word; but perhaps "communes ecclesiasticos," the name given by the Valentinians to the orthodox (ii. 15, 2), may have been a translation of this.

† Adv. Haer. i. 10, 1; De Princ. Praef. 5.

‡ 2 Pet. i. 21.; 1 Clem. xlv. 2, *et passim*; St. Justin, Apol. 61; St. Iren. i. 10. 1; Origen. De Princ. 5. St. Justin treats it as part of the baptismal profession.

of them at least had been Catholics, two even members of the Roman presbytery. Heretics and Catholics alike appealed to the identity of their teaching with that of the Apostles; thus St. Polycarp brought many heretics into the Church by asserting that he only taught what he had received from the Apostles and delivered to the Church; while the followers of Artemon argued that all the early Christians, and the Apostles themselves, taught as they did, and that the Holy See had only fallen into error after the time of St. Victor. The baptismal profession was watched with special care, as we know that tampering with it was one of the principal charges brought against Novatian,* hence in such surroundings it is inconceivable that a new Symbol could have been recently introduced into the Church, or altered afterwards, without provoking challenge and criticism. How could Tertullian have appealed to the Rule of Faith, "which had anticipated all heresies;" or how refrained from pointing his bitter invective, when he left the Church, with some mention of what would have been such a damning fact?

Such an acknowledgment of the Roman Creed, by friend and foe alike, surely implies an antiquity of at least fifty years, and carries us back to the end of the first century, and to sub-apostolic times.

We shall be led to the same conclusion if we compare the Creed with the New Testament and the earliest Christian writings which are left to us. It is of course in absolute agreement with Holy Scripture in substance; but its language is not borrowed from it, as is the case with the later Creeds, after the Canon of Scripture had been established. Its modes of expression rather run parallel to the New Testament, and where they differ, as they do in some remarkable particulars, the Creed coincides with the language of the earliest Apostolic Fathers; who also, as is well known, do not use the precise words of the New Testament so frequently as the writers of the next age.

I. For instance, "omnipotentem," *παντοκράτορα*, though common in the Old Testament, is confined in the New almost exclusively † to the Apocalypse, in which it is frequently used, being especially attributed to the Father.‡ It is equally connected with the First Person of the Trinity in St. Clement, who often uses the word; but does not, I think, occur in other Apostolic Fathers.

II. The construction "credere in aliquem" is practically unknown to any of the New Testament writers except St. Paul and

* Euseb. H. E. iv. 12; v. 28; viii. 8.

† For 2 Cor. vi. 18, refers directly to the Old Testament.

‡ For instance xix. 7; xxi. 22. So, too, St. Justin often uses the word, and especially connects it with the Father (Dial. 136).

St. John, the former of whom uses it not uncommonly and the latter frequently.

III. The word *θάπτω*, "sepelio," is not mentioned in any of the accounts of our Lord's death, except (the exception is notable), 1 Cor. xv. 4, where we have seen St. Paul appears to be quoting from the Rule of Faith.

IV. "Resurrexit a mortuis" is to be found at the end of St. Paul's sermon at Athens, where we may suppose, as I have pointed out before, that he was following the lines of the Kerygma.

V. "Ascendit in caelos," *εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς*. The singular is read in every passage in which the ascension is spoken of in the New Testament;* I do not notice it in any of the Apostolic Fathers. St. Justin has the singular.

VI. *ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς* is read in Marcellus' Creed, following the universal rule of the Epistles, while in the Synoptic Gospels *ἐκ* is used.

VII. "Sanctam Ecclesiam." The adjective does not occur as applied to the Church in Holy Scripture, though we have it spoken of as "sanctified," and the faithful are called "saints." It is very common in the Apostolic Fathers,† and still commoner in the next age.

VIII. But the most remarkable verbal peculiarity of the Creed is the phrase "carnis resurrectionem." In Scripture we always find the resurrection said to be from, or of, the dead; and whenever the corporeal resurrection is mentioned, it is the body, and not the flesh, that is said to rise again. The language of the Creed, therefore, here departs from that of the New Testament. But we find an instance of the same in the Epistle of St. Clement,‡ who quotes Job xix. 26, substituting *σᾶρξ* for *δέρμα* which is the text of the LXX. he follows elsewhere. We are reminded of the parallel manner in which St. Ignatius emphasizes the reality of our Lord's Body against the Docetists by the frequent use of the word "flesh" applied to it. It can hardly be doubted that the word is chosen in the Creed for the like purpose, to exclude disbelief in the reality of the bodily resurrection. This was a heresy current in the second century, but which existed in Corinth in St. Paul's day.§ So that this divergence from the letter of Scripture, which at first sight might

* But see Acts ii. 34 (where David is spoken of), and Eph. iv. 10.

† Barn. 14; St. Ign. Trall. Inscr.; Mart. Pol. Inscr. The adjective does not come in St. Clement. I may note in passing that Harnack points out that the holiness of the Church was connected as early as Hegesippus (Euseb. H. E. iv. 22) with purity of doctrine.

‡ Cap xxvi. 3.

§ 1 Cor. xv. 12-56; Tatian, Theophilus, the so-called second letter of St. Clement, St. Justin, are further but later witnesses to the importance which the heresy had in the second century. So, too, Hermas (Sim. v. 7); *βλέπε μὴ ἀναβῆ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου, τὴν σάρκα σου τάυτην φθαρτὴν εἶναι.*

seem adverse to the antiquity of the Roman Creed, is, as Caspari acutely points out, really in its favour. Whether he is also correct in believing that the Creed was brought from Asia Minor to Rome in sub-apostolic times, I cannot say. There appears to me no ground for conjecturing this rather than its independent composition in Rome, or (as the old legend has it) before the separation of the Apostolic College. If I hazard an opinion, it is to remark upon its likeness to the thoughts and language of St. Clement, and to suggest that its form may, in part at least, be due to that great Pontiff, "in whose ears was still ringing the Kerygma of the Apostles," and "who delivered the tradition he had lately received from them."*

I have now traced the Apostles' Creed to the highest point which the evidence known to me enables us to reach, and have next to show how it grew into its present shape. But for this, and for the further question, whether the primitive Christians derived its authority from Scripture or from the Church, I should need more space than I can now ask; and I therefore hope to deal with them on another occasion.

Meanwhile, it will be seen that the main result of an inquiry that I fear I have rendered wearisome is to prove that the Apostles' Creed, as we now have it, is slightly altered and expanded from the Baptismal Symbol of the Church of Rome in the middle of the second century, which in all probability is more ancient still, and goes back to the immediate successors of the Apostles. I can find, then, nothing in modern research to contradict, and much to confirm, the constant tradition of the Church, embodied finally in the Tridentine Catechism, that the Roman Creed is of apostolic origin. I wish I could at the same time have imparted to my readers the luminous manner in which the continuity of the Catholic belief stands revealed on reading the original documents of primitive Christianity. This is a pleasure that amply overpays the labour of Patristic study: it is to have conversed oneself with the children of the Apostles, and heard from them the lessons which they had so lately learned from the Son of God Himself.

J. R. GASQUET.

* St. Iren. iii. 3, 3.

ART. IV.—THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE.

IN the three hundred and thirtieth year from the “new departure” ordered by Elizabeth, *de facto* Queen of England, in 1558, a conference met at Lambeth from July 7 to July 28, 1888, inclusive. The *Times*, indeed, terms this “the third decennial Council of the Anglican Church.” But a council must be called by somebody, and it does not appear either who was empowered to call this meeting, or who actually called it. It has, however, published what it calls an “Encyclical Letter,” addressed, the *Guardian* informs us, “to all Christian people.” It heads this letter with the words—

We, Archbishops, Bishops, Metropolitans and other Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church, in full communion with the Church of England, 145 in number, all having superintendence over dioceses, or lawfully commissioned to exercise episcopal functions therein, assembled from divers parts of the earth, at Lambeth Palace, in the year of our Lord, 1888, under the presidency of the most Reverend Edward, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, after receiving in the chapel of the said Palace the blessed Sacrament of the Lord’s Body and Blood, and uniting in prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit, have taken into consideration various questions which have been submitted to us, affecting the welfare of God’s people, and the condition of the Church in divers parts of the world.

The meeting which uses this language does not say, I observe, that it has been called together by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or that he has any right to call it together or to preside over it, or that it has elected him to preside over it. It limits itself to the bare fact that it is assembled under his presidency. It says also nothing of its own right of jurisdiction over “God’s people,” or its title to consider “the condition of the Church in divers parts of the world.”

The one person who has issued “encyclical letters” for the last eighteen hundred years addresses them to the “Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops in communion with the Holy See.” The 145 bishops of this meeting “commend to the faithful the conclusions at which we have arrived.”

What “faithful”? “God’s people” who are affected “by the condition of the Church in divers parts of the world” is all the specification we can find. And we may notice here that when “the Church” is mentioned in this document, while the terms used of it would only suit the Catholic Church throughout the

whole world, the people meant are only those in communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The language is as wide as the application is narrow.

All those, indeed, who have ever been members of the Anglican Communion will be well aware of this use of the words *the Church*. On innumerable occasions it simply indicated the Established Church of England. But on those same occasions it was intended to carry to the hearer's mind the force of the Holy Catholic Church, the being of which is recorded in the Apostles' Creed, and a belief in it recited by Anglicans at least every Sunday next to the Holy Ghost. It was a proof, the more remarkable because so unconscious, how the Elizabethan Christianity of the British Isles had supplanted the idea of the kingdom of God upon earth.

It is time to state who the 145 are. The *Times* affords the requisite information.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and thirty-three bishops of the Province of Canterbury; the Archbishop of York and eleven bishops of the Province of York; the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin and nine Irish bishops; the Primus of Scotland and five bishops; the Bishop of Minnesota (representing the presiding Bishop of the United States) and twenty-eight American bishops; the Metropolitan of Fredericton and eight Canadian bishops; the Metropolitan of Guiana and six West Indian bishops; the Metropolitan of Sydney and three Australian bishops; four bishops from New Zealand; six from South Africa; four from the Canadian territories; and the remainder missionary bishops, including the Bishop of Gibraltar and the Bishop of Jerusalem and the East, who exercise chorepiscopal functions. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol acted as episcopal secretary; the Dean of Windsor as general secretary; and the Archdeacon of Maidstone as assistant secretary. The Archbishop of Canterbury presided at all meetings of the Conference.

We know that the inscription of our Lord's regal title on the Cross was written in three languages—Hebrew, Greek and Latin—in which the Fathers saw a mystical meaning. But it would seem that in the nineteenth century, "the Church," "God's people," was only to speak English: for we observe that all these bishops are either bishops of the British Empire, or, as in the case of the bishops from the United States, have retained the English language which came to them along with their episcopal lineage in the original ordination derived from a commission issued by an Archbishop of Canterbury.

The bishops of a certain council, which met a few years ago in the central shrine of Christendom with the successor of St. Peter at their head, convoked by his word from all the regions of the earth, spoke likewise all the tongues of the earth, as those

who witnessed the Pentecostal miracle, and issued their decrees in a language common to all bishops. But the reason of this distinction between these two bodies is so plain that he who runs may read it.

The 145 bishops are all the issue of a certain Matthew Parker, who was put, at the "new departure" above mentioned, contrary to all previous rules during a period of 950 years, by the power of one who was herself no legitimate occupant of the throne, into a place which it was not hers to grant. Let it never be forgotten that, from St. Augustine in 596 to Cardinal Pole in 1558, the Archbishops of Canterbury sat in that see by mission from the See of Rome. As St. Gregory sent the first, so his successors sent every one who came after in that long interval. The whole structure of the English hierarchy was the work of St. Gregory.* The two metropolitan sees of Canterbury and York are traced out in his extant letters. Every archbishop of the two chief sees, and every bishop in their several provinces, during that immense period, derived his mission from the Pope. The Sovereign, whether Saxon, Dane, Norman, or Angevin, may have selected or recommended the person; or, again, the chapters have elected him canonically, but in every case the spiritual authority which placed him in the see, whether as metropolitan or as suffragan, and so gave him spiritual jurisdiction, was that same authority which sent St. Augustine from the Coelian hill to England, which continued on St. Gregory's successors, which was derived to them from St. Peter. The Red King persecuted one Primate of all England, and the Count of Anjou, becoming King of England, murdered another, but the Plantagenets, through fourteen descents of the crown, knew only of bishops who sat in their sees by authority of the Holy Apostolic See. There were after the Norman Conquest many struggles as to the limits of the spiritual and the civil power; many attempts to control supposed abuses by civil enactments; but the whole law of England, whether civil or canon, the conscience of every man, the facts of daily life, acknowledged that in spiritual matters jurisdiction came from the Pope. The Archbishop of Canterbury was his *legatus natus*. So it went on for 930 years, till a Tudor arose who set up a spiritual supremacy in the king, which Dr. Brewer, as I shall quote him later on, attests to have been unknown before, carried it out by ruthless executions, the like of which, says Mr. Gairdner, had never been seen in England before, broke every law, divine and human, to obtain possession of a woman whom he presently

* See the thirty original letters of St. Gregory given in the third volume, pp. 5-38, of Haddan and Stubbs' "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," 1871.

beheaded, and by whom he left an adulterine bastard daughter to consummate his work. The 145 bishops of this meeting date their origin, hold such orders as they have, and derive their jurisdiction from that daughter's work—from her assumption to bestow, as Sovereign, ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

I shall recur to this subject, but at present I would wish to estimate at its due value the importance of the meeting itself. Upon this the *Guardian*, not venturing on the name of Council given to it by the *Times*, writes as follows:—

The result of the great meeting at Lambeth is now before us, in the form of an "Encyclical Letter" to all Christian people, accompanied with resolutions on the various questions dealt with, and with the reports of the committees who were charged with the special consideration of these questions. For the formal resolutions alone is the Conference to be held responsible. The "reports of committees can only be taken to represent the mind of the Conference in so far as they are reaffirmed or directly adopted in the resolutions."

The *Guardian* adds:—

There can be no doubt of the importance of the document. No such meeting of the Anglican Episcopate has ever been held, either for number or authority. The Conference of 1888 has meant business. It has met without authorization or notice from the State, simply as a body representing the spiritual and religious aspect of a great communion, but representing it in due form and order, in its separate provinces, with their metropolitans and primates. And to an extent which is new it has ventured to examine and discuss some difficult questions, and to speak its mind about them. This by itself gives the meeting a more serious character than any assembly in our time of representatives of the English Church. It is a new thing among us.

But it seems that even the "Encyclical Letter" cannot be fully accepted as indicating the mind of the represented Episcopate. For the Bishop of Liverpool writes to the *Times* on August 14, saying:—

It appears to be commonly supposed that the Lambeth Encyclical contains the formal deliberate unanimous opinion of all the 145 bishops who attended the so-called Pan-Anglican Conference.

Allow me to state that this is a complete mistake. I myself for one had no voice or hand in drawing up the Encyclical. I saw no rough draft of it after it was drawn up. I never read a line of it before it appeared in the columns of the *Times*. In short, I must disclaim any responsibility for its contents.

The bishop says also that he does not pretend to criticise the Encyclical, he only wishes the public to understand that it is not the united and harmonious voice of all the bishops of the Anglican Communion. Then he adds words of gravest moment:—

One glaring defect, however, in the Encyclical I cannot refrain from deploring. That defect is *the conspicuous absence of any reference to the "unhappy divisions" about the doctrine and ritual of the Lord's Supper which are at this moment convulsing the Church of England, and will certainly bring on disruption and disestablishment unless they are healed.*

The existence and formidable nature of these divisions it is vain to deny. To my eyes they are of cardinal importance, and appear to require far more attention than the condition of the Scandinavian or Greek Churches, or the Old Catholic movement.

Some expression of humble regret for these divisions, some strong desire for properly-defined conditions of peace, some proposal to attempt the restoration of godly discipline and the creation of satisfactory ecclesiastical courts, some bold declaration that, with the utmost degree of toleration, *our Church will never re-admit the Mass and auricular confession*, or go behind the Reformation—a few plain statements of this kind would have immensely improved the Encyclical, greatly strengthened the Church of England, and cheered the hearts of myriads of loyal Churchmen.

Alas! about all these points, the Encyclical is painfully silent. Against that silence I enter my solemn protests.

I remain yours faithfully,

J. C. LIVERPOOL.

Pitlochry, Aug. 14.

The Archbishop of Canterbury loses not a day in replying to this public protest from one of the suffragan bishops. He writes to the *Times* on the 16th of August:—

The draft Encyclical Letter, embodying the reports and resolutions of the month, was, after full notice on the previous days, read over, first as a whole, and then again for discussion paragraph by paragraph, in the presence of the whole Conference, with the exception of the few bishops (eight, I believe, out of 145) who were on that day prevented by illness or other causes from being present. From the Bishop of Liverpool's letter in your columns I gather that we had not, unfortunately, the advantage of his presence for co-operation and criticism on that day. But the Encyclical Letter was, as I have said, considered by the Conference with the utmost care, and several not unimportant changes were made before it was resolved, without a dissentient voice, that I should sign it on behalf of the Conference.

The Bishop of Liverpool, who is now absent in Scotland, would, I am sure, wish that this correction should be immediately made public, in view of the misapprehension which his letter might otherwise perpetuate.

I am of course sorry that any suggestion which the Bishop of Liverpool might have wished to make for additional sentences was not made in the Conference rather than afterwards.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

EDW. CANTUAR.

Lambeth Palace, Aug. 16.

In two days more the Bishop of Liverpool issues a rejoinder:—

THE LAMBETH ENCYCLICAL.

To the Editor of The Times.

SIR,—I have read with attention the Archbishop of Canterbury's reply to my letter about the Lambeth Encyclical, which appeared in your columns on the 15th instant.

I am much obliged to his Grace for the explanatory information which his letter contains. I suppose I must now assume that the Encyclical was approved by all the 137 bishops who were present when it was finally adopted, and that it represents their united judgment.

Of course, if this interpretation is correct, I find myself placed in the unpleasant position of being one of a very small minority! But even if I stand alone I cannot change my opinion. If I had been present at Lambeth, instead of being detained at Liverpool by pressing diocesan engagements, I could not have voted for the Encyclical as it is.

Once more let me remind your readers that, although I do not like some things in the Encyclical, I do not object so much to the things present in it as to its omissions. I must and will maintain that an important document like this, purporting to be the voice of a large number of Anglican bishops, gathered together on a very solemn occasion, *ought to have contained some distinct reference to the "unhappy divisions" about the Lord's Supper, which threaten to break up the Established Church of England unless speedily healed.*

These divisions were specially noticed in one of the two former Lambeth Conferences. I think it was an immense mistake not to notice them in 1888.

I remain, Sir, yours faithfully,

J. C. LIVERPOOL.

Pitlochry, Aug. 18.

On the same day the Dean of Durham sends to the *Times* statements so remarkable, as coming from so high a dignitary of the Church of England, that I feel bound to quote them:—

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE AND DAILY PRAYER IN CHURCHES.

To the Editor of The Times.

SIR,—Writing from a different point of view, may I beg to express the gratitude which many clergy of various opinions will feel to the Bishop of Liverpool for the plain and outspoken expression of his mind with regard to the "Lambeth Encyclical." Like him, I feel all the respect for the Conference to which so large an assemblage of prelates in communion with the Anglican Church, and the gravity and earnestness of their advice on many of the most important questions, both social and religious, entitle it; *but, like him, I feel too, that, from whatever causes, it has entirely abstained from giving the Church of*

England any help in some of its most pressing needs; that there is a "conspicuous absence" of any attempt to heal divisions; and that on matters where no such divisions ought to exist, such as the wider opening of churches for daily worship, to which your article has given due prominence, the time of the Conference might have been more wisely occupied than in fanciful and unreal suggestions to unite the Church of England with the Dutch or Scandinavian, or the rather incongruous mixture which is called by the name of "the Old Catholic." But while I feel with the Bishop of Liverpool that some matters of great practical importance have been strangely overlooked at the Lambeth Conference, and am grateful to him and to Lord Grimthorpe for insisting on the fact that the statements of the Lambeth Conference are of no actual authority, I am still more grateful for your own article of August 16, in which you dwell on what, if it is really feasible, would be a great movement for the Church of England to undertake—the general and real opening of English churches for the purpose of daily private prayer. If the Archbishop of Canterbury and the numerous prelates and laity whom he appears to have consulted intend really and thoroughly to take this in hand, it will be a great movement; far greater, no one can doubt, than attempts to combine inharmonious elements, which would only make our Church, now perhaps the most divided in opinions existing, far more divided than she is already. . . .

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

W. C. LAKE.

Deanery, Durham, Aug. 18.

On this same subject, thus stirred by the letters of the Bishop of Liverpool and the Dean of Durham, the *Guardian*, which is far enough from representing either of their "different points of view," to use the Dean's expression, has some remarks which I introduce as leading to the grave matters on which I shall next have to enter with regard to the Conference.

We cannot help thinking that, while the Conference was engaged on the subject of our "unhappy divisions," an opportunity was missed for saying some words of soberness and weight on matters deeply concerning the Church at home, such as could have come from no other assembly. While its committees were busy with these interesting questions of bringing back Nonconformists and knitting closer the bonds of unity at home and abroad, at its very doors were beginning two suits, two pieces of litigation—costly, obstinate, bitter litigation—likely to drag on for years, promoted by an association established to institute and maintain litigation, which for years has disturbed the peace of the Church, and tried by systematic terrorism to set up a religious tyranny over its ministers from the lowest to the highest. Every one knows what the points in dispute are; every one knows why, unimportant in themselves, they are important from their circumstances; every one knows what is the object of the association; every one knows how possible it is to turn law, even wise and sound

law, much more obscure and antiquated law, into an instrument of grievous wrong. Litigation, even with clear right on the side of those who set it in motion, is the most hopeless means of settling theological controversies; and here is a body professing to speak in the name of the Church, and devoting itself to the discovery of dexterous legal means for worrying its theological opponents. Of course, if the contention that the Church of England is Puritan is right, the object of this association, and then, perhaps, too, the means are right. But would the Conference accept the Puritan contention? And if not, was not this deplorable and mischievous system of litigation, encouraging intolerance, inflaming passions, narrowing fair liberty, wasting strength, and widening and deepening the breaches between the various parties in the Church, important enough to engage the attention of the Conference? Could it have done a worthier thing than to have thrown the weight of its authority, in the interests of justice, charity, and peace, against this system of organized litigation, which from time to time opens afresh the sources of discord, *and not obscurely threatens a second time the ruin of the English Church?*

It is thus that we learn from the occasion of a meeting of 145 Pan-Anglican bishops, and by 137 of them issuing an encyclical letter that representatives of the three chief parties, which together constitute their communion, consider that dissensions exist which threaten "the ruin of the English Church." All the three agree that these dissensions concern what one of the three calls "the doctrine and ritual of the Lord's Supper"—that is, the doctrine and ritual, which were set up at the "new departure" which I mentioned above, of the Elizabethan Government. The "doctrine and ritual," divisions on which are, the Bishop says, "convulsing the Church of England," date from 1558, up to which time, during fifteen centuries, a doctrine and ritual had come down in the whole Church of God, with unbroken descent. This doctrine and ritual had prevailed in the English Church for nine centuries and a half: and was brought to it from the Roman Church after a transmission of nearly six centuries more. St. Bede's writings exist to show that a hundred years after St. Augustine's implanting of it, it flourished in the English Church exactly as it flourished in 1558. *This doctrine and ritual is so great, says Cardinal Newman, that it is "the formal cause, the constituting right of the Catholic Church: where it is not, there is no Church."* When Elizabeth came to the throne, on hearing Mass for the first time, she commanded the bishop who celebrated not to elevate, at the words of consecration, the host and the chalice for the adoration of the people. It was thus she intimated that in the five years of her sister's reign, during which she had professed herself to be a Catholic, and by the belief of Catholics in her sincerity had obtained their support, she had practised one prolonged act of simulation. Thus she

proclaimed her disbelief in that great mystery, her rejection of "the constituting rite of the Catholic Church," of which it is said, "where it is not, there is no Church." She ordered that adoration not to be offered, of which the great St. Augustine said that in his day every one offered it.* And she presently made prelates of like mind with herself, whom she thrust into the vacant sees of her kingdom, to reject the rite consecrated by the practice of 1500 years, and construct a new doctrine and rite, the very purpose of which was to destroy the adoration, and with its destruction to express disbelief that "the Gospel priest offers Christ in His body and blood for the living and the dead, and that by virtue of such offering he is a priest." The doctrine and the rite, which was thus introduced by order of Elizabeth, is that concerning which it is now said by these three authorities that fatal dissensions exist. In plain words, a certain party is trying to compel the Archbishop of Canterbury to call the Bishop of Lincoln to account for using certain practices such as, in a timid, hesitating way, would intimate a sort of belief in the rite "without which there is no Church"; but which the Bishop of Liverpool would consider to be a restoration of the worst errors of Popery. And between these two bishops, the actual Archbishop of Canterbury, who signs the Encyclical Letter addressed to "God's people" by bishops "assembled from divers parts of the earth," has to stand in helpless mediation, shocked at his brother of Liverpool, hoping not to be obliged to touch his brother of Lincoln, and carefully ignoring in the Encyclical that there is any dissension on a matter so intimately concerning the doctrine and practice—nay, the whole status of the communion over which he is said to preside. Moreover, the cause of dissension lies in the confusion produced in men's minds by "the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies" which were all that the daughter of Anne Boleyn allowed the new Church she was setting up to substitute for the clear, distinct, magnificent ritual of the Catholic Church. The ritual thus put aside had been used in England by thirty generations of Christians, and by every Sovereign except her half-brother, who had died an infant of sixteen, from Ethelbert to Mary Tudor.

* The words are on the Psalm xcvi. "Adore His footstool. I ask what is His footstool? And the Scripture tells me, 'the earth is My footstool.' In doubt, I betake myself to Christ, for it is He whom I am seeking here. And I find how the earth is adored without impiety, how His footstool is adored without impiety. For He took earth of the earth, since flesh is of the earth, and of the flesh of Mary He accepted flesh. And because in very flesh He walked here, and gave the very flesh to us to eat for salvation, but no one eats that flesh unless he has first adored it, we have found how such a footstool of the Lord's feet may be adored, and not only we do not sin in adoring, but we sin in not adoring."

What I have said is surely enough to show that there is an abyss between the doctrine of the Catholic Church, also that of the English Church which was embraced in it, as that doctrine was held and expressed, and daily carried out in worship for so many hundred years, and the doctrine and the *non-worship* substituted for it in Elizabeth's Church. It is the Nemesis of her sin which is now distracting her Church.

But I think it may not unreasonably be felt that the meeting of the bishops, and their issue of what they assume the right to call an "Encyclical Letter" to "God's people in divers parts of the world," is a challenge to all who are concerned to consider the basis on which they stand themselves. To speak at all as bishops, and much more to issue as bishops a collective letter, they need two things: the possession of valid orders and the possession of lawful jurisdiction. And no less a third thing, without which both orders and jurisdiction would be ineffectual—that is, truth of doctrine. There is a fourth thing, also, which may be said to embrace the three preceding, and to form an absolute condition for any authoritative utterance—it is, communion with the Catholic Church throughout the world.

It is also to be borne in mind that these four things shed a mutual light upon each other. Not only do they shine encompassed with a common light in the general history of the Church. They have one undivided life. Therefore they must be considered together in the history of what I want a name for, that thing which the Pan-Anglican Conference represents. Anglican orders, Anglican jurisdiction, Anglican doctrine, and Anglican *non-communication* with the rest of the world-wide Church, are most closely bound up together. Their common progenitor, Matthew Parker, if ordained at all, was ordained by a ritual, not the ancient ritual of the Church, but altered to suit the notions of certain Lutheran-Calvinistic-Zuinglian innovators. The intention of this ritual was to make *not* a priest who should be a priest because he offered at the altar "Christ in His Body and Blood for the living and the dead," which was the ancient belief of the Catholic Church in the East and the West, which may be found testified in transports of joy by the Fathers in general, specially by the two St. Cyrils and by St. Chrysostome; which is expressed as strongly in the Eastern as in the Western liturgies; which is now the belief of the Catholic Church in communion with the Pope; which is no less the belief of the actual Greek and of the Russian Church, the Monophysite Coptic Church, and the Nestorian—not in communion with the Pope—but who have sacerdotal succession. The ritual out of which Matthew Parker came was intended to make a minister: *not* one possessing these awful powers; *not* one hearing confes-

sions, and exercising in hearing them a jurisdiction transmitted to him from above, the possession of the whole Church, and imparted by the Church to her living organs in various degrees. Matthew Parker, and the bishops acting with him during the whole reign of Elizabeth, persecuted to the utmost such priests. It was death to execute that office, death to celebrate in England the rite which for 950 years had built its cathedrals, hallowed its churches, and been the life of its people, the nurture of its saints. St. Augustine, St. Dunstan, St. Anselm, St. Edmund, St. Thomas, Hugh of Lincoln, and Robert of Lincoln would have turned with indescribable loathing from Matthew Parker, and from all ordained by Matthew Parker's rite, and from all who celebrated Matthew Parker's Eucharist; and equally for four reasons: the first, because of his orders; the second, because of his doctrine; the third, because he drew all his claim to jurisdiction from the civil power; the fourth, because he was an outcast from the Church.

Did then these orders convey, after all, that very thing which the Queen who made the ritual, and the bishops who carried it out, pursued with the bitterest animosity during forty-four years?

Nine years ago Cardinal Newman asked a question which, so far as I know, has never been answered. Rather, after the manner pursued on so many occasions, it has simply been *ignored*. For I must confess that in one point those who are unwilling to be convinced show their skill. They are quite aware that to *ignore* is, in Teutonic phrase, "todtschlagen." To take no notice is, they think, more profitable than to attempt to refute. Cardinal Newman's question is this:—

Has not the Anglican hierarchy, has not the English people, in its faith, in its formularies, in its acts, stripped itself of Christian truths and Christian gifts, and (as the Ritualist grants, or, rather, maintains) such as are essential to the idea of Christianity—gifts which he has not power now to claim back at his will at the end of three centuries, and which to claim, without tradition to support the claim, is but a confession of their irrecoverable forfeiture?

To this point the author [to whose work the Cardinal is writing a preface] addresses himself. Of course what he has to allege tells against all Anglicans, but it tells against Ritualists more forcibly, because those very gifts which they claim to share with us Catholics are maintained by their co-religionists to be, not truths, but corruptions, "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." But to claim awful gifts, and to pretend to awful powers, which, if their fellow Anglicans are to be believed, they have not, is to play with edged tools; and inasmuch as our author believes this to be the case with the religious men in question, as it was once his own case, and in proportion as he feels, from the associations of former years, a sympathy

with and a near interest in them, and believes in their honesty, so does he hope that they will give him a patient hearing in a matter which concerns them, as it once concerned himself.

Now if the Catholic view of the *Sacerdotium*, as residing in the Christian Ministry, be a truth of revelation; if, nevertheless, it is not, and never has been, held by any Anglican minister, since Anglicanism existed, till the last thirty years; if Anglicans, I say, have neither believed in the existence of such a gift, nor professed to use it, nor taught and honoured it; if, rather, they have called it a "blasphemy"—who shall say, without a great paradox, that suddenly a small minority of the Anglican body is possessed of it, while the main body persists, not simply in ignoring it, or in being ignorant of it, but in knowing it too well as claimed by us Catholics, and denying utterly that such a gift was ever made by our Lord to any one? Sacraments the Church of England has ever claimed, but never sacrifice. It never, in the Ritualistic, in the Catholic sense of it, has been professed by any Anglican party till now. We know well what is a High Churchman; one who holds the Episcopal form of government, the Apostolic succession and baptismal regeneration, perhaps the Real Presence, not the *Sacerdotium*. Of course all Anglicans, all Protestants, will admit the word "sacrifice" as a synonym of divine worship, and the word "priest" when used as correlative to this "sacrifice"; but what does "sacrifice" thus accepted mean? We cannot ask for a better authority than the very learned, careful, temperate Waterland, perhaps the greatest authority on a question of doctrine among all the Anglican divines, and he in his treatise on the Eucharist thus writes:—

"That the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in whole or in part, in a sense proper or improper, is a sacrifice of the Christian Church, is a point agreed upon among all knowing and sober divines, Popish, Lutheran, or Reformed. But the Romanists have so often and so grievously abused the once innocent names of oblation, sacrifice, propitiation, &c., perverting them to an ill sense, and grafting false doctrine and false worship upon them, that the Protestants have been justly jealous of admitting those names, or scrupulously wary and reserved in the use of them.

"Mr. Mede, a very learned and judicious divine and Protestant, scrupled not to assert a proper sacrifice in the Eucharist (as he termed it), a material sacrifice, the sacrifice of bread and wine, analogous to the *Mincha* of the Old Law. . . . In the year 1642 the no less learned Dr. Cudworth printed his well-known treatise on the same subject, wherein he as plainly denies any proper or any material sacrifice in the Eucharist, but admits of a symbolic feast upon a sacrifice—that is to say, upon the Grand Sacrifice itself, commemorated under certain symbols. This appears to have been the prevailing doctrine of our divines, both before and since [*i.e.*, down to 1737]. There can be no doubt of the current doctrine down to Mr. Mede [A.D. 1635]; and as to what has most prevailed since, I need only refer to three very eminent divines, who wrote in the years 1685, 1686, 1688. . . .

"The service therefore of the Eucharist, on the foot of ancient Church language, is both a true and a proper sacrifice, . . . and the noblest

that we are capable of offering when considered as comprehending under it many true and evangelical sacrifices: 1, the sacrifice of alms to the poor and oblations to the Church—not the material offering, but the service; 2, the sacrifice of prayer; 3, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; 4, the sacrifice of a penitent and contrite heart; 5, the sacrifice of ourselves; 6, the offering of the mystical Body of Christ—that is, His Church; 7, the offering up of true converts or sincere penitents to God by their pastors; 8, the sacrifice of faith and hope, and self-humiliation in commemorating the Grand Sacrifice.

“From hence, likewise, may one understand in what sense the officiating authorized ministers perform the office of proper evangelical priests in this service. They do it in three ways: 1, as commemorating in solemn form the same sacrifice here below, which Christ our High Priest commemorates above; 2, as handing up those prayers and those services of Christians to Christ our Lord, who, as High Priest, recommends the same in heaven to God the Father; 3, as offering up to God all the faithful. . . . In these three ways the Christian officers are priests or liturgs.”*

Cardinal Newman proceeds to say, in his own person:—

Catholics, then, and the Ritualists hold that in the Holy Eucharist the Gospel priest offers Christ in His Body and Blood for the living and the dead, and that, by virtue of such offering, he is a priest. Is there not an infinite difference between such a *Sacerdotium* and that which Waterland, in the name of the succession of Anglican divines, claims as Christian and true? If all those writers have abjured and rejected it down to 1737, the date of his treatise, may we not go on to say that they have repudiated it from 1737 down to 1830 or 1840? Whence then did Ritualists get so marvellous a gift? Did Episcopacy include it? Then must Anglican ordainers have intended to communicate it. Is it included in the form of ordination? Then where are the words which declare it? Surely, it is too momentous, too awful a gift to be transmitted in silence. It constitutes a new religion. It is the formal cause, the constituting rite of the Catholic Church—where it is not, there is no Church. How can the gift be real, and its profession, its use, its application, not essential? How can a religious communion which teaches, which observes so wonderful an act be one and the same communion with a body which disowns it?

If you do not like Waterland, find for us some one else who will give you some sort of countenance in your straits. Who, in the question of the *Sacerdotium* rises higher than Mede, Bull, Johnson, and Hickee, as explaining the Eucharist to be a material sacrifice of bread and wine? or than Waterland, and many more, in considering it a spiritual sacrifice of the heart? or than Waterland, again, Cudworth, Sharp, and others, in accepting it as a symbolical present feast upon the past proper and real sacrifice on Calvary? What Anglican

* Waterland's Works, vol. vii. pp. 341-350. Oxford, 1823.

opponent of Anabaptists, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans ever claimed to offer Christ for the living and the dead? Who of such theologians did not believe a doctrine like this to be a bad superstition? What Anglican bishop has ordained with the intention of imparting the gift as Ritualists understand it? Would not every one of them have promptly repudiated such an intention had he been asked on the point? Would he not have granted that, supposing the Catholic *Sacerdotium* was an Anglican doctrine, the Anglican Church was no place for him? And that supposing it was the true doctrine, there was no *locus standi* for the Anglican Church? If I mention names in illustration, it is in no disrespect towards the owners of them, for some of them were personal friends of mine, whom I loved and valued; but because, as being High Churchmen beyond others, and yet not dreaming that they possessed this gift, they present the most telling contrast with the professions and observances of the Ritualists. Such are, or were, Dr. Ogilvie, Mr. Hugh Rose, Dr. Lyall, Dr. Hook, Dr. Faussett, Mr. John Miller, Bishop Selwyn, Bishop Wordsworth. Such were Bishop Bethell, Bishop Van Mildert, Bishop Mant, Dr. Routh, and Dr. Collinson. In the foregoing century High Churchmen were scarce; but did such pious and strict men as Bishop Horne and Jones of Nayland, did philosophers, as Butler and Berkeley, hold the doctrine of the *Sacerdotium*, or perform its characteristic rite, as the Ritualists do now? To go back still further, will not Hickee and Johnson, to whom Waterland refers, fairly represent the theology of the Non-Jurors, and was not the greatest altitude of thought in Hickee and Johnson the sacrifice, not of a victim, but of material bread and wine? Did Beveridge or Bull, Taylor or Hammond, Pearson or Barrow, ever deny that "the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt" were *blasphema figmenta* or *perniciose imposturæ*? Was the creed of Bramhall, Laud, Field, and Jackson more adverse to so stringent an anathema?

Is not the contrast here drawn out by Cardinal Newman a sufficient reason for the fact that in the course of three hundred and thirty years no one ordained by the rite from which Matthew Parker and his issue descend has been admitted to be a priest by the Catholic Church? No Anglican bishop has been admitted to be either bishop or priest; for if the priesthood has not been communicated, the man devoid of it cannot be a bishop. In that long period a great many Anglican ministers in the Anglican presbyterate, and some Anglican bishops, have approached as penitents the Catholic Church. In no case, after their reconciliation, have their respective orders been admitted. Again, in the course of ages, Greek priests, Russian priests, Coptic and Nestorian priests have become Catholics; and then, when their possession of the sacerdotal order was clear, the *Sacerdotium* in them was recognized. Again, never have Greek, or Russian, or Nestorian,

or Coptic prelates recognized the *Sacerdotium* in an Anglican minister. One heroic spirit in our own time, furnished with credentials from the late Archbishop Howley, travelled to Russia and to Constantinople, to learn by personal inquiry whether Russian or Greek would acknowledge Anglican orders. He spent many years in the prime of his life upon this inquiry. He attempted, with great learning and unwearied industry, to put the Anglican formularies in the shape most attractive to the Eastern mind. He discouraged a Russian lady of high rank, who consulted him, from leaving the Russian Communion. He was honoured by all who met him for the singleness of his purpose. "We owe much to that Anglican deacon," said the Archbishop of Moscow, but the Archbishop could not condone the heresies of the Thirty-Nine Articles, nor admit an Anglican to communion, nor would he recognize the *Sacerdotium* in an Anglican minister. It was the same with the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. However desirous, politically, Russian or Greek bishops, and still more the poor Nestorian in his mountains, or the remnant of Copts in Mohammedan Egypt, would be to stand on good terms with the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England (by grant of St. Gregory the Great), and first peer of the English realm, no one of them would venture to be present at his celebration of the Anglican Eucharist, or to receive what he could give from his hands.

In this fact we see the intimate connection of orders and doctrine. Let us proceed to the third point—of jurisdiction.

When Elizabeth Boleyn made Matthew Parker the first of her new bishops, she attempted to confer upon him the jurisdiction which had been exercised for ages by the See of Canterbury, as instituted originally by St. Gregory the Great, and continued on by his successors to the successors of St. Augustine. He was to exercise that jurisdiction in subordination to her—as derived from the civil power, not from the spiritual—just as Cranmer and his compeers submitted to take out licenses for the exercise of their episcopal powers from Cromwell, as Vicar-General of Henry in his newly invented supremacy. Of the invention itself Dr. Brewer * says, "a spiritual supremacy, an ecclesiastical headship, as it separated Henry VIII. from all his predecessors by an immeasurable interval, so was it without precedent and at variance with all tradition." That the Anglican bishops of the present day derive whatever jurisdiction they possess from this ecclesiastical supremacy exercised by the civil power, a late Prime Minister, Earl Russell, was so good as to explain to all the world in a letter to the *Times*, dated March 5, 1875. He

* Preface to "Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 107.

gives the exact words in which every Anglican bishop, kneeling now before Queen Victoria as then before Queen Elizabeth, takes the Oath of Homage. They are :—

I, —, Doctor in Divinity, now elected, confirmed, and consecrated Bishop of —, do hereby declare that your Majesty is the only supreme governor of this your realm in spiritual and ecclesiastical things as well as in temporal, and that no foreign prelate or potentate has any jurisdiction within this realm ; and I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty. And for the said temporalities I do my homage presently to your Majesty. So help me God.

I may be allowed to repeat here words which I used in quoting this oath nine years ago.*

“It would be impossible, I think, to desire a more unambiguous declaration that spiritual mission and jurisdiction are derived, in the Church which was set up by Queen Elizabeth, and continues what she made it, from the Crown, and from nobody but the Crown, than this charter professed by each of the bishops of that Church as he enters on his office. There is a completeness of statement about it which tells of the sheerness with which the Tudor axe severed heads, and does away with every attempt to palter and shuffle. From Elizabeth to Victoria every Bishop humbly confesses on his knees, ‘I acknowledge that I hold the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty.’ What is become of the successors of the Apostles ? What of the jurisdiction belonging to episcopal, or metropolitanical, or patriarchal sees ? Where, above all, is the mission of the world’s Redeemer, ‘Go and make disciples all nations?’ The Elizabethan crosier is a stick which the temporal sovereign first lays over her bishop’s shoulders, and then gives him to keep his clergy in order with.”

The ecclesiastical headship invented by Henry, “without precedent, and at variance with all tradition,” as the man in our days thought to be most conversant with the history of those times says, and who also lived and died an Anglican minister, was not an incomplete thing. Jurisdiction was part of it. And Elizabeth conceived it in the same completeness as Henry. As she manipulated orders and doctrine, so she gave the jurisdiction which was to dispense them. In that gift lay the difference as to jurisdiction between the old episcopate and the new, as in doctrine the *Sacerdotium* marked the distinction between the old priesthood and the new ministry. But had Elizabeth been the lawful heir to the crown, whence would she have got the power to send

* “Per Crucem ad Lucem,” vol. i. p. 8.

labourers into the field sown by the Divine Word? Instead of Elizabeth's person, in which the civil power is shown to the utmost disadvantage, substitute the authority of the State itself, the second power in which the Church acknowledges the rule of human things to lie, by a delegation of the Divine authority. But the Lord of all things human and divine has not given spiritual jurisdiction to the secular authority. The secular power can, if it so choose, use the power derived from God to persecute His Church. This it did in the Roman Empire with more or less severity from Tiberius to Constantine. Again, it can enter into alliance with the Church of God and give to its canons, over and above their inherent spiritual force, the force of civil law, as Constantine and Justinian did. This union can proceed so far that, as in the case of Charlemagne, the civil Sovereign shall be regarded by all his people, and regard himself and be recognized by law and approved by practice, as the special defender of the Church; and in the legislation the bishops of a kingdom become temporal lords and chief counsellors of the king. This was actually the constitution of things in that cluster of European kingdoms which arose out of the Holy Roman Empire. In such a state of things the Canon Law of the Church becomes also the law of the State, and is supported by temporal sanctions. Such was the constitution of the English monarchy, as of many others, down to the time of Henry Tudor. In all that period the spiritual authority of the Pope, as successor of St. Peter, was seen in union with the temporal authority of the king. The two powers, the distinct domain of which Pope Gelasius defined to the eastern Emperor Anastasius in the last decade of the fifth century, lived on in harmony together. It was the dissolution of that harmony which the passion of Henry Tudor brought about. Elizabeth herself was the result of that passion, and with a full consciousness of her unhappy birth she repeated the dissolution. But she went far beyond her father in her abolition of the *Sacerdotium*, and of the great doctrine embodied in it—"the formal cause, the constituting rite of the Catholic Church." To these violations by herself of the Church's most sacred things, she added her father's crime, the seizure of the jurisdiction by means of which every action of the Church takes place, every appointment of persons is affected. As the abolition of the rite constituted a new religion, the seizure of the jurisdiction constituted a territory in which that new religion could be professed.

By the same stroke the doctrine, the religion, the practisers of it, became separated from the spiritual empire to which, up to that time, they had belonged. And in that severance they remain. That state of severance is brought out clearly to the sight of all, whether friend or foe, whether interested or indifferent, by the

“Encyclical Letter” of the Lambeth meeting. There they stand, beginning by asserting themselves to be “bishops of the Holy Catholic Church,” while all that follows shows them to be separate from every one but themselves; separate in doctrine, in rite, in jurisdiction. Their own words will testify whether the greatest separation of all is in charity.

Their view of things would seem to be in exact accordance with their own status. It is when they come to the head “Definite Teaching of the Faith” that this appears. They recognize dissensions everywhere, but they have a very different mode of treating these dissentients, according as they are made up of those who spring from the great assault upon the Church in the sixteenth century, or belong to the Eastern churches, or the great communion of what they call the Latin Church.

As to the former—that is, the numberless sects existing in the United Kingdom and the American States—they say “we gladly and thankfully recognize the real religious work which is carried on by Christian bodies not of our communion. We cannot close our eyes to the visible blessing which has been vouchsafed to their labours for Christ’s sake.” In these also are comprehended the Scandinavian races. But towards the “Old Catholics” their hearts may be said to dilate with joy. It is not “possible for members of the Anglican communion to withhold their sympathies from those continental movements towards reformation which, under the greatest difficulties, have proceeded, mainly on the same lines as our own, retaining Episcopacy as an apostolic ordinance.”

From these dissentients, who belong by lineage and yet more by spirit to the sixteenth-century movement, I proceed to the Churches of the East. With these the Conference expresses its earnest desire to “confirm and improve the friendly relations which now exist.” What these are it does not appear. “These Churches have well earned the sympathy of Christendom, for through long ages of persecution they have kept alive in many a dark place the light of the Gospel. If that light is here or there feeble or dim, there is all the more reason that we, as we have the opportunity, should tend and cherish it, and we need not fear that our offices of brotherly charity, if offered in a right spirit, will not be accepted.” The Eastern Churches, including the Russian, will, it is well known, have nothing to do with Anglican sacraments, but perhaps “offices of brotherly charity” is a delicate phrase for gifts of money, to the acceptance of which there may be no canonical impediment. At all events, the language is kind and benignant, though perhaps a little patronizing.

But now we come to the third class of dissentients, that wide communion from which Matthew Parker and his descendants

broke away in the sixteenth century. Here another language and another feeling at once appear. In the very offer of "offices of brotherly charity" to the Eastern Churches the bishops of the Lambeth Conference "reflect with thankfulness that there exist no bars such as are presented to communion with the Latins by the formulated sanction of the Infallibility of the Church residing in the person of the Supreme Pontiff, by the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and other dogmas imposed by the decrees of Papal Councils." And they go on to observe: "The Church of Rome has always treated her Eastern sister wrongfully. She intrudes her bishops into the ancient dioceses, and keeps up a system of active proselytism. The Eastern Church is reasonably outraged by these proceedings, wholly contrary as they are to Catholic principles; and it behoves us of the Anglican communion to take care that we do not offend in like manner."

I am not myself able to reconcile these words with those "chor-episcopal functions" which the Anglican missionary bishops of Jerusalem and of Gibraltar are said to exercise, the one in the East and the other in the West; the latter visiting, not only the "ancient dioceses" of the Western patriarchate, but Rome itself in the performance of duties which, I believe, the Bishop of London imposes on him.

But of all the suggestions made, none seem more noteworthy than that "individuals craving fuller light and stronger spiritual life may, by remaining in the Church of their baptism, become centres of enlightenment to their own people."

Is it allowable to consider this suggestion as an *ex post facto* admonition to Cardinals Manning and Newman, and those many ministers of the Anglican Church, who, in "craving fuller light and stronger spiritual life," have recognized the Church of their baptism in the one fold of Christ, into which alone Christ baptizes all who are baptized?

I have now followed the bishops of the Conference as in considering "mutual relations" they cast their eyes over the earth. They would seem to find themselves in communion with none, except such as descend, like themselves, from Mathew Parker. Not with all those various sects in the United Kingdom and America, in whom, nevertheless, overlooking their differences with each other and themselves, and their want of orders, they recognize "a real religious work carried on by the blessing of Christ." Not with the Old Catholics, from whom they cannot withhold their sympathies. Not with the Eastern Churches, whom they compliment on having kept alive the light of the Gospel through long ages of persecution. With all these they would like communion, but difficulties as yet not overcome prevent it. One other communion they single out, neither for praise nor for

partial approval, but for simple reprobation, as claiming infallibility, while it imposes false doctrines. It is the communion from which Henry Tudor and his daughter broke; of which their ancestors formed a portion during 950 years.

But where, then, in this year 1888 is the one Holy Catholic Church, of which they began by stating themselves to be bishops, while they end in declaring that "we are united with our Divine Head in the one Catholic and Apostolic Church?"

On the contrary, it would appear, as a matter of fact, that the 145 described by themselves as "archbishops, bishops, metropolitans, and other bishops," holding sees in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, the West Indies, British Guiana, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, all parts of the British Empire, and the United States, in which their people began as a sprinkling of English colonists when the States also formed part of the British Empire, have no communion with any not descended from Matthew Parker. Their episcopate, outside of England proper, has no bond. Its faith is not one. If such a thing can be called a community at all, Henry Tudor must be its Abraham, and Elizabeth Boleyn its Hagar. Is it wonderful that in the 330 years of wandering which the Ishmael who has come out of these sins has gone through, his hand has been against every man's, and every man's hand against him?

We, whose bishops are the brethren, whose people are the children, of Leo XIII., have one Catholic and Apostolic Church. *We* have "one episcopate, of which a part is held by each without division of the whole." * We find the necessary condition of such an episcopate exactly where St. Cyprian found it, in the Primacy of Peter, the beginning from one.

Where is *their* unity? Where is *their* one Church? Their whole "Encyclical Letter" proclaims that there is *not* one Church. They specially denounce the Church which is one, and the infallibility which is only compatible with oneness.

Is it not enough, as a final comment on such miserable unreality, to quote once more the words of the great Father, more astonishing, more convincing, because testifying to a greater miracle, in the nineteenth century than when he uttered them at the end of the fourth?

I only premise two remarks. No one of these 145 prelates even pretends that the communion which they claim to represent is itself the Catholic Church. Accordingly, no one of themselves, and no one person in that communion, believes *any* doctrine upon their authority as the authority of the Catholic Church. They are at the opposite pole from the words of the man I quote.

* St. Cyprian, "De Unitate Ecclesiæ."

I am held in the bosom of the Catholic Church by the agreement of peoples and nations; by the authority which took its rise in miracles, was nurtured in hope, reached its growth in charity, is confirmed by antiquity. I am held by the succession of bishops, down to the actual episcopate, from the very See of the Apostle Peter, to whom after His resurrection the Lord entrusted His sheep to be fed. Lastly, I am held by the very name of Catholic, which, not without reason, among so many heresies, that Church alone has possessed; so that, though all heretics would like to be called Catholics, yet if a stranger ask where the Catholic church is, no heretic would venture to show him his own church or house.*

T. W. ALLIES.

ART. V.—LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON.

1. *Lady Georgiana Fullerton, sa Vie et ses Œuvres.* Par MME. AUGUSTUS CRAVEN (née La Ferronnays). Paris: Didier Perrin et Cie.
2. *Life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton, from the French of Mrs. Augustus Craven.* By HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, S.J. London: Bentley & Son. 1888.

THESE two volumes may be summed up in some words of Cardinal Newman's letter to Mrs. Craven, prefixed to her work:

A character and mental history such as hers, make her a fit representative of those ladies of rank and position in society who, during the last half-century, have thought it little to become Catholics by halves, and who have devoted their lives and all they were to their Lord's service.

We must begin by saying, though the words are scarcely needed, that, apart from the exceeding interest of the subject, Mrs. Craven's book is a production full of charm. It is, in fact, a most graceful work of art, touching upon its subjects with delicate lights and shades, and bearing the reader irresistibly along upon the comb of its continuous wave. And we venture to predict with confidence that the gracious flow of this latest "Story" of Mrs. Craven's will make its way into thousands of hearts, leaving behind it the beneficent germs of a plenteous harvest. The twin-volume, so to speak, of Father Coleridge, from which we shall quote, will have a still larger share among ourselves in

* St. Augustine, "Cont. Epist. Manichæi," 5.

this harvest. It is not, as he himself tells us in his admirable preface, either a faithful translation or an original work. There were points upon which, as an Englishman, he could speak with far more power and intimate knowledge than any foreigner, even a foreigner possessing the most ample information. Two of these points are, notably, the Oxford Movement and its results, both as to the Anglican Church and to those who left it; the other is the true position of Lady Georgiana Fullerton as an English writer. Upon a third point, that of the retrenchment of Lady Georgiana's spiritual notes by Father Coleridge, there will be a wide difference of opinion, but there can be none as to the fact that the English version loses by it in interest to the general reader. Yet there will probably remain a strong impression that the English public would have gained by a completely original work by Father Coleridge. Faults can undoubtedly be found in both these volumes, and trivial exception has been made to errors rectifiable with half a stroke of the pen. The one real fault, or ground of fault, is that the *Life* has been written too soon. Much as it might be desired and longed for by some, it was impossible to do it the full justice it demands while those nearest to her or most influential with her are still living. To develop in any fulness of completion a *Life* that depends upon character and spiritual development, and not upon stirring incident, for its colouring, is to tend perpetually towards either horn of a dilemma. On one hand, that of ruffling and wounding the sensibilities of the living by unveiling sacred and hitherto inviolable secrets; on the other, that of toning down and fining away the narrative till it is like an unshadowed picture wrought to an artificial and somewhat feeble smoothness of surface. Something of this last may be felt as to Mrs. Craven's "*Life*," which while in truth, as we have said, a consummate work of art, inevitably suffers from over-restriction and reticence. It is thus shorn, from the same obligation of circumstances, of a crowd of incidents and characteristic touches, known to other friends, which by throwing stronger lights and shades would materially enhance the richer colouring and perfection of the portrait.

While waiting for that more complete picture we may well meanwhile count up our golden gains in the present sketch, and once again express our hearty congratulations to Father Coleridge for the success of his very difficult task, which will carry this example of a noble lady far and wide where the companion volume must remain a book sealed.

Georgiana Charlotte Leveson Gower, being the youngest daughter of Lord Granville Leveson Gower (afterwards Lord Granville), son of the Marquis of Stafford, belonged by birth to the highest rank of our English nobility. Her mother was Lady Harriet

Cavendish, and being thus nearly related to the Dukes of Devonshire, Sutherland, Westminster, Norfolk, Beaufort, Argyll, and Leinster, as well as to the Earls Carlisle, Harrowby, and Ellesmere, she was born in the very inner circle of that great group of English magnates who, since the extinction of older blood in the Wars of the Roses, have sprung into the foremost ranks of our noble houses.

And, like those who are not only of the highest birth but the highest breeding, Georgiana Leveson was distinguished throughout her life by the utmost modesty and simplicity of character and manners.

It is regrettable that an autobiographical sketch of her early life, written during her later years, was never completed. It was undertaken at the request of Miss Giberne, a convert lady well acquainted with Cardinal Newman in the early days of the Oratory, and who afterwards became a Visitandine nun. When the notorious ex-Dominican, Giacinto Achilli, brought his action against Father Newman for charges published in his "Position of Catholics in England," Miss Giberne took charge of the witnesses who were brought by Father Newman from Italy, and wrote an account of her difficult task. This account she offered to Lady Georgiana Fullerton in exchange for an autobiography of her own life; and much gratitude is due to Miss Giberne's memory (she died in the Visitation convent at Autun) for the possession of this invaluable record.

I was born [it begins] on the 23rd of September 1812, at Tixall Hall, in Staffordshire. My father rented it in 1808, at the time of his marriage with Lady Harriet Cavendish, and retained it for several years. It belonged to Sir Clifford Constable, the head of a very old Catholic family. In the records of the days of persecution, frequent mention is made of it. . . . I cannot help connecting in some degree, in my mind, the fact of my birth and early years spent at Tixall Hall with my eventual conversion to the Catholic Church. I must have been the first child born in that house, outside the visible pale of the Church. May not the guardian angels of the place have asked for me the grace of conversion to the true Faith? My wet-nurse was a woman of the village, the inhabitants of which were, almost all of them, Catholics. Who knows that she did not say Hail Marys for the infant at her breast? And perhaps she may have taken me into the chapel which was enshrined amidst the ivied ruins, close to the house. I remember her very well, for as long as we lived at Tixall she often came to see me. I was only six years old when my father gave up the place to move into Suffolk with his family. I cried much at leaving my nurse, and said over and over again I should never see her more. . . . I never did see her again. It was perhaps a mere fancy, but the first time I heard Mass in the chapel at Slindon House in Sussex, there was something in the sight of a Catholic rural con-

gregation which made a strange impression upon me. I had then that sensation, so often experienced and remarked by others, by which, when one is in a place for the first time, one seems to have known it before, and all that passes seems the repetition of something one has already witnessed. . . . Perfectly I remember seeing the villagers walking on Sundays through the park on their way [to the chapel at Tixall] in long files, men, women, and children, and asked "where are those people going?" my being told, "they are the Roman Catholics going to their church" (p. 5).

It must be borne in mind, as Father Coleridge judiciously remarks, that Lady Georgiana in this short sketch of her first years had in view chiefly recollections of a religious kind, and thus was led to fasten on the few points which stood out as marking her growth in the knowledge of God (p. 3).

Here is another incident which distinctly shows the germ of that deep religious reverence of which her whole life was the outgrowth :

One of my earliest recollections is my brother Granville's christening [the present Lord Granville]. I was then two years and a half old. . . . Also very distinctly learning to read at a very early age, about three years old, I think, and the first time a notion of religion was conveyed to me it was at Tixall. I was kneeling before a sofa with a large book open before me, in which I was finding out and spelling all the words I could find of three letters. I put my finger on one, and said in a loud voice, G O D—God. My mother checked me, and said, "You must not say that word in that manner, it is a sacred word." She did not explain further, but the way she spoke and looked made me feel hushed and subdued. I may here remark, that imperfect and scanty as was the religious teaching I received in childhood, it had one marked characteristic—that was, the inculcation of reverence and the sacredness of matters and things connected with religion. We were never allowed to hold a Bible or a Prayer-book in a careless manner, or to speak of a clergyman without respect (pp. 5, 6).

It is strange, considering the discernment and experience of Lady Georgiana's admirable mother, that she should have made the mistake of taking her little girl out of the nursery at four years old and putting her under the care of her sister Susan's strict Swiss governess, Mlle. Eward, who evidently knew little about such very young children or how to manage them. One cannot but feel entirely on the side of rebellion when a child of four or five years old, tormented on a journey by a large, stiff, frilled collar, was punished for trying to pull it off or make it less unbearable, by having her toy-rabbit thrown out of the carriage window.

Lady Georgiana often comments upon her "rebellious nature," and declares that she "never remembers at that time a correc-

tion that did her any good, or an occasion on which she submitted without resistance." We, in truth, can only wonder at the marvellous character that not only escaped being embittered and hardened by the want of discernment and heavy hand of such training, but could in after-years look upon and accept the training as a true friend. Lord Granville Leveson left Tixall Hall in 1819, and carried his family to Wherstead Lodge, near Ipswich, when Georgiana, being then seven years old, was first taken to church in Albemarle Street Chapel, when the family went to London.

Church-going [she says] was most wearisome to me as a child, and I have hardly any religious impressions connected with it of a pleasurable kind, except of the holly and the hymn "Hark! the herald angels sing" (p. 9).

Like other children born early in the century, she had few books, although those few are not by any means to be despised, consisting of Miss Edgeworth's perfect stories, "Evenings at Home," "Sandford and Merton," and a few French story-books. She accuses herself of many faults, at some of which we feel inclined to demur. She was no doubt passionate and possibly capricious, but never could have been either "ill-tempered" or "untruthful," as she says. Her remarks that she was idle except when the lessons amused her; that she liked history, detested arithmetic, and was bored by geography, were probably perfectly true. Her literary taste, however, was to be cultivated unusually early.

When I was about ten years of age, the "Genie du Christianisme," by Chateaubriand, was given to me to read, and this was quite an epoch in my life. It opened a new world to me, and for the first time I learnt something about the Catholic religion. The poetry of the ideas and of the style fascinated me, especially in the chapters about saints and angels. I must have derived some sound ideas from the book, for one day I made my governess very angry by saying that, as the Apostles had founded the Catholic religion, I thought it must be the true one (p. 10).

A curious light is thrown upon the entirely foreign life and surroundings of this sensitive child, by her relating that once, when very angry with Mlle. Eward, she said within herself, "Méchant femme! Je te maudis!" and then, recalling with terror the text in the Bible, "He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death." For, she reasoned, a governess who had so long taken care of her, must be reckoned almost as a parent, and she was horrified, thinking herself worthy of death. This sin was borne upon her conscience till, long years afterwards, she made her general confession.

The latent, strong craving for this sacrament caused her to attach great importance to the public absolution used in the Anglican service; and when Mlle. Eward by her delays made them late for church, Georgiana would say to herself, "If she did but know all the bad things I have done, she would not make me lose the Absolution!" (p. 11).

Among her other acts of mismanagement, Mlle. Eward used to punish Georgiana by shutting her up in a room by herself, with nothing to do, which led her to live in a world entirely of her own creation, and which became her most perfect enjoyment. She began to put together poems, tragedies, and all kinds of fictions, partly "after" Shakspeare, partly the growth of her own dreamy and enthusiastic mind; and the habit of abstracting herself entirely from the outer world, no doubt much helped her afterwards in the passionate realism of her novels, tending also to their somewhat morbid tone of excessive feeling. Happily for Georgiana, there were many interludes of travelling abroad, children's balls, and going to the theatre. Some of her incidents are worth recalling. At the representation of "The Siege of Londonderry," when the famished city is relieved by an arrival of bread, the chorus, after the manner of choruses, showed their joy by singing; when the present Lord Granville, then five years old, with characteristic good sense cried out, "Why do they go on singing, and don't eat the bread?" In 1822-3, the Duke of Wellington, who was shooting at Wherstead, shot Lord Granville Leveson in the face, when he showed extraordinary feeling, the tears even rolling down his iron face. During that same visit, the Duke performed the much more incongruous part of acting in a charade, dressed up as an old nurse, while the afterwards Russian ambassadress, Princess Lieven, personated the baby.

In 1824, Lord Granville Leveson was appointed ambassador to the Hague, and Georgiana, for the first time in her life, lived continually with her father and mother, and much enjoyed the intercourse and change of conversation and scenes. Once she heard her mother say of herself, to one of the Embassy, "That child has such a passion for books, that one does not know how to supply them fast enough." He answered, "You should give her a great deal of history to read, with voluminous details." Georgiana characteristically adds that she much hoped this advice would be followed, for she was then extremely bored by books on natural history. The two girls, Susan (*Lady Rivers*) and Georgiana were there for the first time instructed in English grammar and composition, for hitherto all their schoolroom teaching had been in French. Towards the end of the year, her father was appointed ambassador at Paris, and removed his

family to that delightful Embassy, which became the beloved home of his youngest daughter for several years. Among the many amusing little incidents of the first years at the Embassy, which must be passed over, one must be told. Georgiana and her sister were at a children's ball given by the Duchesse de Berri, where de Montalembert, about her own age of fifteen or sixteen, asked her to dance a tumultuous sort of country dance called the "Grand-Père." She became very tired after a while, and wished to sit down, but de Montalembert exclaimed, "No, no; I should not be able to get another partner!" Georgiana remarks that her first impression of this dear, holy friend of after-years was therefore that he was a very selfish boy.

The study of Italian next opened a fresh field of interest to this ardent mind, but unfortunately her reading was chiefly confined to Metastasio and Tasso, a good deal of whose "Gerusalemme" Georgiana learnt by heart. It remained a lifelong loss to her that the great dramas of the "Divina Commedia" were ever a sealed book; and, as Mrs. Craven justly laments, it was a loss whose unfilled blank was sensibly felt by more than this one of her friends. It is a matter of wonder now, with so cramped and stunted a literary pasture, how that mind and imagination could be maintained so vigorous and full. Till Georgiana was seventeen, Miss Edgeworth's "Ennui" (Fashionable Tales) and Scott's "Tales of the Crusaders" were the only fictions permitted; while, on the other hand, and most inconsistently, Racine's tragedies, even "Phédre," were given entire into her hands. When she was about fourteen, that vivid little story, "Father Clement," by the precocious Scottish girl, Miss Kennedy, opened an entirely new vein of thought; and, as has more than once happened with the same tale, one leading exactly in an opposite direction to the writer's intentions. The story is the old controversy between the Church and Protestants, in which the force is naturally made to lie on the Protestant side. But the character of the Catholic priest, the Jesuit chaplain Father Dormer, is so finished and charming a creation as to carry away the imagination of the reader, and entirely to neutralize the effect of his own cause. Like others, Georgiana's whole sympathy sided with Father Dormer, and the benefits of confession and absolution—blessings for which she had always craved—were impressed more distinctly upon her mind. After reading "Father Clement," Georgiana one day went into a little room adjoining the schoolroom, knelt down and said, over and over again, "Blessed Virgin Mary, pray for me!" adding that she had the strongest feeling of the efficacy of *that* prayer. Mrs. Craven notes that exactly the same effect was produced by "Father Clement" on Comtesse Albert de la Ferronnays, the

subject of "Le Récit d'une Sœur;" and only lately a young convert lady has spoken of the strong and salutary effect of a reprint of the same story upon her mind as a help to her conversion.

In 1827 Lord Granville Leveson left the French Embassy upon a change of Ministry, and returned to England. This would have delighted his youngest daughter if they might have lived in the country, but a house was taken for them at Brighton, where the two girls were left with their governess, who had now become very exacting and irritable, and life there became for a time dreary and disappointing. The rooms were kept very cold, while the schoolroom food was of the scantiest and plainest sort. Nothing was permitted but milk and water and dry bread for breakfast, the same at supper, and a dish of roast meat, vegetables, and "plain" pudding at dinner. The greatest pleasure Georgiana enjoyed during that wearisome sojourn at Brighton was a short stay of her uncle, the late Duke of Devonshire, at an hotel. Many a time did she relate to a friend, in after-years, curious incidents of the delightful intercourse with this uncle in her girlhood, and dwell upon the acts of affection and genuine kindness which made him so universally beloved. His dignity was so real that he brought out the best breeding of those he was with, while his appreciation of fun was keenly enjoyable to children. "Even to spend a few moments with him," says his niece, "was amongst the greatest pleasures of my life, up to the time we lost him in 1858." Georgiana made her first real experience of the world, the pleasures of society and freedom from Mlle. Eward (with whom the last year of her schoolroom life, without her sister Susan, had been most wearisome), at the Duke's magnificent country-house. She had never before seen Chatsworth, and there is little wonder that to her it seemed the opening of Paradise.

The beautiful scenery, the magnificent woods, the immense gardens, the lovely, winding, rippling brook that flows along what is called the two-mile walk, and then all the pictures and statues in the house and gallery, and the beautiful drawings! (p. 48).

An amusing incident marked her first dinner at Chatsworth, where her neighbour was a grey-haired gentleman whom she did not know :

He asked me if I admired the new wing which had just been added to the house. I answered that I thought the house must have had a better effect without it (which is still my opinion). But I was horrified to find afterwards that the gentleman was Sir Geoffrey Wyatville, the architect, who had designed the said wing (p. 49).

Like all other really well-brought-up girls at that date,

Georgiana and her sister were still kept a good deal out of sight, and under that admirable and wholesome restraint which brought out women of the first distinction in manners and tone of mind. Their mother made them breakfast in their own rooms (that breakfast being still limited to tea and butterless rolls!), and study till luncheon-time, when they were permitted to take their place among the other visitors. This restraint, which most truly "sweetened liberty," gave them the keenest zest for the remainder of the day :

Oh ! the enjoyment of the walks with other young people ; the long drives in pony-chaises and four that went like the wind ; the expeditions to Matlock, Hardwick, Haddon, &c. &c. ; the dancing and acting of charades in the evening ! One of the party we met at Chatsworth at that time was Mrs. Robert Arkwright, who lived at a place called Stoke, four miles off. She must have been then between forty and fifty. She had a face beautiful still, and full of expression. She was Stephen Kemble's daughter, and the dramatic talent of his family found vent in her singing. She had not much voice, but when singing the songs . . . the music of which she composed herself, her intonation and the expression of her wonderful eyes had a strangely pathetic and exciting power. . . . My enthusiasm was intense, both about her and her singing, and even now, if I play to myself some of those songs, I feel an emotion which carries me back to those days, fifty-five years back (pp. 49, 50).

We have given the whole of this passage of the autobiography because it throws a clear light upon the character of Georgiana Leveson, as it was from the beginning to the end. This character was, throughout, true to itself, though it was not given to all to discern that intense identity through all its external changes. Many times during her narrative Mrs. Craven uses the word "passion," in regard to it, and this word is eminently distinctive and true. The capacity for strong indignation, for exalted enthusiasm, for the ecstasy of enjoyment, for agonized grief, for the rapture of prayer, were all fed by the profound passion of a nature that held within itself the most powerful elements of good and evil. No one without this "inward fire" of passionate genius could have written "Ellen Middleton," still less conceived the marvellous emotions of "Grantley Manor," which has always seemed to us the crowning effort of the author's mind. Georgiana Leveson's autobiography unfortunately ends at a most interesting time, just when her experience of the sumptuous life in the inner circle of her high-born relations was widening from the slender rill to its broad and peopled stream. The last recorded event was Mr. Huskisson's lamentable death at the opening of the first English railway, from Manchester to Liverpool over Chat Moss, at which Lord Granville Leveson narrowly escaped with

life, and which took place in 1830, while his family were at Chatsworth. During the next year, Lord Granville Leveson again resumed his position as English Ambassador at the Embassy in Paris, when Georgiana was fully introduced to the gay world, and where, in 1833, both she and her sister Susan formed the attachment which decided their future lives. That of the elder daughter to Lord Rivers was in every way approved by her parents; but the proposal of Mr. Fullerton to the younger, Georgiana, at first met with a decided refusal from her father, and it was some time before her own most decided attachment was allowed to overbalance the various difficulties. Mr. Fullerton was then in the Guards (Blues), and was entitled to inherit considerable property in Antrim and Gloucestershire at his father's death, but meanwhile his means were small, and Lord Granville Leveson found it impossible to make his daughter an allowance suitable to her position and habits of life.

The Duke of Devonshire, who was a most affectionate uncle, stepped, like the fairy godmother, into this conflict of circumstances, and with his usual munificence added to the provision made for his niece. Meanwhile, Susan's marriage took place in Paris (1833), and she spent the first night of her honeymoon at St. Germain, whence Lord Rivers wrote to his mother-in-law:—"The treasure you have given me is perfectly well, perfectly happy, and perfectly adorable."

That same year Georgiana's marriage with Mr. Fullerton was also arranged, chiefly by the urgency of the Duke of Devonshire, and as her father was just then created an Earl, she became for the first time Lady Georgiana, instead of Miss Leveson, while her eldest brother took the title of Lord Leveson of Stone. She expresses her joy with her usual enthusiasm to Mdlle. Eward:

It is all arranged, dear Mdlle. Eward. I met him at dinner yesterday at Chiswick, and he told me that his father had written the very kindest letter possible to him, and . . . to-morrow morning after breakfast mamma and I are to go to the inn (Salthill), and there Mr. Fullerton and his father will meet us. . . . I never spent so delightful a day as yesterday; it was perfectly fine at Chiswick, in greater beauty than I ever saw it, and we walked together till we were almost dead with fatigue. He is reckoned extremely like my grandmother, the Duchess of Devonshire, and that was the first thing that made Uncle D. take such a fancy to him. I wish I could give you a good idea of him—I dote upon him, and I must say I think he is very fond of me. Mamma is quite come round to it (pp. 76, 77).

Lady Georgiana Leveson and Mr. Fullerton were married at Paris in the middle of 1833, and, after a visit to England, returned to the English Embassy there, which remained their

home, with intervals of travelling, for eight years. Mr. Fullerton left the Guards, and was appointed an *attaché* to the English Embassy, and during the next year a son was born to them, William Granville, who became the crowning joy and sorrow of both their lives.

The Fullertons left Paris in 1841, when Lord Granville finally retired from the Embassy, but Lady Georgiana had already begun to give her time and means largely to charitable works. To supply resources for some of these, she translated into English verse a poem of Firmin, the poet of Languedoc, called "The Blind Girl of Castel Cuillé," and sent it with her name to *Bentley's Magazine*, unknown even to her husband. To her great delight she received twelve guineas for this, her first literary venture, and she was wont often to repeat that none of her great successes in the following years of her life gave her such pure joy as this first glimpse of her own literary power. But she was no real poet, as Mr. Bentley soon perceived, and, upon her sending him a second translation, he frankly advised her to turn her attention to prose. It was characteristic of her that, though much disappointed, she wrote on his letter (still preserved) these words, "That day I began 'Ellen Middleton.'"

In that novel, for the first time, her full character was unveiled to the world, and probably to herself. The charm, the interest, the refined beauty, the fervent imagination; above all, the vivid colouring of latent passion, gave it a vitality which is still felt after a lapse of four and forty years. "Ellen Middleton" was not published till 1844, but meanwhile essential changes had taken place in the author's life. Upon leaving Paris she and her husband went to Cannes, where Lord Brougham lent them his villa, then nearly the only habitable dwelling in the town. Thence they passed onward to Nice, where they mixed fully in all the good society of that gay place, going to the balls and parties, and even taking part with much zest in private theatricals. From Nice they went to Wildbad and Herrnsheim, a fine castle belonging to Lady Leveson as daughter of the Duke de Dalberg. From Herrnsheim they turned southwards to Rome, where they lived with Lord Leveson in the Palazzo Simonetti, in the Corso.

Beneath the whole of this "outer rind" of abounding occupation, gaiety and pleasure, which formed the flowery surface of the last few years, there had run a deep undercurrent of thought, of study, and of unceasing prayer through the lives both of Mr. Fullerton and his wife. During those years the speech and writings of Newman, Keble, Pusey, and Froude had stirred the world with the revival of Catholic doctrines and practices, and the seed thus sown was bearing fruit in ever-increasing abund-

ance and on every variety of soil. Mr. Fullerton, among others, while seeming only to be floating upon the brilliant surface of society and its refined pleasures, was spending his time in Rome in seeking instruction of those who could solve his doubts, throw light upon his questions, and unravel the intricacies of his silent studies. For throughout those months he never spoke, even to his wife, of the conflict warring in his soul. He allowed her to precede him, with her father and mother, to Florence, while he remained in Rome a few days alone, at the end of which he was received into the Church by the Jesuit Father de Villefort, on St. George's Day 1843. When he told Lady Georgiana, upon rejoining her at Florence, of the step he had taken, her emotions were a stormy compound of anguish and joy. She foresaw, as if by a lightning-flash, all that must follow. Her own future adjuration of a Church in which she no longer believed, her separation from her parents and her sister, the sacrifices to be made, and, above all, the pain and grief to her father; for although Lord Granville had reluctantly consented to his son's marriage with Lady Acton, it was probably one of the chief sorrows of his life to acquiesce in the decision necessary to that marriage, that their children should be brought up Catholics. From this, however, as Lady Granville was childless, he was spared.

After receiving, as it were, this earthquake shock, Lady Georgiana returned to London, where she submitted the manuscript of "Ellen Middleton" to the criticism of the varying judgments, but nearly equal affection, of two old friends, Lord Brougham and Mr. Charles Greville. The controversies raised by Lord Brougham upon reading the manuscript brought forth a very remarkable letter from Mr. Greville, who certainly could not be ranked among the men of that time who thought deeply upon religion. This letter especially marks the powerful influence that had been brought to bear by the Oxford movement upon men of the world, as in this case, by shedding a fresh light upon the perpetual necessity of the sacrament of Penance.

Besides being judged and commended by Lord Brougham and Mr. Greville, "Ellen Middleton" was unusually distinguished by being ably criticized by Mr. Gladstone in the *English Review*. Long years afterwards, Lady Georgiana Fullerton once spoke of the time succeeding the publication of "Ellen Middleton" as the most brilliant and intoxicating of her life. Sitting with a friend then closely intimate, in the exquisite gardens at Chiswick (at that time the property of her mother), she went back to a certain visit at Chatsworth, when her uncle the Duke was entertaining a large party of guests for shooting. In her own rich and vivid way she tinted the various scenes that rose to her remembrance, the gatherings of gentlemen, most of them relations, before the

house on starting, the swift carriages conveying the ladies to join them at luncheon, the defined, delicate flattery offered to herself as the young, successful author, and the far greater enjoyment of her own certainty of intellectual power; the brilliant autumn sunshine lighting up the glorious woods and the fragrant purple heather. She recalled the scenes as if they had been witnessed yesterday, heightened as they were by her warm affection for her uncle, and her unlesened sorrow for his loss, fully admitting their delight, while penetrated with thankful acknowledgment to God, who had snatched her from that passionate intoxication of worldly success, and opened her eyes to the joy of living for Him alone.

No words of the most eloquent preacher could have so illustrated that Divine joy as hers, while unconsciously revealing the sacrifice of those earthly delights that had been so fully tasted and so utterly renounced.

"Grantley Manor" was fairly on the way, when, in 1846, Lord Granville died, and while plunged into this great sorrow, his daughter was suffering also from the keenest strife of religious convictions within her soul:

It was a time of inexpressible anguish. During this period Lady Georgiana was an assiduous worshipper at the chapel in Margaret Street, which became so famous in the annals of "Puseyism." It was there that so many of those souls met, who soon afterwards found in the Catholic Church the logical issue of their aspirations. Since her return to England, Lady Georgiana had striven to find satisfaction to what were almost now convictions, by joining closely the movement in which she had taken an interest at a distance. It was one of the strangest movements that have ever been seen. For the Catholic Church then gained for herself a number of glorious conquests, almost without a combat. It was not by sending [out] apostles and missionaries that she brought so many souls back to her bosom. She was like a mother standing silent and motionless; with her arms only stretched wide to receive her children coming back to her from afar (p. 194).

In 1845, a date never to be forgotten, John Henry Newman was received into the Church, preceded by a few, and followed by a crowd, of the most distinguished men from the Anglican ranks, as well as by the Duchesses of Norfolk and Buccleuch, and the Marchioness Cecil of Lothian. The Jesuits had at that time their London house and domestic chapel in Bolton Street, and there the wise and saintly Father Brownbill, a few years later, instructed and received several of the more distinguished converts, among them, upon the same day (in 1851), Archdeacon Manning (of Sussex) and Mr. James Hope Scott. At this door in Bolton Street Lady Georgiana Fullerton now knocked, and poured out her tangled story of convictions, difficulties, disturbances, hopes,

and fears, sometimes, as she said, in a very contradictory condition, before that tranquil, restraining, but fully sympathizing presence. Father Brownbill instructed her, removed obstacles, and shed light upon difficulties without the least hurry or surprise, knowing well what the end must be, although, to the very last, she was subject to such disturbances as might have alarmed a less wise discernment. Just before her reception, one of these occurred, which Lady Georgiana liked to relate to her intimate friends :

“I am come to tell you, father, that I have changed my mind,” she said. “I no longer think as I did yesterday, and decidedly it is not the Catholic Church that I wish to enter.” Father Brownbill . . . listened to this declaration without moving a muscle. He sat silent, looking at the tips of his nails [his hand half closed], as he often did. At last he said quietly : “*And what is the Church, then, that you intend to enter ?*” (p. 200).

Two days afterwards, on Good Friday 1846, Father Brownbill received Lady Georgiana Fullerton into the Church, and although her chief dread had been the sight of her mother’s sorrow, there never was then, nor at any after time, the slightest interruption to the love and union of the whole family. It seemed even that her mother and Lady Rivers leant upon her thenceforward more entirely, and looked to her more distinctly than before as their comfort and joy.

It is not possible, much as we should wish it, to follow Lady Georgiana Fullerton through any details of her first years of Catholic life. All records of her husband’s joy, and her own in his, are entirely absent from these volumes, and must be left to be imagined, for as they were never separated there are no letters to mark this time of complete reunion upon the most vital subjects. We cannot, either, dwell upon the wise direction of her first guide, Father Brownbill. Like himself, it was always clear, simple and direct, pointing entirely at the avoidance of every kind of excess or extreme, and aiming at founding solid practical humility in the soul. His notes direct that there should be ample time allowed for good sleep (lengthened when needed), but a punctually observed hour for getting up. No stress is laid upon bodily mortifications, the devotions were to be the usual morning and night prayers, Mass when possible, when not, the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament in her own room. Part of every day was to be set aside for work—sewing or writing ; and some letters were to be written every day. All praise or flattery was to be made use of by being turned to God, and whatever happened was habitually to be offered to the Sacred Heart. Every point in Father Brownbill’s notes shows how persistently he strove to tranquillize and balance the exalted enthusiasm and passionate

aspirations, which, like arrows from an over-bent bow, might have led to brief, magnificent efforts and disastrous failure.

In 1847 "Grantley Manor" was published, and by making her heroine, Ginevra, a Catholic, and, in the strength of her faith alone, able to resist and overcome her terrible trials, Lady Georgiana was able to illustrate her own faith for the first time openly to the world. In the drawing of this character, and of the whole drama in which Ginevra moves, Lady Georgiana, as we have already said, seems to have reached the meridian of her intellectual strength; and by thus touching the deepest springs of human passion and pathetic feeling, created a work of genius which must always stir and thrill the same emotions.

"Grantley Manor" was followed by such an outpouring of applause and congratulation as might well have carried its author off her feet, had they not now been firmly planted upon the rock and steadied by the daily practice of Christian virtue. It is quite remarkable how the most variously minded people united in its praise, and especially in the good influence it was likely to exercise. The Duke of Bedford speaks of it as "full of talent usefully employed, and giving interest to good principles." Mr. Henry Greville, the younger brother of Charles, says to the author:—

It is so *pure*, so thoroughly Christian in all its sentiments, that it will do its readers more good than many books which are put into their hands for . . . improvement, and not . . . amusement. . . . In short, it is almost faultless (p. 217).

An amusing illustration of the absorbing interest of "Grantley Manor" was given by Fanny Kemble in a letter to Henry Greville. She was reading it at her dinner-time, and not being able to take her eyes from the book, put the mustard-pot to her lips instead of her glass of claret.

Unfortunately, one of the most important letters written to Lady Georgiana on the subject was lost, probably from being lent to others, and the answer only to Miss Edgeworth is preserved. From this long and interesting answer her exceeding gratification at this distinguished woman's praise can be gathered.

Following the plan of Mrs. Craven's "Life," it will be well to observe here that the series of Lady Gorgiana's succeeding works of fiction contained "Ladybird," a great falling off from the last; "Too Strange not to be True;" the "Countess de Bonneval," a charming and touching story, written in French, and published in the *Correspondant*; "Constance Sherwood," and the "Stormy Life." This last is full of very fine passages, and is carefully and laboriously worked up from historical records, but the labour is too apparent, and the sound of the workman's tools falls some-

what heavily on the reader. It cannot be denied, also, that the author's extreme scrupulosity, and her rigid submission of everything she wrote at that time to a perhaps overstrained censorship, deprived her later work of its former inimitable charm and richness of colour, and neutralized its effect by the elimination of the emotions which must always most powerfully command human sympathy.

After Father Brownbill's ministrations in London had ceased, Lady Georgiana was directed for some time by Father Faber, the Superior of the London Oratory, and thus fell under the influence of a mind with which her own had much in common. His vivid, emotional sense of beauty, and his continual reference of all beautiful created things to their Creator, the analogies in his sermons and letters, drawn, like those of St. Francis de Sales, from natural images, and the exquisite use he made of them to arouse the love of God in the soul, appealed in every way to her spiritual attractions. There was something analagous to the absence of the "Divina Commedia" from her intellectual treasury, in her repeating that she was "reproached with preferring Father Faber's sermons" to Father Newman's, adding, "this is perhaps true, but I admit also that it is a proof of bad taste." And again :

Father Faber spoke on this subject in the most eloquent sermon I have ever heard. . . . He preaches wonderfully, he moves me more deeply than Newman (p. 256).

The same cast of mind was also discernible in her singular lack of predilection for the use of the Liturgy and Psalms in the Offices of the Church. Lady Georgiana often spoke of this to a friend, and admitted that *Tenebræ*, and even Vespers, did not excite her to devotion. She preferred to accompany the Mass and Offices by other methods, and with a greater liberty of contemplation. In her later life, probably a sentence, even a single word, sufficed to bear her up into a kind of rapture of prayer. But this was long after Father Faber's work in her soul was completed, and she had passed under the more stringent and austere influence which welded the precious metal to its last temper and refinement.

The furnace heated for the beginning of this sevenfold process was already kindled in 1854, when, after a time of intense enjoyment in Rome itself, and in introducing their only child to the supremest influences of the Holy City, the Fullertons returned to Wilbury Park in Wiltshire, a place they had taken chiefly on Granville's account. The Crimean War was at its height, and Granville Fullerton, who, like his father, had chosen the army as his profession, was called upon to join his regiment, now serving in the East. Granville himself was eagerly looking forward to joining the army, but in Rome he had had a return of an attack

of the brain which filled his mother with foreboding. The decision was left to a consultation of doctors, who pronounced that it was impossible for him to go out to the East, and although in this decision there was a certain relief, as he would be still within reach, his grievous disappointment was most painful to her. Possibly this very disappointment hastened the end, which came after a fresh, sudden fit, while he was staying at his Uncle Lord Rivers' house at Rushmore. He had not quite completed his twenty-first year.

The supreme bolt had thus fallen, and from that moment, the whole of Lady Georgiana's former life, with its crowd of enthusiastic joys, its radiant sunshine, its brilliant successes, was changed. All that bright chapter was closed, the roll was folded together, and its thrilling interests and scenes became to her like a tale that is told.

Dr. Manning (now Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster), to whom Lady Rivers had wisely telegraphed the news, met Mr. Fullerton in the Park, and took him home. Lady Georgiana was carried to her bed, and Dr. Manning sat beside her for some time (p. 328).

The change now wrought in this noble character was swift, entire, and absolutely lasting; as Mrs. Craven justly says:

When she gave the reins to her imagination she could command at will the most ardent, the most expressive, and the most eloquent language. But she had no language to express her feelings, in all their intense and deep reality. . . . The shattering blow which had now fallen on her was one unlike all others. It reached the most profound depths of her soul. It was to break irrevocably all her ties with earth (pp. 330, 331).

From that time till her death, the long thirty years to come of a full and laborious life, Lady Georgiana scarcely ever spoke of her son. Once or twice she wrote of him to her niece, Miss Pitt (Mrs. Oldfield), once or twice she spoke of him to the Duchess Dowager of Norfolk, and once she permitted a friend to go to her room, directing her to draw back the curtain from Granville's picture, while she herself went into another room. Even to her husband, the usual sharer of all her thoughts and feelings, she was dumb. Her mind seemed to brace itself thenceforth for the burthens of life by renouncing every slight gratification and pleasure hitherto permitted, by devoting herself unweariedly to the cheer and support of her stricken husband, and by unremitting work for the poor. Neither she nor her husband ever put off their mourning, and Lady Georgiana adopted a fixed mode of dress of the poorest description, which distinguished her for the rest of her life. Her love of personal poverty was probably yet

more deeply implanted two years after her son's death by enrolling herself at Rome (1856-7) in the third order of St. Francis. It is not recorded under whose direction this step was taken. The death of their son left the Fullertons again without a home. Wilbury Park became distasteful to them, and was given up, and, having no motive for securing or embellishing any fixed home, they were wanderers for some years. This kind of life no doubt was of service to Lady Georgiana in mortifying her preferences and tastes, and helped her to cultivate much of the same detachment from places and surroundings that is practised in religious communities.

They did eventually, however, settle again at Slindon Cottage, in Sussex, near the old house of the Newburghs and Leslies, in a most charming down country, and with an exquisite garden, which became a great resource to Mr. Fullerton. Slindon is within easy reach of Arundel, where the Duchess Dowager of Norfolk was still making her home; and her warm and deeply sympathizing friendship was of the utmost comfort and support to Lady Georgiana.

Another friend, whose visits to Slindon were a genuine refreshment, was Cecil, Lady Lothian, who was not only associated with her in all her work for the poor, the wretched, and the desolate, but her bright, joyous, natural character, her originality of mind, and limpid, piquant simplicity made her one of the most charming of companions. It was, indeed, a rare treat to see those three distinguished women together. All of them had suffered as many are never called upon to suffer. The Duchess, as is well known, never laid aside her widow's weeds, Lady Georgiana never put off her mourning for her son. Lady Lothian alone, with admirable regard for her family of daughters and a married son, set her own wishes aside, and resumed the dress befitting her rank and the society in which she moved, with the dignity of one equally indifferent to velvets and jewels or shabby crape and bombazine.

Each of these three women, according to her character, pursued with strenuous love her own upward way, manifestly responding to the touch of Divine grace as a good ship promptly answers the helm, while to the Duchess was accorded the rare privilege of bearing this witness to her family: "I can truly say that all my children put God in the first place, myself next, and themselves always last."

Among the few things wanting in Mrs. Craven's beautiful "Life" we feel a prominent lack of mention of Lady Georgiana's intercourse with the Duchess of Norfolk. To see them both narrating or recalling incidents of their former years, comparing notes, reviving impressions of eminent people and past scenes,

both of them radiant with the interchange of the sympathetic "answering mind," was a picture for ever to be engraved in the memory of the looker on. Such moments of permitted refreshment in their saddened lives recall the never-to-be-forgotten words of Alexandrine de la Ferronnays: "Je pleure mon Albert gaiement."

But these moments were generally reserved for Arundel and Slindon. The house No. 27, Chapel Street (now Aldford Street), Park Lane, was the office and centre for all Lady Georgiana Fullerton's charitable works, and the constant resort of those associated in them with her. According to her unvarying plan of self-renouncement in all things, she gave up her cheerful and more adorned drawing-rooms to her husband and her visitors, and established herself, with her writing, papers, and business, on the ground-floor. Not a moment of her day was wasted, and from Mass and meditation in the morning till night the strict rule followed, and her unflagging industry, secured abundant time for the organization and direction of charitable works, which were for some time even personally undertaken. Lady Georgiana visited the poor who swarmed round the Catholic Church in Warwick Street, and in some instances at least was accustomed to sweep and tidy the room, light the fire, and dress the sick women. At the request of the veteran priest of St. Patrick's, Soho, Mr. Barge, a mothers' meeting was set on foot over a stable, where a number of the poorest Irish "mothers" gathered in great delight to speak and be spoken to for the first time in their lives by "a real lady." It was a sight never to be forgotten to witness the timid respect of these poor women brightening into happy confidence and ease—their manners, as Lady Georgiana herself said, being perfect—while her own radiant enjoyment, and that of the admirable second priest at St. Patrick's, Mr. Cudon, were alike adornments of the gay, simple feast. Carefully setting the friend who accompanied her in the post of honour behind the huge tea-pots, Lady Georgiana moved here and there about the room, with a word of cheer and kindness, or gently drew one and another of the poorest and most desolate-looking women a little apart to inquire into her circumstances and needs. On the way home she expressed to her companion, in the warmest way, how much she had enjoyed the evening, which had made her "almost too happy!" That first seed of work in St. Patrick's parish grew and developed like the grain of mustard-seed. The little loft was soon abandoned for a large room in Greek Street, and afterwards for one still more spacious in Dudley Street, where the sights and sounds of the neighbourhood in the evening were an astounding contrast to the happy and orderly array of women and their babies and work within the room. Meanwhile, Lady Georgiana

was occupied with the work of bringing the Sisters of St. Vincent of Paul to England, a task of exceptional difficulty at that time, as certain guarantees had to be given and a considerable outlay made. In 1859, however, by the joint aid of Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Lady Fitzgerald, and Miss Stanley, sister of the Dean of Westminster, three Sisters of St. Vincent of Paul were brought over from Paris, and established in York Street, Westminster, where the historic *cornettes* were first seen in the London slums. The coming of these Sisters, and especially of their holy Superior, Sœur Chatelain, a woman of the most consummate courage, unfailing resource, and winning charm ever to be found united in one small, slender woman's person, was a continual delight to Lady Georgiana. She absolutely revelled in the pure joy of frequenting that little house in York Street, and the Sisters soon opened to her a fresh multitude of good works, and a wider range of acquaintance with the "Sick, the Sorrowful, and Sinners."

One good work, which at that time deeply interested her, and was placed under her presiding care, did not emanate from the Sisters of Charity, but from the fertile genius of her director, who was at that time the eminent Jesuit Father Gallwey, then rector at Farm Street. This was the "Immaculate Conception Charity," founded for the rescue and protection of Catholic orphans by an organization of a number of collectors of the same class in districts, each under a lady-almoner. In this work Lady Georgiana, Lady Lothian, and Miss Langdale gathered round them a number of devoted persons, notably, as treasurer, Mr. Francis New, now, since his widowhood, a priest, whose unwearied energy and unfailing attendance upon his one only day of relaxation and rest gave the association the most valuable support. Under the impulses of this great work and her increasing knowledge of the London poor Lady Georgiana wrote a charming little life of Elizabeth Twiddy, a poor cap-maker belonging to the Warwick Street congregation, who gathered a few little orphan girls into a home, and fed them by her daily labour. The claims of the Catholic orphans grew to such a scale that what would now be almost known as an "international" bazaar was organized by Lady Georgiana in their behalf, for which donations of articles from many countries and eminent foreign personages were obtained. The correspondence and other labours involved in getting up this gigantic fancy fair were enormous, and probably no one but those who personally helped in them could ever imagine the cost of time and pains. The bazaar finally held was upon the most sumptuous scale of such exhibitions, and realized a sum of several thousand pounds, which was divided among the parishes aggregated to the charity. Not very long afterwards, however, exception

was taken by some of the leading secular clergy of London to the direction of the Immaculate Conception Charity, and, to the lasting regret of Lady Georgiana, it was dissolved. All the circumstances of this event were a source of keen suffering to her on Father Gallwey's account, for she had yet much to learn of the science of that detachment and spiritual indifference in which her guide was so signal a teacher.

These lessons were soon pressed upon her afresh, and turned to the utmost account by the rapid succession of family losses. The deaths of Lady Rivers' second son, of her uncle the Duke of Devonshire, of both her sisters-in-law, Lady Margaret Leveson and Lady Granville, not only afflicted her with the grief of those she most loved, but made lasting blanks in her social life. These deaths, however, were less terrible to her than the irreparable losses of the Dowager Lady Granville, her mother, and of Lady Rivers, which last was broken to her by Father Gallwey.

The Franco-German war, in 1870, brought increased claims upon Lady Georgiana, who sustained and seconded Cecil, Lady Lothian, then president of the Catholic Ladies' Committee for the French refugees and sufferers, when the toil of both these friends was unremitting. In 1875 Lady Georgiana was called upon to make her final sacrifice of a country home by leaving Slindon Cottage, to which she had become really attached. Henceforward, when not in London or abroad, they spent their time much at Bournemouth, where Mr. Fullerton eventually settled in the house called Ayrfield, in which Lady Georgiana died.

Her ardent interest in the poor and afflicted had for some time not been fully satisfied with the work to which the Sisters of Charity are limited by rule, and took a fresh development in a foundation which may have been the most important of her life. Probably, also, it was the special fruit of a practice long impressed upon her, as she often repeated, by Father Gallwey: "*Pray that before you die you may be allowed to do some lasting good.*"

The work in question was no less than the foundation of a new religious order, the idea of which, under the somewhat unmanageable title of "The Poor Servants of the Mother of God Immaculate," was grafted upon the "Little Servants of Mary," in the Grand Duchy of Posen. The admirable plan of this Congregation is the reception of poor young women in community, earning their own livelihood, and, with this essential condition carried out, houses in various parts of England have been set on foot by Mother Magdalene (Miss Taylor), united, since Lady Georgiana's death, with a central house in Rome. This has been found possible, it is understood, through the munificence of Mr. Fullerton, who seems to live only to complete the work begun by his venerated wife.

Several winters were still passed together at Mentone and San Remo, with intervals in Paris, where the society of Mr. and Mrs. Augustus Craven and Madame de Salvo were the chief solace, as visits to various charitable institutions formed the daily occupation. At Mentone, aided by a saintly Mentonese lady, Mlle. Gabriel, Lady Georgiana instituted a work society of ladies, who met together to sew for the poor, while stimulating each other to a more spiritual life by reading aloud some good book or relating examples of holy persons. At San Remo, as Lady Georgiana was wont to narrate with a beaming countenance, stones were thrown at her by boys, who, on account of her dress, mistook her for a certain Protestant Bible-woman who was at that time distributing tracts against Catholic doctrine in the town.

In 1877 the last crowning sorrow of her life fell suddenly upon Lady Georgiana, in the speedy, unexpected death of Cecil, Lady Lothian, her beloved friend and most unflinching coadjutor in charitable works and interests. When the remains of this most dear friend had been brought from Rome, where she died, and rested for a day and night in Lady Herbert's private chapel on their way to Dalkeith, Lady Georgiana was found :

Prostrate before the coffin. . . . and giving full vent to her sorrow The tears were flowing in floods, and prayers, interrupted by sobs, broke from her lips (p. 451).

This was one of the only three occasions during her life when her usual complete silence and self-control were broken up, and the strongly repressed flood burst forth with violent and overwhelming force. Once this was seen at the death of her sister, Lady Rivers ; once, as just related, before Lady Lothian's coffin ; and once again when, with Mlle. Teulière, she visited her son's grave.

It was towards the end of 1881 that the final fatal, internal disease, that carried her off, first declared itself, or was fully recognized by Lady Georgiana. The few succeeding years were marked by intervals of acute suffering, borne with heroic cheerfulness and courage. A pilgrimage to Lourdes was planned, but the Fullertons halted at Tours, where the Cravens met them, and they visited the Sacred Heart Convent at Marmoutiers, in which Lady Lothian's daughter Cecil had died, and where Count de Montalembert's daughter was then Superior. Just as the start to Lourdes was about to be made, Mr. Fullerton was taken ill, and the journey was given up, which, though a great disappointment to Lady Georgiana, was accepted with her usual cheerfulness. They went back to Paris, and there she herself fell so ill that their stay was prolonged to several months, and upon the

way home they were obliged to halt at Boulogne. Here Lady Georgiana solaced herself by giving abundant alms to the poor, chiefly distributed by the Sisters of Charity, and during this, her farewell visit to France, she gladdened many a household with her abundant gifts, while the faces of multitudes of little children brightened at her presence among them. The Fullertons returned to England in January, and Mr. and Mrs. Craven passed the next Christmas (of 1883) at Ayrfield. The whole most touching and interesting account of this last visit is one of the best parts of Mrs. Craven's delightful book, but it is too long to give entire, and too beautiful to be mutilated by quotations. Lady Georgiana's last year was filled up almost entirely with the sufferings and intervals of feeble convalescence of a complete invalid. Still her courage, her calmness, and especially her cheerful silent acquiescence in her own condition, were unchanged. It was a mark of special benediction, and probably the answer to prayer, that Father Gallwey was ordered out of London at the time on account of his own failing health, and remained in the Jesuits' house at Bournemouth. To the very last Lady Georgiana wrote notes, and even letters, in pencil, to Mrs. Craven and to other friends, and on Christmas Day (1884) she carefully chose out and set aside some little memorial for the faithful servants who had loved and helped her so long. To the one of these not present, the valued "Lucy," who kept the house in Chapel Street, she wrote with her own hand, "Good-bye, dear, good Lucy, God bless you!"

On the 19th of January the end came. Her eyes were fixed tenderly on her crucifix, her husband, her brothers, and her faithful servants were by her side, along with the Father who, for so many years, had been the guide of her spiritual life. She passed away so quietly that all the careful attention of those who stood around her could not detect the exact moment at which her soul exchanged the miseries of this life for the endless possession of the Eternal Truth and Light, to whom she had been so faithfully and entirely devoted (p. 492).

Like many others who have passed through great sufferings with heroic patience, the face of the dead was seen to become young, peaceful, and, as Lady Victoria Kirwan said, her face brightened with a smile almost of surprise—the surprise of the first revealing to the faithful servant of the Face of God.

Enough, obviously, has been said, in both the French and English versions of this "Life," to give us a vivid outline of the noble character that has but lately, to our endless loss, passed from among us. Turning over their pages we live once more in that gracious presence, we note the peculiar radiance of the smile, the brightening of the eyes, the rich harmony of the low-pitched voice, so full of refinement and of power. We see her again, in

her poor mourning garb, bent and feeble, making her way with a stick down South Street to the long-frequented church, in which we shall presently find her kneeling, rapt in prayer.

Following her at a little distance, through Farm Street Mews, we wonder again, as we have many times wondered, whether the rude crowd of grooms gathered at their noisy work did not recognize in that poorly clad woman as she passed some higher angelic presence, that brought with it healing and a blessing. To us it ever truly verified the words, *Christianus alter Christus est.* May she plead for us in her Eternal Home !

EMILY BOWLES.

ART. VI.—THE NATIONAL GALLERY IN 1888.

“ONE of the greatest ornaments of England, and one most prized by the public, is the Museum of Painting, which is generally, and with justice, entitled the National Gallery. A national monument, if ever there was one, indeed, for it is the nation who has founded it, and who, notwithstanding almost insurmountable difficulties, has in half a century caused it to rise from the ground a superb work worthy of a great people.” Thus writes M. Reiset, Director of the Museum of Painting in the Louvre, in 1876; and if these words were, as they were, well deserved then, how much more so would they now be, when in the last twelve years pictures have been added to the collection, and when extensions of the building, then only in contemplation, have been carried to perfection.

A new grand staircase now leads to a hall with piers of Cipollino marble, from which four staircases, lined with giallo antico, branch off. That to the north leads up to a vestibule, divided from it by columns of Numidian *rouge Etrusque* marble, with alabaster capitals, the white-veined marble dressings of three of the doorways contrasting delightfully with the rich deep colouring of the columns. This noble hall forms a fitting entrance to the five new rooms, in which are enshrined the works of Leonardo, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, whose portrait busts are on the face of the screen at entrance. From the folding-door that gives admission to the great Tuscan Room we behold at the end of a long vista the Raphael Madonna Ansidei facing us, and to right and left, as we advance, we pass the noble works of Michael Angelo, and

Leonardo's "Virgin in the Grotto," perhaps the greatest painted poem that ever came from the heart and brain of man. Leaving the four rooms consecrated to Tuscan art, and passing through a fifth, in which the schools of Bologna and Ferrara may be studied, we enter the long gallery of the Umbrian school, whence we pass on from the works of Niccolo da Foligno and Piero della Francesca Signorelli, Perugino, the teacher of Raphael, and Sanzio, the father of Raphael, to those of the master himself, and of many of his school. Then passing into Room 7, we find ourselves among the solemn splendours of the Venetian school, with the branch schools of Brescia and Verona; and with the Room No. 9, in which are some gems of the school of Leonardo, and the great central domed Hall, we close our inspection of the Italian schools of mediæval painting. Next come the Flemish and Dutch, Spanish, French, and modern Italian paintings; and now, having made our circuit, we approach the entrance hall again, and find, as we stand in the centre landing, that the British schools are ranged to right and left, and can see what great improvement has been made of late years in this important part of our collection in a national as well as an artistic sense. Yet the whole of our native schools, whether English, Scotch, or Irish, will never be represented as they should be till water-colour, as well as oil-painting, finds a place in our National Gallery.

It is not necessary now to enlarge on the history of the National Gallery, and the marvellous rapidity with which it has risen from one of secondary importance to the first rank among the great national collections of Europe. The public have been sufficiently informed upon this point in the pages of our contemporary journals in England, as well as in those of France and Italy,* but we would add something to what has been but casually alluded to by the able writers who have lately dealt with the subject, and that is the classification of the pictures for the first time upon a scientific system, which is the really great event in the history of the collection during the late years of Sir Frederic Burton's term of office. We must ask our readers' patience, if we preface our subject with a few words on the application of method or system to art, since much ignorance still prevails with regard to any scientific system in this study, its aims and its means of investigation; and yet it is through this very ignorance that the labourer in this field has been too often baffled at every turn, even by those who hold enlightened views in other branches of human progress.

* See *Quarterly Review* for October 1886. *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xxvi. p. 48; M. Reiset, "Une Visite à la National Gallery en 1876." Paris: G. Frizzoni, *Archivio Storico Italiano*. Tom. iv. 1879; v. 1880. G. Morelli, "Italian Masters in German Galleries."

The museums of a great nation are at once the results of its intellectual history in the past and the bases of its future mental development. The advancement of learning is now sure to be accompanied by appreciation of the value of monuments of the past as utterances of the mind of man in its successive phases of progress, and these great collections of a nation are, in one sense, its libraries of reference, where the student will find authorities to support and guide his future work. Thus, if we begin with our archæological collections, we find that in the United Kingdom we have now a vast mass of material which may aid the historian to trace and illustrate the origin and progress of man from his earliest and rudest state to his latest achievements. The establishment in our universities of special chairs for Archæology of late years, is a proof in itself that the subject has come within the pale of philosophy and learning, and we begin to acknowledge that the study of ancient monuments should in no way be treated as subordinate to the study of ancient literature. Archæology of necessity dovetails into art, whose roots are struck in the earliest ages of mankind, as its origin in another and a moral sense may be traced to all that is deepest in human nature. Therefore, in the light they cast on human history, our galleries of painting come next in order to our archæological museums, and as our acquaintance with the history of painting advances, it will also be acknowledged that the study of mediæval painting should in no way be treated as subordinate to the study of mediæval literature. But that such high objects may be attainable, it is of primary importance that the arrangement of our museums be systematic. Whether the collection be of sculpture or of painting, the subject may be divided under two heads. First, the history of development in the art itself; second, the classification and arrangement indicated by the study of such a chain of examples as we possess.

The arrangement of the National Gallery of London has, of necessity, passed through many changes. Before the acquisition of the new rooms, and while the crowded galleries were encroaching one upon another, a chronological arrangement was impossible, while the division into schools was equally difficult. No attempt could be made in the rearrangement of the Gallery in 1876 to place the pictures in anything like a progressive classification, taking the earliest Sieneſe and Florentine painting after those of the Byzantine style, and leading up to the great classics of the art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. All that could be done was to keep pictures of kindred styles together, so far as possible. As M. Reiset again observes (pp. 12, 13):

Tout classement chronologique  tait impossible avec la disposition des diverses salles et galeries, entrem l es les unes aux autres; M.

Burton, le directeur actuel de la *National Gallery*, a sagement fait de ne pas l'essayer. Il s'est contenté de réunir les œuvres des maîtres par groupes sympathiques, et il est impossible de ne pas rendre hommage au talent dont il a fait preuve en accomplissant cette tâche délicate.

The addition of five new rooms, opened in 1887, afforded, for the present, sufficient wall space for a more convenient and systematic distribution of the pictures; and the student of the history of development in painting will soon find how much has now been done in England to facilitate his work by the method that has been adopted.

In carrying out such a work, mere learning without method can only lead to what the Germans call "not being able to see the wood for the trees." The history of art cannot be studied as if its practice were something merely accidental, external, and wholly independent of the special character of the population among whom it is practised, and as if we could overlook those organic laws by which art develops itself. It is, therefore, of primary importance that the attributions of works of ancient art to their authors, real or supposed, should be conscientiously and accurately inquired into. In the identification of the authorship of any work, the first impulse is to be guided by the literature connected with the object and not by the object itself. The student is apt to forget that his eye has to be trained by study of the objects themselves if he hopes to acquire the power of judging as to the points of difference or agreement between two works. His power of observation must be quickened and made systematic, and the same methods adopted which the natural sciences have long since supplied. The style of a school or of an individual artist is dependent on, or is modified by, the quality of his material as well as by his national character, his own individuality, and his artistic capacity. There is style in schools, and there is also style in the individuals belonging to those schools. The first method should be a comparative study of the works of each school and the codification, if we may use the term, of the *identified* monuments representing each. Arguing from the known to the unknown, we have safe ground to go upon in approaching a conclusion as to date and authorship. But what care may be involved in the fine distinctions that must be observed if, as in sculpture, we have to distinguish between forms that are accidental and those that are essential, and study the style, the spiritual character, the handling, the texture of the skin, the muscles, the partiality of certain artists for certain forms, whether round or full, scanty or rigid, the drawing of the hair or the treatment of drapery. In dealing with the latter the individuality of an artist will often betray itself in a most marked

manner, as Mr. Waldstein remarks in his "Essays on the Art of Pheidias" (p. 33):

Folds may in reality fall in any conceivable manner, but still there are only certain definite kinds of folds that will please the eye of the spectator or suit the character of a particular work. Every original artist searches for a long while before he can find a method of indicating this pleasing fall of drapery, and gradually there is formed in him, more or less consciously, a method of attaining this result. This then becomes his style.

Such, then, are the studies which should fit a critic for his work of identification, while, in addition to this, the authorities who direct our national museums must feel their way through the thousand false attributions met with still in picture galleries at home and abroad, and the *provenance* of each doubtful example be ascertained and its origin searched out. Nevertheless, when all is said, the public must still remember that an amount of blind faith will always be due to specialists gifted with certain qualities and with a power that would seem to be intuitive.

As Mr. Waldstein again remarks (p. 354):

It will ever remain a most difficult task to convey to others, with anything like adequate convincing power, the actual weight of an inner conviction which has *grown* gradually in time, passing through many stages of individual confirmation, and confirmation, moreover, which often came from quarters where the facts seemed at first to run counter to it.

Such inner workings of the mind [he adds] cannot be imparted fully and at once to others. . . . It is like attempting to transfer to a third person the faith one has in a friend, which has arisen almost unconsciously with the first touch of sympathy, has grown with long acquaintance, and has become fixed and fastened by his actions under the most varying circumstances.

In the writings of the Senator Morelli, as well as those of Mr. Waldstein, we have many hints as to the details which may guide the critic in his investigations as to the authorship of paintings which have been wrongly attributed. Points may be observed which differentiate one ancient master from another, such as the sense of colour, its degree of brightness and transparency, or a certain loftiness of sentiment, or even the method in which certain members of the human body are treated. Peculiarities in the form of hand are often affected by one artist more than by another. With Titian, for instance, the base of the thumb is abnormally developed. Raphael, so long as he worked with Perugino, had a predilection for long and tapered fingers, but in his early youth, as we see in the "Knight's Vision," the hand is broad and flat. In the works of Timoteo Viti the resemblance in the shape of the hands and feet to those in Raphael's first manner is very strong.

Giovanni Bellini likes hands with large knuckles and a long thumb, while Mantegna prefers short fingers with a long fleshy palm. The muscles of the hand are strongly marked in the works of Cosimo Tura, while the hands of Costa and Fran Bianchi have long, tapered fingers and fleshy palms. So again, it has been noted that certain forms of ear are preferred to others, perhaps unconsciously, by certain painters. Thus, in the work of Leonardo, the ear is broad and well-proportioned, while in that of Palma the upper part overbalances the lower, and the lobe of the ear is extremely small. With Giovanni Bellini the ear is stumpy and fleshy, and with Mantegna and Lorenzo di Credi long, attenuated, and slender. If the individualities of painters are marked by such peculiarities, so the history of separate schools may be followed with the same minute observation. Each should be regarded separately and studied as a living whole, like an organism which, from its germ to its death, has its regular development, rising step by step as step by step it declines. This course will not be interrupted by accident, such as the temporary adoption of one or other foreign practice by its individual members.

But even when all this mass of technical information and of historical research is acquired, the *rôle* of the critic will be but imperfectly filled unless he possess another gift that is indeed in this case "the more excellent way," and one which almost seems to involve all others in its sphere—and that is Sympathy. "The Book of Life cannot be read by Science alone," and the Fathers of great Art who, in their painted poems, have been the Dantes and the Shakespeares of their day, demand of us that they may be judged by their peers, if not in painting or in sculpture, yet in knowledge of the human heart and reverence for the works of God.

The truthful attribution of such old paintings to their veritable authors and schools, and the classification dependent on this, is not the only work which tests the powers of the superintendents of such a great collection as that of the National Gallery. Attention to the condition of the pictures is a subject involving many branches of knowledge and experience. Many of the greatest works, when they became the property of the nation, were terribly damaged—the colour peeled off them, or the pictures were, in large portions, overpainted. Such is now the improved condition of knowledge that the result of wise treatment in these cases has been absolutely successful. In reference to one crucial instance M. Reiset observes (pp. 94, 96):—"Victoire due à la main habile et discrète qui fut chargée du travail . . . tout l'honneur de la découverte revient aux hommes qui ont si heureusement tenté et accompli ce précieux sauvetage!"

The public does not require to be reminded of Sir Frederic
VOL. XX.—NO. II. [*Third Series.*] A A

Burton's power as an artist. It has been well described by a writer in the "Portfolio," vol. v., p. 60: "In the quality of refinement, both intellectual and executive, his artistic work is of extraordinary excellence, and it is especially noble and satisfying because we feel the delicacy and culture of the intellect that lies half concealed behind the beautiful veil of colour. In fulness of knowledge, and calm equality of imaginative thought, such painting or design as this resembles the poetry of a cultivated age, which passion animates like the warmth of a delicate wine, but never wholly possesses or exasperates." As a writer on Art he is less widely known, yet the readers of the "Portfolio" will remember the power and beauty of his papers in that journal in the years 1873 and 1874, where he dealt with the two great treasures purchased for the British Museum from the Castellani Collection, the Sarcophagus from Cære, and the Bronze Head of Aphrodite, and the Triumph of Scipio by Mantegna. We have already spoken of Sympathy as an element indispensable to the great Art critic, and we know no clearer instance of its existence than in the following passage from Sir Frederic's paper on Mantegna:—

The grand and pervading character powerfully stamped upon all the work of Mantegna is of an ethical kind, and may, perhaps, best be expressed by the abstract term *intensity*. It is not that other great masters of the quattrocento and the period immediately preceding it are wanting in devotion of purpose; for, from the time of Duccio and Giotto, throughout the whole evolution of the Renaissance in art, this quality is strongly manifested by all the leaders in that remarkable movement. But it is very doubtful whether, after Giotto, any one of them exhibited this concentration of profound individuality, undisturbed by contemporary influences, in the same degree as the great Paduan, until the coming of Michael Angelo, with whom his inward nature had much that was of kin. Nor is it here meant to imply that the origin and roots of Mantegna's manner are untraceable, though in a merely outward sense. It is easy to see, for instance, what he owed to Donatello, on the one hand, and to the Bellini, father and sons, on the other, to say nothing of his early schooling in the studio of Squarcione. As much may be said of any man who, nevertheless, justly ranks as an originator. It is the *ethos* of Mantegna that, above all external signs and accidental peculiarities, is apparent in every work that proceeded from his hands; it is this which interests us irresistibly in the man himself. Nor is our interest diminished by the fact that no thought of pleasing *us* seems to have guided his creative pencil. On the contrary, his proud, absorbed, and self-sufficing spirit appears as if alike unconscious and undesirous of witnesses. As in the scenes of the Passion, and those which follow it, his deep tones of melancholy are given out for the disburthening of his own overladen sense of supernatural agony and human suffering, so, in themes from profane history, his notes of solemn exultation record for

himself alone his sympathy with humanity in its heroic moments. This is not saying too much for Mantegna; and it is his due to acknowledge these greater traits of his character, as we should look in vain in his works either for those passages of native tenderness to be found in the Holy Families and Madonnas with the Infant of the masters of the Christian cycle; or for that play of fancy and those lighter graces of style which show themselves abundantly among his equals. His works, it is true, are often in a high degree decorative; but it is hardly too much to affirm that this quality is with him more *essential* than with others. His ornament, his elaborate detail, his sometimes perhaps irrelevant accessories, will be found, when properly viewed, to proceed from the true imagination itself, and to have no originating cause but the desire to intensify the impression of the theme which he was travailing to bring before his outward vision in all its reality. There are, doubtless, many to whom even this qualified praise will seem excessive; who are repelled from the first by the dryness of Mantegna's manner, and who, even could they pass through this to them thorny hedge, would still find in his generally austere mode of conception no sympathetic bond. They might credit him with intensity, but would not acquit him of the narrowness which often accompanies it. But it is in art, as in our personal relations with men, that our idiosyncrasy will often decide early and for ever our likings and dislikings—feelings which in such cases will not be effaced by nearer acquaintance, however they may be modified by judgment or toleration. Yet surely Mantegna's opponents themselves will not ignore the frequent beauty of his masculine forms, nor, in presence of the ideal grace of his Venus and the Dancing Muses, and the sweet benignity of the Madonna of Victory, deny to him a refined perception of loveliness.

The picture by this great master, which has recently been added to the National Collection, although it must take rank amongst his minor works, in no way belies his reputation. It has, too, a history connecting it with his own. It was undertaken towards the close of his long and laborious career; and when that career terminated in the sadness and gloom which have but too often awaited those whose imaginative powers had placed them above their fellow-men, it remained in his studio, probably not fully finished. It may have been the last, it was certainly one of the last, pictures which his pencil touched.

The picture described in this paper was acquired by Sir William Boxall during the last year of his tenancy of office. In 1874 he was succeeded by Frederic Burton in the Directorship of this great Museum. It would have been difficult to find one more fitted to the task, since, in addition to intellectual culture, he was gifted with an artist's genius, and, as his early works testify, he was from the beginning a loving student of nature, whose paintings showed a dramatic power of conception and treatment which led to very high results. The writer is an old man now, but he can still recall the old days in Ireland when the works of the young

water-colour painter were first exhibited on the walls of the Hibernian Academy, between the years 1840 and 1850. Member of the old family of Burton, whose ancestors settled in Clare early in the reign of James I., and where his family still hold their estates, the early works of the young painter show how fully his genius was imbued with the native character and poetry of the scenery and peasant-life of those wild western shores. The youthful friend of Samuel Ferguson, the poet of Irish life and legend, we find in the works of both these men a sympathy with and idyllic treatment of country life that calls to mind the sentiment in Goethe's "Hermann and Dorothea." The very names of this painter's studies from nature which still linger in our memory are delightful to dwell upon, transporting us to Atlantic coasts and mountain glens, from which we have long been exiled: "The Hollow of the Yellow Nuts," "Alley Joyce," "The Stream in the Sand from Smerwick Harbour to Brandon Head," the "Mountain-tops," the "Weathered Limestone," the "Ruined Chancel of Cong Abbey," all soft, rich, and harmonious in colour, yet wild and racy of the soil. These were but studies, however. "The Connaught Toilet," "The Blind Girl at the Holy Well," "The Arran Fisherman's Drowned Child," were works of broader and higher aim. The first has been well described by a contemporary writer:—

A number of Connemara girls on their way to market have been tempted to halt by the side of a delightful mountain stream to arrange their attire; and, while thus engaged, a youth on the bridge at a distance is waving his hand to the party as if to intimate that they will be late. The several attitudes of the girls are most natural, as if the artist had just caught the group by accident as he passed. One little episode is delightfully given where a youth, ripe for mischief, has let the ducks out of the basket belonging to one of the party, and, while an attempt is being made to catch them as they are about to flutter across the stream, the delinquent is caught by his locks by a young rustic beauty, who enjoys the affair too much in a quiet way to inflict any serious injury upon the scapegrace. The unconcern of the peasant knitting is in good contrast with this.

Bright and joyous as such works were, a deeper note of pathos and tragedy is sounded in the two other paintings we have named. The blind girl who has been led by mother and sister over the wild, mist-clad mountains to the well whose sacred waters they fondly pray may restore her sight. Lovely as is the pure girl's patient face, yet the passion of sympathy and love with which the mother looks round to watch the effect of her prayers gives the key-note to this touching subject, the revelation of a mother's love. In "The Arran Fisherman's Drowned Child" we are shown the interior of a Galway fisherman's cottage, filled by the crowd of peasants who have hurried in on hearing the calamity

that has fallen on the house. The dead child lies across the mother's lap, who, bending over it with passionate gesture, pushes back the hair from its pallid brow as she searches its face for some sign of life, every nerve of her body strained, her bare feet seeming to grasp the clay floor of her cabin, in the tension of her agonized frame. A woman stands above them, her arms thrown up on high, her grand face upturned to heaven as if *she* were giving vent to the cry as yet stifled in the mother's heart. In the background, a sailor is describing to the excited and impassioned crowd, both by words and action, how the misfortune happened, while, still as a great statue, stands the unhappy father, looking out from the picture, too deeply moved for sound or movement, yet with that in his face that tells of the wrench his heart endures. Such work as this makes us feel the force of George Eliot's words when she observes:—

The greatest benefit we owe to the artist—whether painter, poet, or novelist—is the extension of our sympathies. When Scott takes us into Luckie Mucklebucket's cottage, or tells the story of "The Two Drovers;" when Wordsworth sings to us the reverie of "Poor Susan;" when Kingsley shows us Alton Locke gazing yearningly over the gate which leads from the highway into the first wood he ever saw; when Hornung paints a group of chimney-sweepers, more is done towards linking the higher classes with the lower, towards obliterating the vulgarity of exclusiveness, than by hundreds of sermons and philosophical dissertations. Art is the nearest thing to life; it is a mode of amplifying experience and extending our contact with our fellow-men beyond the bounds of our personal lot. All the more sacred is the task of the artist when he undertakes to paint the life of the people.

Besides these native subjects, this painter has given us others which show a dramatic power of no small order. "Scene from Byron's Tragedy of the Two Foscari," where Marina defends the body of her dead husband from the approach of Loredano and Barbarigo; "Helen Faucit as the Greek Muse;" "The Flight and Death of Jehoram;" "A Procession in Bamberg Cathedral;" "Faust's First Sight of Marguerite;" "The Widow of Wöhlen Iostephane;" "The Meeting on the Turret Stair," so beautifully described in one of George Eliot's letters that we may be forgiven for one more extract from her writings:—

The subject is from a Norse legend; but that is no matter—the picture tells its story. A knight in mailed armour and surcoat has met the fair, tall woman he (secretly) loves, on a turret stair. By an uncontrollable movement he has seized her arm and is kissing it. She, amazed, has dropped the flowers she held in her other hand. The subject might have been made the most vulgar thing in the world—the artist has raised it to the highest pitch of refined emotion. The kiss

is on the fur-lined *sleeve* that covers the arm, and the face of the knight is the face of a man to whom the kiss is a sacrament.

The writer, it has always seemed to us, mistakes the woman here. Not amazement—but resignation—may be read in that bowed form and patient head. “She loved him with a love that was her doom.”

But we must not linger any longer on this portion of our subject; it is sufficient to say that, with these proofs of the art-power of Sir Frederic Burton still living in the memory, we need not wonder at his success in a labour that required knowledge as painter and critic, as well as knowledge of the history of art till the subject almost touches archæology. And here again his early training in Ireland was the best possible preparation for this division of the work belonging to the Directorship of the National Gallery. The intimate friend of George Petrie, Bishop Graves, Dr. Todd, Lord Dunraven, Samuel Ferguson, Sir Thos. Larcom, and many others who formed a distinguished body of archæologists in Dublin between the years 1840 and 1850, he was associated with them on the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, and an active member of the Committee of Antiquities. He was also associated with the learned men above mentioned in the foundation of the Archæological Society of Ireland. To the world it may seem a new idea that habits of archæological research are required in those who have control of our picture galleries, but the public is still ignorant of the light that may be thrown on the history of the works of mediæval art by the study of ancient illuminated books, of miniatures, of medals, of the history of costume. Without knowledge gathered from such sources, the history of the revival of painting from the dead art of Margheritone, as we see it illustrated now in the National Gallery, could never be carried on. Within the last fourteen years that portion of the Gallery which is devoted to the Italian schools has been in a great measure completed, owing to the large additions made from the very earliest masters down to the sixteenth century. Writing in 1879, the Italian critic, G. Frizzoni, complains that so few of the most famous early painters are represented; that the study of primitive art is at a disadvantage in London. Since then ten works of the deepest interest have been added to illustrate the early school of Siena, so that we may now study the works of the precursors and contemporaries of Dante, Duccio, and Ugoiino, circa 1250–1282; Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Nicolo Buoncorso, circa 1348; Benvenuto and Matteo di Giovanni, circa 1435; and, looking at the pure faces of Lorenzetti’s “Nun,” or Matteo’s “Virgin of the Girdle,” we can see that the loftiest ideal of woman was shared by painter as by poet in the days of

the great singer of the Divine Comedy. The fine fragments of Spinello Aretino's work from the fresco of St. Michael and the "Rebel Angels," presented by Sir Henry Layard, is a grand introduction to the first gallery containing the works of the Tuscan school, to which nineteen examples have been added. Before the year 1874, Luca Signorelli, the great painter of Orvieto, was wholly unrepresented in the Gallery; we have now three fine examples of this master—Nos. 910, 1128, 1133—"The Triumph of Chastity," or, rather, "The Suffering of Love," a poetic work conceived by the artist in his seventieth year, "The Nativity," and the "Circumcision."

Botticelli was only represented by three examples, the authenticity of which has been called in question by the eminent Italian critic, Signor Morelli, till, at the sale of the Barker collection, and subsequently at those of Mr. Fuller Maitland and of the Duke of Hamilton, four more examples of this painter were added, two of which, Nos. 1034 and 1136, are of such interest that, if space permits, we hope to speak with more detail of them. To the three precious examples we already possessed by Filippo Lippi, three more have been added, Nos. 927, 1033, 1124. The Florentine painters, Andrea del Castagno and Ghirlandajo, were not represented till the purchase was made in 1883 of the fine "Crucifixion" by the former master, and No. 1143 by the latter, of which work Senator Morelli writes: "Nowhere can we get to know Ridolfo's early period better than in this picture, which represents the 'Walk to Calvary,' and was painted for the Antinori house in 1505."

Passing on to the schools of Ferrara and Bologna we find that nine additions have lately been made to the treasures we already possessed from them. First in importance is the grand example of Ercole di Giulio Grandi, No. 1119, who before was but imperfectly represented, and Ercole Roberti, an interesting painter, whose authenticated works are very rare. To the Umbrian School ten priceless pictures have been added. "Few public museums," writes M. Reiset, "can boast of possessing authentic works of Piero della Francesca," yet the National Gallery possesses one that cannot easily be overlooked; it is a Nativity, acquired at the Barker sale. This rare and exquisite painter is also represented by a "Baptism of Christ." Space does not permit us to enlarge on the other lately acquired works of this school by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Giannicolo di Paolo Mani, Niccolò Alunno, Pinturricchio, and Perugino and L'Ingegno, to say nothing of that supremely perfect work of Raphael, the Ansidei Madonna. Passing on to Venice and her school, and entering the smaller room, where the early Venetian and Paduan pictures hang, we find that, since the addition of two paintings by Crivelli, acquired

last year, this painter is now more fully represented in the National Gallery than in any other museum in Europe. In addition to the paintings we hitherto possessed of the schools of Venice, Padua, Brescia, and Verona, no less than thirty-five examples have been purchased, and among these are works of five artists hitherto unrepresented in our Gallery—Savoldo, G. B. Tiepolo, Bonifazio, and Cariani and Liberale da Verona. “Three portraits by Moroni, Nos. 1022, 1023, 1024, are,” says Morelli, “among the finest works of this painter;” also two from the hand of Lorenzo Lotto, whose portraits, says the same authority, will bear comparison with those by the best of his contemporaries. Great as all these Venetian paintings are, we know of none that possess a more absorbing interest than the little pictures, lately purchased, by Antonello da Messina and Giovanni Bellini—“The Crucifixion,” No. 1166, and “The Blood of the Redeemer,” No. 1233.

Of the Lombard School, Frizzoni complains that the examples, though worthy, are few; but, since the date at which he wrote, nine additions have been made to the examples of this school, five of which are by painters hitherto unrepresented. Among others, Frizzoni especially points out Sodoma and Marco D'Oggione as missing from our list. We have now by the latter a *Madonna and Child*: she supports the infant on her lap as he stretches out his hand towards a bluebell she holds before him; and by Sodoma, or Bazzi, as he is now called, we have an exquisite painting of a somewhat similar subject, where the infant, however, tenderly raises his hands in benediction of a monk led by St. Peter to his feet.

To the German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools, arranged in Rooms 10, 11, and 12, most important additions have been made. Six painters, hitherto unrepresented in our Gallery, may now be studied there: Frank and Dirk Hals from Haarlem, Catherine von Hemessen from Antwerp, Hendrick Steenwyck, Willem van der Bliet from Delft, Abraham de Papa from Leyden, while the magnificent work of Vandyck, the equestrian portrait of Charles I., is of priceless value and the highest historical interest. Nowhere have we seen a portrait of this monarch in which the whole history of his mind and heart can be more clearly read than in this face, and it surpasses most of Vandyck's paintings in the almost Venetian warmth and harmony of its colour, and the splendidly luminous sky that overhangs a landscape which is indeed typical of the rich and happy country over which a sovereign might be proud to reign.

To the Spanish School a great Velasquez, No. 1129, has been added; to the French, in Room 19, a fine landscape of Gaspar Poussin, No. 1159; and a St. Jerome by a Greek painter, hitherto

unrepresented—Domenico Theotocopuli, who mostly painted in Venice and in Spain—ought not to be passed over.

It is a matter of no small gratification, as we pass on through the Rooms 19 to 22, to see that our native schools—English, Scotch, and Irish—may now in some degree be studied in the National Gallery. The late additions to the English school include many names hitherto unrepresented—Morland, Blake, Cotman, and Stark of Norwich; G. Arnald, Hudson, Abbott, Zoffany, Rossetti, and Frederic Walker; important additions have already been made to our examples of the works of others, such as Hogarth, Gainsborough, old Crome, Romney, Muller, Wilson, Constable, James Ward, Stothart, Copley, Opie, and five landscapes by the Scotch painter, Patrick Nasmyth; while two good examples have been added to those we already possessed by the Irish painter, William Mulready—a snow scene and a sea-shore scene.

In conclusion, we would impress upon our readers that such a museum as this may become a powerful factor in the future development of the three nationalities, now bound in one, to whom it belongs; but that it may do so we must guard that its direction be as skilfully fulfilled as heretofore under the guidance of such officers as Sir Charles Eastlake, Sir William Boxall, and Sir Frederic Burton, and also that there be no falling off in the courage which, up to the year 1883, was displayed in the expenditure necessarily involved in its preservation and growth. As it stands even now, when it has only reached the sixty-fourth year of its existence, what may we not learn of the history of our country, of its poetry and native life, if we read with thoughtful sympathy the stories ranged upon its walls? And more. What revelation of religious emotion too deep for words is given to us by the works of the great fathers of mediæval painting that we already possess! In the art of mediæval Christendom we find an unwritten theology, a popular figurative teaching of the sublime truths of Christianity, blended with the traditions of many generations. The Bible story, the Christian drama, was given on the walls and windows, on the altar *pala*, and the altar-steps of the humblest and the loftiest cathedral. And if in the hundred examples of religious art that we here possess we compare the treatment that these subjects met with in the hands of their different authors, we may find a boundless field for thought. Thus we have here one hundred subjects from the life of Christ which, if contemplated in sequence, would give us a series of typical scenes from the Annunciation and Childhood of our Lord through His Ministry and Passion and Death to His Ascension.

Of the Annunciation there are four different versions; five of the Nativity of Christ; two of the Baptism; two of the Circumci-

sion ; sixty-nine of the Virgin and Child ; nine of the Adoration of Magi, Kings or Shepherds ; ten of the Holy Family ; two of the Murder of the Innocents ; one of the Repose in Egypt ; two of Christ with the Doctors in the Temple ; Christ blessing Children ; one of Christ driving out the Money-changers ; one of Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery ; two of the Raising of Lazarus ; one of the Draught of Fishes ; one of the Good Samaritan.

The Passion Series commencing with the "Washing of the Feet" and two paintings of the "Last Supper" with the scene in Gethsemane, of which we have five different renderings—one of "The Betrayal," four of "The Ecce Homo," two of "Christ bearing His Cross," three of "The Procession to Calvary," six of "The Crucifixion," four of "The Deposition," two of "The Pietà," "The Entombment," two of the "Noli me Tangere," two of "Incredulity of Thomas," two of "The Walk to Emmaus," one of "The Ascension."

This series may be followed up by the ideal forms of the apostles and saints, as represented singly or in groups, or in the wings of triptychs, where they stand like statues in a niche. Thus we see the Archangel Michael, Raphael, St. John Baptist, St. Joseph, the Apostles, the Magdalene, St. Catherine of Alexandria and her namesake of Siena ; Saints Lawrence, Sebastian, George, Francis of Assisi, Bernardino, William, Jerome, Augustine, Monica, Nicholas, Peter Martyr, Thomas Aquinas, Barbara ; while from the Old Testament we have, besides the typical scene of the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness, the Calling of Abraham, the Destruction of Sodom, the Deluge, Joseph in Egypt, Samson and Delilah, the Tenth Plague, the Fall of Manna, Samuel and Rizpah. These subjects are so treated by the inspired hands of the old painters, that we cannot fail to learn something from them of the significance and human interest that underlies them all. And though it be true that scenes from the same Christian drama may be found in every town and on the walls of every church or cathedral abroad, yet their highest expression must often be looked for among the smaller pictures painted in the studios of the ancient masters, who were themselves inspired with all the religious passion of St. Francis of Assisi, or of Savonarola, and warmed by the poetic fire of Dante. Surely their treatment of the mysteries of the birth and death and passion of our Lord cannot be without its lessons for those who in our own day would show forth these mysteries though verbally and in another language. That we may see these things more plainly, let us pause by Sandro Botticelli's great picture of "The Nativity of Christ," No. 1034, before parting from a subject that has, perhaps, already

held us too long for our readers' patience. Along the top of this picture the artist has written an inscription in Greek, which would seem to signify that, when overwhelmed by his country's woes, this vision of the advent of Christ upon earth burst upon his heart and brain. It came to him at the close of the year 1500, and the reader will remember how mournful was the history of Italy about this time—from 1464 to 1521—how her rulers schemed, intrigued, struck alliances and broke them, made war and made peace, conspired, betrayed, confounded in worst disorder things temporal and spiritual, to the infinite dishonour and degradation of both, invoking the most awful thunders of heaven to do the most unworthy work on earth. Just at this dark crisis in his country's fate, the painter writes upon his work:—

This picture, I, Alessandro, painted at the end of the year 1500, in the troubles of Italy, in the half-time after the time during the fulfilment of the eleventh of St. John, in the second woe of the Apocalypse, in the loosing of the devil for three years and a half, afterwards he shall be chained and we shall see him trodden down as in this picture.

Here the painter alludes to the prophecy of the two witnesses in chapter xi. of the Book of Revelation, verses 6 to 8 and 11, as it was fulfilled in his own day and his own country:—

These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will. And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom, where also our Lord was crucified. . . . And after three days and a half the Spirit of life from God entered into them and they stood upon their feet.

The painter believes these mysterious words to show forth the struggle of Good and Evil, Light and Darkness, and the victory accomplished in the coming of Christ upon earth—"Christ is born." He applies the prophet's words to the troubles of his country in the year 1500. "He," the painter, seems to say, "is the giver of that Spirit of life from God, before whose presence the kingdom of darkness must flee." The devils, who are its army, are seen in the lower part of the picture writhing in their wounds, and watching with savage eyes the heavenly messengers who bring the glad tidings, or flying to hide themselves among the rocks. Angels float round in a circling dance in the depths of the sky above; angels fill the scene below with the

music of their hymns or meet in glad embraces, while others lead the shepherds and the kings to kneel before the Being whose advent is to work this wondrous change. And here it is that the imagination of the poet-painter has done its perfect work. In a secluded dell, fenced round by giant rocks, we find a grove of pines, beneath whose solemn shade there stands a humble cot; the mother, absorbed in love that in its passion is akin to pain, worships the infant laid upon a pillow at her knee; while beyond the dark, pillared alleys of the wood the crimson light on the horizon proclaims the dawn.

Thus did the painter give utterance to his country's hope in its darkest hour of shame and sorrow, and herein lies the secret of the unexampled power of the ancient masters. The mysteries of Christ were not *only* mysteries to them, they pierced to the moral significance of the facts of His life as symbols and figures of mental and moral conditions in human experience in every nation and throughout all time, and they sought in nature, the very nature that surrounded their own homes, for the forms in which to clothe their visions and the backgrounds for their sacred subjects. They showed the Virgin mother in the places where they themselves had learned to worship. They showed the Crucifixion in the very scenes where they had learned the meaning of the Cross, and every leaf and every bar of purple cloud they drew was fraught with deeper poetry, since thus associated with the Spirit that had passed into their lives.

With reference to the acquisition of this picture, the great Italian art critic, Gustave Frizzoni, writes:—

Ma dove l'attuale Direzione della Galleria seppe fare un colpo straordinariamente fortunato si fe nell'acquisto di una tela del medesimo, che apparteneva ultimamente al Sig. Fuller Maitland, e rappresenta la Natività di Nostro Signore. Ora essa è, ed a ragione, uno degli oggetti che più attirano l'attenzione degli intelligenti, essendovi manifesto tutto lo spirito ed il brio che qualificano in modo speciale le opere del Botticelli.

This is but one of many instances of the tributes paid by Italian writers to the success of the present Director, in adding to the treasures of the National Gallery, and with such testimony to his skill as that offered by M. Reiset, Gustave Frizzoni, and the eminent art critic Senator Morelli, it is the more to be lamented that during his term of office the grant of £10,000 yearly has been suspended since 1885; the Treasury, by a most mistaken policy, thus tying the hands of one whose power of wisely adding to the treasures of the nation by his use of this income will not easily be matched when he is gone. In vain has he, with the trustees of the Gallery, protested against this act as highly injurious to the

interests of the Gallery, interrupting, as it must do, the continuity of acquisitions, which can only be made from time to time as possible opportunities occur, and to defer which means to abandon them altogether, and thus seriously check the growth of the collection and materially diminish its prospective value, and the writer in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1886 (at page 400), remarks :—

By depriving the Director of the annual grant, occasions are lost of obtaining pictures of great importance as filling up gaps in the collection, and examples of rare masters not represented in it, which may never occur again. This is especially the case at the present time, when many celebrated collections are coming into the market, and when we have so many rivals in the field. When such pictures pass into foreign museums they are lost to us for ever.

It was but the other day when, in the collection of the Marquis of Exeter, there was sold to the Gallery of Berlin an exquisite gem by Van Eyck, the father of oil-painting, every scrap from whose hand is worth many times its weight in gold to the country that possesses it. The German Government, wiser than our own, has bought it for the very moderate price of 2500 guineas, while our nation is the poorer by its loss. Our native schools are still but imperfectly represented in our Gallery, notwithstanding all the Director has done towards repairing the shameful neglect of our own national art.

The popular feeling in this movement [says Mr. James Linton, in a letter to the Editor of the *Times* of June 24] has already been markedly expressed by a public petition, which has been signed by thousands of agitators, and which in due time will come before Parliament. The petitioners feel that for the benefit, not only of lovers of art, but for the instruction of our artists, a choice selected collection of the works of British painters should form an important feature in our National Gallery. And why should we not also have a representative collection of the best specimens of our masters in water-colours ?

Foreigners would then be able to judge whether there is a British and Irish school or not, and probably free us from the reproach so constantly used against us. Then and not till then will our National Gallery be national in all its departments as well as in the truest meaning of the word.

ART. VII.—“THE QUARTERLY REVIEW” AND THE CULTURE OF OUR CLERGY.

A WRITER in the January number of the *Quarterly Review*, in a particularly acrimonious paper upon the Catholics of England, amongst other charges has accused both the laity and clergy of want of culture, and has ventured so far as to assail the education given to our priests. “But,” he writes, “Cardinal Newman might have added another class to his list of those whom Roman Catholics fail to educate adequately, and that is their own clergy. One result of the virtual abandonment of the universities as places of education for the clergy . . . has been a wholesale lowering and narrowing of clerical education.”

By this charge some questions of supreme importance are raised. In the first place, we must inquire whether our clergy are lacking in culture; in the second, whether the universities are more likely, as they are at present constituted, to produce culture than the English Catholic colleges; and, lastly, whether the universities or the colleges are the better fitted for the education of a priest.

Before commencing our investigation it will be necessary to define “culture.” Culture, according to Webster, is “the application of labour or of other means to improve good qualities,” and Johnson, as an example of his definitions, quotes the following passage from the *Tatler* (No. 75): “One might wear any passion out of a family by culture, as skilful gardeners blot a colour out of a tulip that hurts its beauty.”

Culture, then, is the method of training which is best calculated to bring a man to the highest state of mental and moral perfection. It is the development, amelioration, and refinement of the whole man, mental and moral. The dependence of the mental on the moral is a conviction at least as old as Aristotle, who describes the *σώφρων*, the temperate man, the man of habitual self-mastery, as being so named because *σωφροσύνη σώζει την φρόνησιν*—his self-control or morality preserves his mental power.

Taking this definition of culture as a basis, let us compare the ancient universities with our Catholic colleges and seminaries in England. The curriculum of each must be examined in order to see whether on comparison the priests educated at the Catholic institutions fail in actual learning to be at any rate the equals of the alumni of Oxford and Cambridge. Further, we must compare the life and discipline at the one class of seminaries with the life and discipline at the other, in order to discover

which class is the more likely to produce culture, and in so doing to fittingly prepare students for the holy office of the Priesthood.

A man goes up to Oxford with an amount of classical and mathematical education, varying in degree according to the individual himself and the school—public or private—from which he comes. His first examination—called by the authorities "Responsions," but colloquially known as "Smalls"—covers the two first books of Euclid, or Algebra, up to simple equations, arithmetic, elementary Greek and Latin grammar, Latin prose composition (rudimentary), and an easy Greek and Latin author, usually four books of Xenophon's "Anabasis" and four books of Caesar's "De Bello Gallico." The first public examination, or Moderations, consists of Holy Scripture (unless there is a conscientious objection, in which case the "Phædo" of Plato must be substituted), and, unless the student seeks honours, one Greek author and two Latin authors, or two Greek authors and one Latin—in either case one of the books offered must be some portion of an historical or philosophical work; either elementary logic or the elements of geometry and algebra; translations from books not specially offered, and translations from English into Latin. In the subjects required under the title of Holy Scripture, instead of the four Gospels in Greek, as in former years, one of the synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of S. John in Greek must be offered, together with either the subject matter of the Acts of the Apostles or of two books of Samuel studied in the text of the last Protestant revision. As regards classics, the student is allowed to take his choice of authors from a list sanctioned by the university, and as an example of the class of work required, may be cited the V. and VI. books of Herodotus, Cicero "Pro Roscio" and "Pro Milone," Terence, the "Andria," "Phormio," and "Heautontimoroumenos," which are frequently offered.

In order to obtain the coveted "Testamur" in this and other examinations, many men employ a "coach" and a "reader." The "coach" "crams" them in logic, and marks in their classical text-books for translation the passages most likely to be set in the examination, and at his lecture explains the difficulties. The "reader" reads aloud a translation of the Gospels and classical books, while the student follows the original text and marks in his books the passages he cannot understand, and has the translation of them repeated until the difficulty has disappeared.

In our time, the student, having passed Moderations, had next to encounter the Divinity school, but this as a compulsory examination has now been abolished. It consisted of the subject matter of the historical books of the Old Testament, of the four

Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles in Greek, and either the Articles of the Church of England, or, if there was a conscientious objection, the Epistle to the Galatians in the original. This school, and the religious knowledge required for Moderations, were not, in our day, at least, approached in at all a devotional spirit. Divinity "coaches" were as easily to be found as classical, mathematical, and science tutors, and, in order to impress the necessary facts upon the minds of their pupils, they did not scruple to throw ridicule upon many an incident related in Holy Scripture. The system of *memoria technica* was the order of the day, and the amount of blasphemy indulged in by a lay "crammer" (employed at three-and-sixpence and a potation a lesson) may easily be imagined from the sort of *memoria technica* in general use, of which one, and perhaps the least objectionable, will be sufficient as an example:—

"Nic, Nat, Nob went to wine with Lazarus, played two pools at Bethesda, and committed adultery with the woman of Samaria."

The interpretation of this elegant extract is that the stories of *Nicodemus*, of *Nathaniel*, of the *Nobleman's* son, of the water being turned into wine, of *Lazarus* and of the *Pools* of Siloam and Bethesda, of the woman taken in *adultery* and of the woman of *Samaria* are contained in the Gospel of St. John. Such was the spirit in which the only religious training offered by the university was approached—the only Divinity training which a Pass man was in our day (1875–1879) obliged by the university to undergo before taking Anglican "orders." Even less than this is now compulsory—for, as we have seen, all a candidate must pass is the religious knowledge portion of Moderations—two Greek Gospels, the subject matter of the Acts, or of two books of Samuel! It is true that there are university sermons—but no one is obliged to hear them—and that the Protestant bishops, or some of them, require that candidates for ordination shall have attended certain of the Professors' Divinity lectures; but, as a certificate of *attendance* only is required, the attendance is purely formal, and men may listen or read novels as they choose, and the latter alternative used, formerly at any rate, to be the more popular of the two. Under these circumstances it can hardly be seriously argued that either the sermons or lectures supply a training in Divinity.

The undergraduate has now to decide whether he will read for "Honours" or "Pass" in the final schools. The Honour schools are *Literæ Humaniores*, *Mathematics*, *Natural Science*, *Jurisprudence*, *Modern History*, *Theology*, and *Oriental Studies*. For the Pass degree there are five groups of subjects: *Classical*, *Modern*, *Mathematical*, *Scientific*, and *Religious*.

- A. (1) Two books, either both Greek or one Greek and one Latin, of which one must be a Greek philosophical work, say, portions of either Plato's "Republic," Aristotle's "Ethics" or "Politics," and one Greek or Latin historian, which must be a portion of either Thucydides, Herodotus, Livy, or Tacitus.
- (2) Greek and Roman history.
- B. (1) History, either English, European, or Indian, together, in each case, with English composition.
- (2) French or German, including a portion of the literature, and composition.
- (3) The elements of political economy.
- (4) A branch of legal study—such as the English Law of Contracts or the Institutes of Justinian.
- C. (1) The elements of geometry, including geometrical trigonometry.
- (2) The elements of mechanics, solid and fluid, treated mathematically.
- (3) The elements of chemistry.
- (4) The elements of physics.
- D. The elements of religious knowledge, always including (a) specified portions of the Old and New Testaments, some portions of the New Testament being offered in the Greek. (b) *Either* one of the Creeds, with a specified portion of the Thirty-nine Articles, *or* a period of ecclesiastical history. (c) Some portion of the Old Testament, to be studied in the Hebrew Text, or in the Version of the Septuagint, or in the Version of the Vulgate, *or* some apologetic treatise. (The treatise at present to be offered is Butler's "Analogy," Part I., omitting chapters i. and vi.) Of these numerous subjects each candidate is required to pass in three, which may be taken at separate times. One of the three chosen must be either A (1) (Classical), or B (2) (French or German); the only other restriction as to choice is that not more than two subjects may be taken out of any one group.

A man may therefore—to summarise the curriculum—obtain a Pass degree if he satisfies the examiners in

Cæsar (four books), Xenophon, "Anabasis" (four books).

Arithmetic.

Algebra to simple equations, *or* Euclid, i. and ii.

Latin prose, Greek and Latin grammar.

Herodotus, v. and vi.; Terence, three plays; Cicero, two orations.

Elements of Logic.

Two Gospels in Greek, subject matter of the Acts, or two books of Samuel.

French, elementary law, and elementary chemistry.

We have now given a careful outline of the work required for an Oxford degree, and we have paid almost exclusive attention to the Pass degree. The great majority of Anglican clergymen hailing from Oxford are Pass men, as are no doubt the greater number of priests trained in Catholic schools. Our comparison as regards culture of the one clergy with the other must of necessity deal only with the majority of each body, and, therefore, with the Honour men of neither have we any concern.

We have still to consider whether the life led at Oxford or passed in a Catholic college and seminary is the more fitting as a preparation for Holy Orders, and, therefore, inclusively of the general culture of the man. The advantages of Oxford life are considerable. They chiefly consist in social intercourse amongst men of different colleges, which results in interchange of views, and the rubbing off of rough edges in manner—advantages which are invaluable to those who have to go out into the world.

There is also a certain amount of rule and discipline, though very insufficient, which is of value in teaching men self-restraint in after life, and there is a foundation laid for steadfastness of character in those who do not enter the University for pleasure or to gain a footing on the ladder of social success—by living for three or four years with an object in life, to which all their thoughts must be directed—the obtaining of their degree. There is also the advantage of living in an atmosphere of culture, amongst resident Fellows and Professors, who have all gained honours in the schools, while some in their ranks are numbered amongst the greatest scholars of the world. In addition to these advantages there is one which is by no means inferior to them in practical value—the splendid physical training which men acquire, owing to the healthy competition between the various colleges in rowing, cricket, football, and athletics generally. But, notwithstanding all these advantages, we are obliged to come to the conclusion that the university is not so well fitted for the training of an ecclesiastic as are the Catholic schools. We are led to this conclusion by the absence of a theological training, and the presence of a general air of indifferentism or want of enthusiasm in religious matters amongst the members of the university. There are, of course, schools of fiery zealots in the university, who are earnest in fighting for their various "shibboleths," but there is no general striving to live up to the motto inherited by Oxford from Catholic times, "Dominus illuminatio mea." There are Ritualists, not only at Keble, but at other colleges, who support the Ritualistic churches in the town; talk much of their "Catholicity," and the power of *the* Church—but who would be puzzled to define it; who indulge in their rooms in a great display of ecclesiastical æstheticism and cloud the air with unblest

incense, and who are very particular to use book markers correct in colour according to the ecclesiastical season. There are the extreme Low Church people, who throng to St. Aldates, and spend their time between missionary breakfasts, replying to the lampoons and caricatures hurled at them by the Ritualists, in preaching at the "Martyrs" memorial, and in distributing tracts, which are distinguished by neither learning, charity, nor good taste. There are, we believe, even "Salvation Army" soldiers and amateur Buddhists. There are Broad Churchmen—some of them occasionally coquetting with "Free Thought;" but there is no absolute Atheism in any degree worthy of notice. Notwithstanding these various schools of religious thought—and, indeed, owing to their existence—there is not that universal religious sentiment permeating all ranks of the university, which alone could give it that character of piety which renders a place of education fitted for the training of a priest. The presence of clerical Fellows, about whom there is always a suspicion—in very many cases we are glad to believe false—that they have merely taken "orders" to retain their fellowship, who do little clerical duty outside their college chapels, and who do not appear in many instances to take much interest in the progress of their "Church," does not add to the religious enthusiasm of the undergraduates over whom they rule. They are, moreover, very broad in their views—in fact, theologically too charitable, and, where the view that one religion is very nearly, if not quite, as good as another prevails, zeal for a particular Church to which they are about to be ordained is likely to be lacking in candidates for its ordination. As an example of this excessive toleration we may cite an instance coming within our actual knowledge. An undergraduate, who was reading for the Divinity school, went to his tutor—a most distinguished man, in addition to being a clerical Fellow—and asked leave to substitute the Epistle to the Galatians for the Articles of the Church of England, in which he did not believe. "Galatians are much harder," replied the tutor; "take the Articles. I don't believe in them myself, I am inclined to be a Buddhist." The ecclesiastical tone of the university is also damaged by the fact that many of the intending divines who are its alumni have neither love nor qualification for the calling which they have made up their minds to embrace, but who are induced to take "orders," either to fill family livings, or in order to obtain some immediate income upon leaving college, being compelled to do so either by poverty or debts.

Like unity of faith, unity of habit is wanting at Oxford. There is no fixed rule of life, like that which we shall presently see exists in Catholic seminaries. An Oxford man rises, or should rise, in time for College Chapel at eight. In many colleges there

is a roll-call, which may be substituted for chapel, and an attendance at one or the other on three or four mornings of the week is expected on the part of each undergraduate. The service in chapel consists either of the Litany or a curtailed version of the Morning Service of the Book of Common Prayer, and lasts about a quarter of an hour. Breakfast follows chapel, and, being served in each man's room, varies according to his taste and length of purse. From ten to one o'clock the time is occupied by lectures. After luncheon each man may spend the remainder of the day as he pleases. Some men go on the river, others play tennis, cricket, or football, according to the season, or walk or drive. Dinner, which is served in the hall of each college, takes place about six at most of the colleges, and, dinner over, each man is again free to pursue his individual tastes. Some read, others go to wine parties, others again engage in music or cards. Some men go out of college—to the "Union," for the debates or newspapers, to the various clubs, or to play billiards, or to parties at other colleges. The only regulations as regards these amusements are that men must be in college before midnight, and that music is not permitted in college after certain hours. After Hall the statutes provide that men going out of college must wear caps and gowns, but the great majority prefer to risk the fine of five shillings rather than obey the regulation.

Let us now turn to the curriculum for the Pass degree of the University of Cambridge. For the first, or as it is called, the Previous Examination, the subjects to be offered in the present year are—for Part I., St. Luke's Gospel, or Plato's "Apology of Socrates"; Plutarch's "Life of Nicias"; Horace, Odes ii. and iii.; Latin and Greek grammar, unprepared Latin translation (use of dictionary allowed). Part II., Paley's Evidences or Jevon's Logic; Euclid, i. ii. iii., definitions 1-10 of Book v., props. 1-4 and A of Book vi.; arithmetic and elementary algebra. For the General Examination, the Acts of the Apostles, Thucydides, Book vii.; Virgil, "Georgics" i. and iv.; elementary algebra, elementary statics, elementary hydrostatics and heat, Latin prose, English essay, and Shakespeare's "Tempest" are the subjects which must be offered. The student, having passed the Previous and General Examinations, may now choose for the Special Examination one of several schools. They are—

(a) Theology, in which the subjects are (1) Old Testament: Jeremiah (historical portion), Nehemiah, Ezra, Zechariah; (2) Greek Testament: S. Mark, Galatians, and S. James; (3) English Church history: Outlines to A.D. 1830, Life and Times of Tyndale; and (4) the optional subject of Hebrew: Jeremiah, chapters xxxiv.-xliv.

(b) Moral science, in which the subjects are logic and political economy.

(c) Law and modern history, in which the subjects are—for Law, part of Blackstone's "Commentaries," and part of Lord McKenzie's "Roman Law"; and for History: Outlines from 1066–1820, Hallam's "Constitutional History," Creighton's "History of the Papacy during the Reformation," vols. i. and ii.

(d) Natural science, including chemistry, geology, botany, and zoology, of which the student must only take up one.

(e) Mechanism and applied science.

(f) Music, including acoustics, counterpoint, and harmony, in not more than four parts.

(g) Modern languages, which include English language and literature, and either French or German, with the literature of the language selected.

Upon a comparison of the curriculum of Oxford with that of the sister university, it will be seen that there is very little difference between them, excepting that at Cambridge a student is required to know more mathematics than he would be required to study at Oxford. At both universities a Pass man is required to take up portions of four classical authors. The amount of theology is about equal in each. A Pass man must, unless there is a conscientious objection, take up at Oxford two Gospels in Greek, and the subject matter of either the Acts of the Apostles or of two books of Samuel. At Cambridge he must offer S. Luke's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, and he may offer Paley's Evidences. At either university a student is at liberty to make theology a special subject for his degree, but in both universities the examination is rudimentary when viewed by one who has had any insight to the study of theology as it occurs in the ordinary training of a priest. At Oxford, as we have seen, a candidate must offer specified portions of the Old and New Testaments, a portion of the New Testament in the Greek, either one of the creeds, with a specified portion of the Thirty-Nine Articles, or a portion of ecclesiastical history, some portion of the Old Testament in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin; or Butler's "Analogy," Part I., omitting chapters i. and vi. At Cambridge portions of the Old Testament must be offered, a Gospel and two Epistles in Greek, and the outlines of English Church history to A.D. 1830, and the "Life and Times of Tyn-dale."

Such is the curriculum, such is the learning, such is the discipline, such is the pass theology of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge—founded for the teaching of Catholic theology, formerly the home of the most learned theologians of the regular and secular clergy, at which Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon taught. What a contrast, as we shall later see, to the discipline and theology of English Catholic colleges—what a con-

trast to the life and learning of the universities themselves at a time when they taught theology to the world!*

The range of studies [writes the present Warden of Merton College] was truly sublime, both in its aims and in its orbit. In the chilly squalor of uncarpeted and unwarmed chambers, by the light of narrow and unglazed casements or the gleam of flickering oil-lamps, poring over dusky manuscripts, hardly to be deciphered by modern eyesight, undisturbed by the boisterous din of revelry and riot without, men of humble birth and dependent on charity for bare subsistence, but with a noble self-confidence transcending that of Bacon or of Newton, thought out and copied out those subtle masterpieces of mediæval lore purporting to unveil the hidden laws of Nature as well as the dark counsels of Providence and the secrets of human destiny—frivolous and baseless as they may appear under the scrutiny of a later criticism—must still be ranked among the greatest achievements of speculative reason.

And in another passage—

Assuredly Oxford then contained a vastly greater proportion of English learning and culture than it does in the present day.†

Having examined the course of studies, and, so far as we are able, the manner of life at the chief training institutions of the ministry of the Establishment, let us now turn our attention to the Catholic colleges, and subsequently to their successors, in the education of a priest, the seminaries. It may be said that it is unfair to compare the Catholic colleges with the universities, as more work must of necessity be done at college than in the university, as in the college both school and university courses are combined. It must, however, be remembered that, although the Catholic curriculum undoubtedly contains much that ought to be done by the Protestant student before he enters the university, there is this essential difference between the systems—with the Catholic the school work *must*, while with the Protestant it only *may*, be done. At the Catholic college every boy must labour through the prescribed course, while it is not an essential preliminary to a university career that the student should have been educated in a school at all. He is only required to pass the entrance examination at the college of his choice, and may have read the necessary subjects, and such subjects only, with a private tutor.

The educational system pursued at our great typical colleges, Ushaw and Stonyhurst, is very similar, and it is marked by the

* Hallam, "Literature of Europe," vol. i. p. 16; Anthony à Wood, vol. i. p. 159.

† "Memorials of Merton," by the Hon. George Broderick, pp. 35 and 17.

healthy characteristics of long and patient study tested periodically by examination from outside. The examiners can in no way be personally interested in the college, being, at Stonyhurst, the examiners appointed by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge for examining schools, and at both colleges the more advanced scholars graduate at London University, having to pass in the ordinary course the examinations for Matriculation, B.A., &c.

At Ushaw the course of education, up to the beginning of theology, covers a period of no less than ten years, each year being devoted to one class. In the earliest classes the boys are taught the elements of English, Latin, French, arithmetic, and geography. They next enter the class known as "Low Figures," and, advancing in the subjects already read, they have in addition to study English history, Latin composition, and elementary Greek. In Latin they read Cæsar "De Bello Gallico" and Cicero "In Catilinam." In his next year the scholar proceeds to "High Figures," and, continuing his Latin course, reads Cicero "De Senectute," select letters, "Pro lege Manilia" and "Pro Marcello," and Sallust's "Catilina." In Greek, in addition to grammar and composition, the "Anabasis" of Xenophon has to be read. English composition, the history of Greece, and mathematics (algebra to simple equations, and the first book of Euclid), in addition to French and geography, form the subjects of study in this class.

In the next class, "Grammar," the study of Latin and Greek grammar and composition, of English composition, of geography and French is continued, the history of Rome succeeds the history of Greece, mathematics proceed in algebra to the end of simultaneous equations, and in geometry to proposition xvi. of Euclid, book iii. In Latin, Cicero ("Pro Milone," "Pro Archia," Philippic II. "De Amicitia" and "De Officiis") and Livy form the text-books, and in Greek, Xenophon's "Cyropædia," select dialogues of Lucian, Plato's "Apology of Socrates" and Herodotus have to be mastered. In the next class, "Syntax," the composition in Latin and English comprises both prose and verse; more advanced study of English history and of geography is undertaken, and, in addition to progressive work in Latin, Greek, French, and mathematics, mechanics have to be studied. In Latin the authors to be read are Cicero "De Oratore," Tacitus, Horace, and Virgil; and in Greek, Thucydides, Demosthenes, "Philippic I." or "De Corona," and Homer.

The succeeding class, "Poetry," is the preparation for Matriculation at London University, and the work to be done comprises Latin, Greek, French, English language and history, with the geography relating thereto, mathematics, mechanics, and chemistry, and composition in English, Latin, Greek, and French.

In the class technically called "Rhetoric," in which the chief work is preparatory for the Intermediate Arts Examination of London University, the subjects are—Latin with grammar, history, and geography, one prose author and one poet, unseen translations, and English to be translated into Latin; Greek, one author, with grammar, English language, literature (including Early English), and history, French, mathematics, and, as before, composition in English, Latin, Greek, and French. After "Rhetoric" the students spend two years in Philosophy, and are divided into two classes, the one comprising those who from any cause are not preparing for the B.A. examination, and the other comprising those students who have this examination in view. The former division spend two years in the study of Natural Philosophy, including astronomy, magnetism and electricity, acoustics, light, and heat, and Moral Philosophy, including a complete course of Scholastic philosophy. Both subjects are studied during the two years, the day's work being divided between them. The latter division follow the subjects required by the London University. These are Latin with grammar, history, and geography, two authors, one in prose and one in verse, unseen translations and translation from English into Latin; Greek with grammar, history, and geography, two authors, one in prose and the other in verse, and unseen translation; English language and literature, including Anglo-Saxon, and pure mathematics.

After the B.A. examination every ecclesiastical student, as a matter of necessity, and many of those not intending to take Holy Orders, complete their college training by going through, in "Moral Philosophy," a complete course of scholastic philosophy. These lectures on Scholastic, like those on Moral philosophy just mentioned, are delivered in English. The text-books principally used are Sanseverino's "Philosophia Christiana in compendium redacta," and, for ethics, *Liberatore*.

Such is the training which every student receives. Laymen and ecclesiastics here separate; the layman leaves the college cloister to take his place in the world. The candidate for Holy Orders remains at Ushaw; for, when he has received the lay or general education, he is only as yet upon the brink of his studies, for he has to undergo a further course—that of theology, which occupies about four years. To return, however, to secular education, common to both classes of students. It is unnecessary minutely to examine the work of each class at Stonyhurst, as the course there is very similar to that of Ushaw. The ground covered is in each case very large, and the results of the numerous examinations which the colleges have undergone prove exclusively that the work is thoroughly well done. For six-and-twenty years Ushaw has continually sent up students to the examinations

of the University of London, and during this quarter of a century has succeeded in passing 296 students in the Matriculation Examinations. Of this number 63 have obtained honours—many, prizes—and of the Pass men 196 have been placed in the first division, and 37 in the second. The Intermediate Arts Examination has been held at Ushaw nineteen times since 1863. Ninety-six candidates have passed, sixty-nine in the first and twenty-seven in the second division. Of these sixteen have gained honours in Latin, and the exhibition in Latin of £40 per annum for two years has been gained four times. The B.A. examination has been held eighteen times. Ushaw has passed fifty candidates—thirty in the first and twenty in the second division. Eight have obtained honours—six in classics and two in animal physiology. One candidate gained the University Scholarship of £50 for three years, and another won it, but was disqualified by being three days over the appointed age. Seven students have taken the M.A. degree, two passing in mental and moral science, and five in classics. The gold medal in classics has been awarded only fourteen times since the foundation of the University in 1837, and twice it has been gained by a candidate from Ushaw. The results of examinations are equally satisfactory as regards Stonyhurst. At the examination last year by the Oxford and Cambridge examiners of the lower classes, a very satisfactory report was obtained, and the Stonyhurst papers on unseen Latin authors “were,” says the report, “amongst the best sent in.”

Since 1840 Stonyhurst has regularly sent up students to the examinations of London University with very successful results. At Matriculation 374 Stonyhurst candidates (up to last year) have been passed, and 86 have obtained honours. Before the honour examination in special subjects was abolished in 1863, the first place in classical honours was carried off five years successively by Stonyhurst. Since the Intermediate Examination was established in 1864 the College has passed 74 candidates. Stonyhurst has also figured in the honour lists. In Latin 39 candidates have gained honours, in French seven, in mathematics two, and in English, German, physics, zoology, and chemistry, a Stonyhurst candidate has gained honours. In the B.A. Examination 110 candidates have passed. In classics 42 have gained honours, in French two, mental and moral philosophy one, and one each in German and mathematics. In the M.A. Examination six candidates have obtained their degree in classics, one in mathematics, and two in philosophy.

In the different examinations 15 candidates have obtained either medals, exhibitions, or prizes, or have obtained sufficient marks to entitle them to such honours, were it not that they were

disqualified by age or some other cause from actually reaping the reward they had earned. In one year a Stonyhurst candidate—Mr. H. Lucas—gained the gold medal in philosophy, and also qualified for the gold medal in classics.*

We have now examined the ground covered in the educational course of Catholic colleges, and also stated the amount of work required for a Pass degree in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It has been made manifest that both in breadth of education in the number of subjects and in the thoroughness with which each subject is studied, the colleges are in no way inferior to the universities. A thorough education is given at the colleges, and as this education is received by every member of the college, whether lay or clerical, and by the clergy only as a preparation for their theological course, it is clear that, in the sense of a liberal education, the Catholic clergy educated at the English colleges are not wanting in culture, and that the charge of the *Quarterly Review* is, so far then, absolutely without foundation. It may be urged, however, that Catholic education is narrowed and restricted by the exclusion of modern philosophy. In the first place, it should be pointed out that modern philosophy forms no part of the ordinary degree course at the universities, and, this being so, the majority of the Anglican ministers are as void of it as are the Catholic clergy. In the second place, let us consider whether modern philosophy is worthy of a place at all in education. Of the philosophy which forms a part of the Oxford Honour schools the late Mr. Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, wrote:—

It appears to me to be a fatal objection to our 'philosophical' course that it encourages speculation not based upon knowledge. . . . As mental training it is surely most unsound. . . . I think the fears of the Catholic party, whether within or without the National Establishment, are substantially well founded. It is especially the philosophical subjects which have developed themselves within that school which alarm the Church party. This party must either conquer or be content to see all the minds that come under the influence of that training—that is, all the minds of any promise that pass through Oxford—hopelessly lost to them (DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1868, p. 414).

* The general results of the London University examinations, as regards candidates from all the Catholic colleges and schools, were thus summarised in the *Tablet* of September 8, 1888: "The number of candidates passing Matriculation has been 920; Intermediate Arts, 246; Bachelor of Arts, 126; Master of Arts, 16; Latin Honours, 84; Classical Honours, 45; of candidates who have obtained recognition—either in actual prizes or in marks qualifying for prizes—from the University, Ushaw numbers, 33; Stonyhurst, 20; the other colleges combined, 18.

We accept the evidence of this eminent Protestant witness, and at once admit that this philosophy is impossible to a Catholic—it is mischievous in itself, and “as mental training it is most unsound.” But the Catholic colleges, we have seen, possess the real and true philosophy in the place of its modern equivalent, and where every clerical student spends his last years at college and his first at the seminary in earnest study of this branch of knowledge, it is absolutely unfair to suggest that, for want of “philosophy,” the Catholic clergy are uncultured.

There remains for our consideration the further question whether our colleges are better places than the universities for candidates preparing for the priesthood, and, if spotless purity of life and thought and general unworldliness are to be considered essential in a priest, there cannot for an instant be a doubt that we should do ill to exchange our colleges for the universities as clerical seminaries. In Catholic colleges there is unity of faith, and religion daily taught and inseparably connected with the daily life. There is the highest moral and religious tone amongst the boys, who are constantly under the eye of the masters, between whom and them there is the best possible feeling. From the time that a Catholic boy is entered at a preparatory school until he leaves college at the age of twenty or twenty-one, he is constantly under discipline and rigid supervision, in a society where anything but the highest moral tone would be vigorously tabooed as “bad form” by the boys themselves. As regards physical education and recreation, the colleges are, at least, equal to the universities. As we have taken Ushaw and Stonyhurst as representatives of all the English Catholic colleges with regard to education, we take Stonyhurst as an example—representing all the other colleges—with regard to discipline and recreation. No better picture of college life could be drawn than that contained in the report of Mr. Shuckburgh, the Examiner appointed by the Oxford and Cambridge School Examination Board. In his report, made in August last year, he writes:—

The discipline and general demeanour of the boys impressed me very favourably. There is more continuous supervision than is common in English schools, some of the masters being present at all hours, whether of study or recreation, but the boys seemed on excellent terms with the masters and with all the Fathers who were in any way connected with them.

The provisions for healthy sports, cricket, tennis, racquets, fives, are most ample, and under conditions far superior to many of the public schools. The boys have a debating society and a school magazine, in both of which subjects of a great variety of interest appear to be freely discussed. There are large supplies of healthy English literature in the play rooms, apparently of a very varied and liberal description,

- and the masters seemed to me to spare no efforts in drawing out the tastes and peculiar faculties of the boys under their charge, and, as far as I could judge, the result was a good tone among the boys, and an excellent understanding between boys and masters.

It must be obvious that the Catholic college course comprises in no small degree not only mental, but also moral, culture, and this being so, that the atmosphere of the colleges is far better suited for the preparation of a priest than the universities would be. In the colleges all are being educated, all have been there from early boyhood, the discipline and tone are excellent, while at the universities there are many men who never attempt to take a degree, or if they do, read only in the most meagre fashion, and who, by their extravagance and "fast" life, impart a worldliness which is unknown in a Catholic college, and in so doing become what may be termed intellectual wrecks. But while our colleges are everything that is desirable as places of education, it is useless to disguise the fact that, for want of a university, Catholics are placed at a disadvantage. We miss the social intercourse between men of different colleges which is so valuable in polishing manners, in rubbing off rough corners in manner and in thought—destroying the narrowness and prejudices which must exist in any isolated college—dethroning, in fact, what Lord Bacon so well calls the "*Idolum Specûs*." We miss the social advantages which indisputably are gained by residence at either of the universities—above all, we miss the rich endowments which, by fellowships, scholarships, and prizes, form such a powerful incentive to work. But, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which Catholic education labours, we contend that in ordinary culture the Catholic priest, educated at one of the English colleges, is the equal, if not the superior, of an Established Church clergyman, who has taken a Pass degree at one of the English universities.

We must now leave the general education which is common to both Catholic clergy and laity, and examine the special ecclesiastical education which each English candidate for the priesthood is bound to undergo, and in doing so it will be made manifest that each priest must have more than the ordinary amount of culture.

The mere outline of studies pursued and books read, while it clearly demonstrates, so far as theological knowledge is concerned, the vast superiority of Catholic clerical training over the training of the ministers of any Protestant sect, does not disclose a tithe of the advantages of the Catholic system. In the Establishment the question whether a candidate for the ministry has a vocation is practically left to his own solution. With the Catholic, not only is his long course of study and dis-

cipline especially designed to fit him for the holy office of priest, but during the whole of his ten or twelve years of education he is constantly watched in order that the bishop to whom he applies for ordination may know whether he is fitted or not for the calling to which he aspires. Further than this, the career of an unfitting candidate would be stopped by the vigilance of his masters and confessors long before he ever reached the bishop. Notwithstanding all these wise precautions, it is, of course, possible that improper persons may, and even do, enter Holy Orders, but the excellence of Catholic training is proved by the fact that so few priests disgrace their holy office. The *Quarterly Review* sneers at the number and calibre of converts to the Catholic faith in England, but, notwithstanding the temptation which there is for priests to leave the Church in order to marry, we can afford to add the numbers of our priests disgraced for immorality to those who have espoused Protestantism—marriage has been in nearly every case the cause of such perversion*—for still our loss would be insignificant, both as regards numbers and intellectual calibre, when compared with our gains, even minimised as they are by our contemporary.

We will first take the strictly ecclesiastical training at Ushaw. It follows the ordinary general education, and the course covers at least four years. It comprises mental and moral philosophy, and Church history, which occupy the first year, and dogmatic theology, moral theology, pastoral theology, sacred Scripture, elocution, extensive sermon writing, and delivery of sermons, canon law, and singing, which take up the remainder of the time. The teaching is partly by lectures and partly by private study and essay writing. In each year after the first, fifteen sermons have to be prepared. Five subjects are given out at a time, and on a given day the students meet, and one of the subjects is chosen by lot, and upon it each student has, within two hours, and without reference or other assistance, to write a sermon. The students are also frequently required to prepare and write essays on theological subjects, and they are expected to devote a large portion of the time not occupied by public lectures and exercises to private study.

* Conversion to Protestantism has always been, in the great majority of cases, caused by a desire to marry. Erasmus sneers at the "converts" of his day upon this ground. "They call it the Lutheran tragedy—I call it a comedy, for it always ends in a marriage."

A story is told of a priest going to the venerable ex-Bishop of Birmingham. "My Lord, I have certain difficulties on my mind as to my continuance in my priestly functions." To which the Bishop simply replied: "Indeed! pray, what is her name?"

Erasmus also wrote of the Reformers: "They have only two objects—a wife and a fortune."—Op. iii. 1189 B.

Take, again, a typical example of the Catholic seminaries at which the secular clergy are prepared for ordination. At St. Joseph's College, Walthew Park, Upholland, near Wigan, the secular clergy for the diocese of Liverpool are educated. It is an exclusively ecclesiastical college, and students are received there after completing their classical course at St. Edward's College, Liverpool. After their arrival at St. Joseph's two full years are occupied with the study of philosophy and natural theology. Lectures are daily delivered by the professors upon these subjects, and also upon ecclesiastical history, English literature, and an introduction to the sacred Scriptures. Essays are also periodically written, criticised in class, and shown to the rector.

Following the two years course of philosophy is a three years course of theology—dogmatic, moral, and ascetic. Lectures are daily delivered on these subjects, and also on sacred Scripture, Church history, and the Church's rubric and ritual. The students are moreover trained in reading and sacred eloquence, in the composition of lectures and sermons, and it is hoped that next year a chair of canon law may also be added to the curriculum.

The life at St. Joseph's is eminently fitted as a preparation for the ecclesiastical state. The students rise at 6 A.M.; meditation, 6.30; at 7, Holy Mass; at 7.40, breakfast; 8.15–9.30, private studies in preparation for professors' lectures; 9.45–10.45, lectures; 11–12.45, private study, a portion of which is often occupied by lectures on some collateral branch of studies or training in ecclesiastical music; 1 o'clock, dinner; after which, recreation until 3.15; and then private study until 4.15, when there is a lecture until 5.15; at 5.15 a cup of tea, and recreation until 5.30, when there is private study until supper at 7; at 7.20, first prayers, consisting of the rosary and a chapter read aloud from the New Testament; after which, recreation, generally devoted to private reading, until 9.15, when second prayers complete the duties of the day, and at 10 all lights are extinguished.

At the Diocesan Seminary of St. Thomas, Hammersmith, the students have a divinity course, which lasts at least three years and a half. Before entering the seminary they must have had a thorough education in "Humanities," and have gone through a complete course of Christian philosophy. The work at the seminary comprises the study of dogmatic and moral theology, together with a certain amount of ascetic theology, lectures on certain parts of the sacred Scriptures, lectures on ecclesiastical history and on canon law, together with lessons in Church music and on the practice of preaching. The life at Hammersmith is, as at the other clerical training institutions, almost conventual

in its character, the priesthood being the aim of every student, and the portions of the day unoccupied with lectures, study, or the needful recreation, being taken up with religious observances which do not differ in any material particular from those in use in the French seminaries, and described by Dr. Ward in his "Ideal of a Christian Church," * as related to him by a French Abbé, and which, for its great interest, we shall be excused for largely quoting.

In order [the Abbé wrote] to form our candidates for the priesthood to the holiness necessary to the state of life for which they are destined, the rule prescribes the following methods:—

I. *Vocal prayer* at half-past five in the morning. It is short, and proceeds as follows: 1. The student puts himself in the presence of God, by a special act of faith in the truth of His universal presence, and adores Him. 2. He thanks God for the gift of the day thus beginning, and consecrates to Him all its actions, promising to do them all in imitation of Him. 3. He recites in the ecclesiastical language the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Credo. 4. He commends himself to the Blessed Virgin, to his patron Saint, to his guardian Angel, that they may watch over and protect him during the day, and by their prayers obtain for him the grace of which he has need. The whole concludes with acts of faith, hope, and charity, of contrition and renewal of baptismal promises.

II. *Mental prayer*, or a meditation, in which the student first bows down in adoration before God, acknowledging himself unworthy of keeping himself fixed in His divine presence, and calling upon the Holy Spirit to help him in his meditation. He then enters on the consideration of the object proposed for meditation, all the while frequently entering into himself, by acts of humiliation, by making good resolutions, and one special good resolve for that very day. These two exercises, the vocal prayer and meditation, last half an hour. In those seminaries directed by the community of St. Sulpice they last an hour.

III. *The holy sacrifice of the Mass*, which is offered up immediately after meditation.

IV. *Holy Scripture*. Every one is in the morning to read a chapter of the Old Testament, and in the evening one of the New. The rule warns us that the object to be sought for is the quickening of the heart (*vie pour le cœur*). It would be a departure from this object if any one were to read the Scripture at this time in order to improve himself in learning, or to satisfy his curiosity.

V. *Spiritual reading*. This takes place either in the morning or in the evening. The books recommended are "The Imitation," "The Spiritual Combat," "The Christian Perfection of Rodriguez," "The Memoriale vitæ Sacerdotalis," &c.

* "Ideal of a Christian Church," by Dr. W. G. Ward; p. 317 and following pages.

VI. *Examination of conscience.* A quarter before twelve all go to the chapel for the particular examination. This means an examination as to the progress made in some virtue specially proposed by each for his own acquisition, or in conquering some vice proposed in the same way for correction. The book used in this exercise is Father Tronson's "Examens Particuliers," a work full of profit for the ecclesiastic. This particular examination does not supersede the general examination made in the evening, and which includes all the thoughts, feelings, words, and actions of the day.

VII. *Visit to the Blessed Sacrament.* Each student is bound to go every day for a quarter of an hour into the presence of the Holy Sacrament. This exercise, the special joy of the devout soul, consists in adoring Our Lord present under the eucharistic elements, in thanking Him for the happiness of being in His holy presence, in begging His pardon for the faults which we have committed, in asking of Him to grant us the graces of which we have need, and in praying that he will deign to manifest to us His holy will and lead us on to do it.

VIII. *Spiritual conference.* This name is applied to a religious discourse spoken every evening by the Superior to the whole community, from half-past six to a quarter to seven. It is a familiar instruction on the duties of a Christian and of a clergyman in particular.

IX. *The Chapel.* After the discourse of the Superior, each student recites five decades of the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. These prayers are sweet to a Christian's mouth, and never seem long however often they may be repeated. Advice is given that at each decade the person reciting the chaplet should think upon some virtue which he would acquire, and beg of God to grant it to him by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin.

X. *Evening prayer.* This finishes the day. The prayers then said are the Lord's Prayer, the Angelical Salutation, the Apostles' Creed. The confession of sin is made by a prayer, called the Confiteor; then acts of faith, hope, and charity, and of contrition, are made. Prayers are offered up for the dead. In conclusion, the Superior gives out the subject for next day's meditation. Sometimes the choice of it is left to the students. The rule advises them to *fix their thoughts upon it just before going to sleep and as soon as they awake.*

XI. I had almost forgotten to say that the studies, lectures (classes), and meals are begun and concluded with prayer. Also, in the morning, at mid-day, and in the evening, the prayer called the Angelus is recited, and this is done to pay honour to the mysteries of the Annunciation and Incarnation.

XII. *Confession.* Every student is bound to confess *at least once a fortnight.* Few of them wait so long. The object of this confession is to obtain absolution and leave to communicate.

XIII. *Holy Communion.* The rule does not prescribe Communion, but it expresses a wish that all should communicate at least every Sunday. The confessor, in the secrecy of the holy tribunal, determines

how often the Holy Sacrament should be received. He judges by the state of the penitent's soul. In order to communicate frequently, it is requisite that the recipient lead a life of faith (*vie de la foi*), and that by his spiritual progress he make it evident that this heavenly food does him good. For some years past we have had the comfort of seeing our students communicate some two, others three, four, five, or six times a week. We are indebted for this consolation to the good state of the *smaller seminary*, from which our students come to us almost entirely formed.

XIV. *The monitor.* Every pupil is bound to choose one of his fellows for a monitor. The pupil who agrees to undertake the office is obliged to warn him to whom he is monitor of all that he sees wrong in him. This advice, given in a spirit of charity, is commonly of great benefit.

XV. *The spiritual director.* Every pupil is also obliged to take from among his masters a director, to whom he from time to time applies to confer with him on his spiritual state (*ses dispositions intérieures*), on the way to correct, improve, and perfect it. This laying bare of the heart to the director thus chosen contributes in an especial way to the spiritual welfare of the students, provided it is made in a great spirit of faith. Generally each pupil makes choice of his confessor for his director.

XVI. *The relations with the Superior.* The rule advises the student to enter into communication with the Superior, to visit him often in order to receive his advice, and, if need be, his private rebuke. This wise provision enables the Superior to gain a knowledge of the pupils, to form them, and to assure himself of their vocation. For this reason his door is never shut against them: and he feels himself called upon to give them all his time. . . .

XVII. *The Retreat.* The year commences and finishes with a retreat. The retreat which ensues on the meeting of the seminary after the vacation lasts three days, exclusive of the day which opens and that which closes it. All these days are passed in silence. Each one then examines his conscience, confesses, makes plans for the good employment of his time, and prescribes himself with this object in view a special rule, in order to help himself on in the ways of Christian and clerical perfection. In some seminaries the retreat lasts nine days. The retreat at the end of the year is shorter. Its object is the good employment of the vacation.

We now come to the Seminary of the Jesuits at St. Asaph. St. Beuno's College is situated near to the old cathedral town, and, standing on a hill, commands a wide prospect of the beautiful vale of Clwyd. The students usually number between forty and fifty, and are, with rare exceptions, members of the Society of Jesus, who, having completed their philosophical studies at St. Mary's Hall, or seminary, attached to Stonyhurst, have been employed in the work of the colleges—Stonyhurst, Beaumont, &c.—for some years, and who are now again gathered

together to go through their course of theology, and make their immediate preparation for the priesthood. On entering the college they are usually about the age of thirty. The priesthood is received one year before the end of the course. The students are arranged in two divisions. The greater number follow what is called the Long Course, of four years; the rest are in the Short Course, of three years, being those from whom, for reasons of health or other causes, it is considered inexpedient to exact severer labour. The subjects taught by public lectures in the long course are scholastic theology, moral theology, Holy Scripture, and Hebrew. In scholastic theology lectures are given daily by two professors, in the morning and in the evening. The matter is so arranged that the two professors are at any time dealing with distinct but kindred treatises; thus, in a particular year, one perhaps will take the Sacraments in general and the Sacrament of Penance, while the other treats the Sacraments of the Holy Eucharist and Matrimony. Scholastic theology being distributed into eight portions, the whole is studied by those who hear the two professors for four years.

Besides the lectures, the students have to attend and to take part in disputations. These disputations are held for the long term students four times a week, and for the short term students three times a week. At a disputation one student defends some doctrine of the school against two others, who attack it in strict syllogistic form. The Latin language is employed in these disputations, as well as in all the lectures and other public scholastic exercises throughout the college.

All the students of both courses study moral theology during the first two years of their college course. One lecture is given each day, and the students are frequently exercised in the solution of practical cases.

The lectures on Holy Scripture, given daily, are attended by the long course students of the third and fourth years, and by the short course students in their third year. Besides the matter ordinarily included in general introductions to Scripture, the professor selects some particular book, of which he gives a full exposition, the book being usually chosen from the Old or New Testaments in alternate years. In all the lectures a great variety of authors of every age is laid under contribution, and the professors of course further illustrate their remarks by the results of their own experience and research.

Besides the public work, all the students have facilities and guidance in the pursuit of all branches of ecclesiastical learning in the widest sense, each according to his individual tastes. In particular, there is constant practice in preaching, and in public speaking in debates on miscellaneous subjects.

The physical health of the students is as well cared for as is their mental and ecclesiastical training: they enjoy plenty of outdoor exercise, and walking, fishing, tennis, and gardening are favourite employments.

In dealing with the subjects studied at the Catholic colleges we have spoken of philosophy and theology. It will be well, so far as possible, to give an outline of the subjects treated under each, in order to show the vast scope of each science, and to demonstrate the excellent mental training they afford, even independently of the thorough classical and general education, which we have seen must of necessity precede them in the English training of a priest.

Philosophy is either theoretical or practical. Theoretic philosophy comprises *Logic*, which expounds the nature of mental action, the laws which should govern it, and the order which should be followed in search of truth. This necessary introduction to philosophy being mastered, the student now enters into more strictly philosophical inquiry. In *Dynamilogia* he seeks to learn about mental faculties, their nature, the proper object, manner, and action of each. This investigation leads up to the study of two subjects of the greatest moment—*Ideologia*, which inquires how, by the help of the faculties, we may acquire a primary knowledge of things; and *Criteriologia*, which treats of the power of the faculties to discriminate the truth relating to things. *Ontologia* is the next branch to be studied. It relates to those universal ideas upon which the rest of the sciences are founded. Some of the subjects herein considered are *Ens*, or being, substance, accident, quantity, space, quality, action, the passions, and places. *Cosmologia* follows; it treats of the known universe, and, amongst other subjects, of the atomic theory, of the chemical system, of the system of Aristotle as expounded by the schoolmen, of the body, of vegetable life, of the brute creation, physical laws, and of the origin of the world. *Anthropologia* expounds the nature of man, and treats of the relation of the mind to the body, the seat of the mind, and other kindred subjects. *Theologia Naturalis*, or the study of the nature and attributes of God by the light of human understanding, apart from revelation, completes the course of theoretic philosophy.

In practical philosophy, or ethics, those things are treated of which belong to practice rather than theory, or to the universal law of morals to which a man is bound to conform his actions. In the philosophical course all authors are referred to, many are studied. In Sanseverino's work, for example, which is a development of scholastic philosophy to meet modern requirements, and which is a text-book commonly employed, frequent references

are made to the different philosophical schools, and the errors of Kant, Locke, Descartes, and others are exposed by the syllogistic method, whenever their authors have departed from the truths of Catholic philosophy.

The course of Catholic theology is stupendous, as we should expect from the vastness of Catholic theological literature. At St. Beuno's College alone there are 35,000 volumes in the library, nearly all of which are theological books. According to the late Mr. Matthew Arnold one Catholic work alone overpowers all the Protestant theology in the British Museum :—

Let him go in London to that delightful spot, that Happy Island in Bloomsbury, the reading-room of the British Museum. Let him visit its sacred quarter, the region where its theological books are placed. I am almost afraid to say what he will find there, for fear Mr. Spurgeon, like a second Caliph Omar, should give the library to the flames. He will find an immense Catholic work, the collection of the Abbé Migne, lording it over the whole region, reducing to insignificance the feeble Protestant forces which hang upon its skirts. Protestantism is duly represented, indeed : the librarian knows his business too well to suffer it to be otherwise. All the varieties of Protestantism are there ; there is the library of Anglo-Catholic theology, learned, decorous, exemplary, but a little uninteresting ; there are the works of Calvin, rigid, militant, menacing ; there are the works of Dr. Chalmers, the Scotch thistle valiantly doing duty as the rose of Sharon, but keeping something very Scotch about it all the time ; there are the works of Dr. Channing, the last word of religious philosophy in a land where every one has some culture, and where superiorities are discountenanced, the flower of moral and intelligent mediocrity. But how are all these divided against one another, and how, though they were all united, are they dwarfed by the Catholic Leviathan their neighbour ! Majestic in its blue and gold unity, this fills shelf after shelf and compartment after compartment, its right mounting up into Heaven among the white folios of the Acta Sanctorum, its left plunging down into hell among the yellow octavos of the Law Digests. Everything is there in that immense *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, in that *Encyclopédie Théologique*, that *Nouvelle Encyclopédie Théologique*, that *Troisième Encyclopédie Théologique*, Religion, Philosophy, History, Biography, Arts, Sciences, Bibliography, Gossip. The work embraces the whole range of interests ; like one of the great Middle Age cathedrals, it is in itself a study for a life. Like the net in Scripture, it drags everything to land, bad, good, lay and ecclesiastical, sacred and profane, so that it is but matter of human concern. Wide embracing as is the power whose product it is ! A power for history at any rate, eminently the Church. . . . ("Essays in Criticism," p. 226).

It must be remembered that the work of which Mr. Matthew Arnold speaks in such forcible tones is neither one of the greatest nor the most valuable books to be found in Catholic theology.

The works of the Angelic Doctor St. Thomas Aquinas and of St. Alphonsus, for instance, are more valuable—more valuable, more spacious, and more voluminous, taken collectively, are without doubt the works of the Jesuits and of other Orders. Let us, for example, glance at the contents of one book of St. Alphonsus and then at one of the works of St. Thomas—the special object of the vituperation of Froude and Seebohm. Apart from the argument, it will be well to let our non-Catholic readers judge for themselves as to the aims, the method, and the subject matter of scholastic theology, and to allow them to compare the system as it really is with the distorted picture in which Froude and other writers have presented it. In the moral theology, which the modern editors have, of course, brought up to the standard of modern requirements, St. Alphonsus treats of, first, human actions and the conscience; second, laws—a very complete course of jurisprudence, in which the definitions are specially lucid and valuable; third, the duties of men in every rank and calling; fourth, vices and sins, each vice and sin being considered in principle and in detail, and the various censures and punishment which are the consequences of each, being examined; fifth, the virtue of religion—private and external, and herein of devotion, prayer, the Divine office, vows, oaths, and festivals: the opposite vices are also explained—superstition, irreligion, blasphemy, and simony; sixth, the virtue of justice, and under this head are treatises on jurisprudence, politics, and political economy; seventh, restitution—to whom and under what circumstances restitution must be made: under what limits can the right of possession be exercised by those who have acquired under doubtful circumstances, and many other cases are examined, which are of importance and frequently occur in actual life; eighth, the theological virtues—faith, hope, charity, and the various sins against each; ninth, the Sacraments of the Church. Take, again, a work of St. Thomas Aquinas—the “*Summa Minor*,” which is constantly in the hands of every student for the priesthood, and which is essentially representative of scholastic theology. In the edition of Dr. Lebrethon (Paris, 1873) a preliminary course has been added to meet modern requirements. This introduction principally explodes the errors of the so-called Reformation. It treats of the three great sources of theology—reason, tradition, sacred Scripture, of the Church, the supreme Pontiff, councils, the Fathers, the authority of canonists, theologians, historians, &c., and the censure of unsound propositions. It proceeds to consider true religion, what religion is, revealed religion and the necessity for revelation, the mode and object of revelation, the signs or characteristics of revelation—*e.g.*, miracles, prophecies—primitive religion, the authority of the books of the Old Testament, the

divine origin but temporary character of the Jewish religion, the existence of Christ and the Apostles; the Divinity of Christianity proved by the Prophets, by miracles, and the Resurrection of Our Lord, by its miraculous spread, by the numbers and constancy of its martyrs, and by its innate excellence. This portion of the work concludes with treatises on the Divinity of Christ and the duration of the Christian religion, and proves that the Christian religion is obligatory upon all mankind. The Church of Christ is the subject of the third treatise. Its existence, the definition of "Church" and the constitution of the Church, are the preliminary subjects. Then the marks of the true Church are considered—its unity, sanctity, catholicity and apostolicity, and the application of these marks to the Catholic Church. These marks are proved to be wanting in the Greek Church and in the Protestant sects. The constitution of the Catholic Church is next dealt with under the articles of its hierarchy, its head, and its members. The infallibility of the Church and of the Pope is also proved, and the temporal power of and the duty of love towards the Church are dealt with.

We now come to the pure scholasticism of St. Thomas himself.

He first of all deals with sacred doctrine—he defines it and marks the boundary to which it extends. He then treats of God, His existence, His attributes, His will, His justice and mercy, His immutability, His perfection, of goodness in general and of the goodness of God. He next explains the doctrine of the most Holy Trinity, and discourses upon the creation of things. Next St. Thomas discusses the nature and power of angels, the work of the six days of creation, the human soul, the first man, the government of things, the last end, human actions, passions, habits, virtues, vices, and laws. He then speaks of grace. The next treatise is devoted to Christian virtues, faith, hope, charity, prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, and states of perfection. St. Thomas finally deals with the doctrinal matters of the Incarnation, the Sacraments, and of the Resurrection and of Eternal Life.

Such is the noble scope of scholastic theology which modern authors have dared to attack as childish, as narrowing, and as dealing with trivial matters. Its terseness and lucidity, and its logical and syllogistic method form in themselves an excellent mental training.

We have dealt at length with only one branch of theology. Voluminous writers have to be studied in dogmatic, moral, patristic, and ascetic theology. In addition to the study of these profound subjects each student is bound to pass through a course of deep and critical training in Holy Scripture.

We have now laid before our readers the course, the life, and

the studies of the universities on the one hand, of the Catholic colleges and seminaries on the other. Upon comparison the superiority of Catholic ecclesiastical education over what exists at the universities in the place of clerical education for the ministers of the Establishment can hardly be seriously disputed. We have seen that as regards the ordinary Pass man of each ecclesiastical body the ordinary education of our English Catholic college is at least as likely to produce culture as the English universities ; while as regards that most important branch of it, theology, the priest must be immeasurably more learned than the parson. Further than this our priests are trained for their sacred calling, trained in theology and trained in philosophy, which the Anglicans are not. It must also be obvious that the life at our colleges, a life of constant supervision, strict discipline, and persistent religious training, when compared with life at the universities, where a system of false liberty, both of thought and action, prevails, is not only more favourable to culture, but is also a better preparation for a clergy who are bound to lead a life of celibacy, chastity, and self-denial, than a course would be at the universities, rich though they are in social advantages, in endowments, and in tradition.

G. B. LANCASTER WOODBURNE, M.A. Oxon.

ART. VIII.—IRISH INDUSTRIES.

1. *Industrial Ireland.* By ROBERT DENNIS. London : John Murray. 1887.
2. *The Commercial Restraints of Ireland.* By JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON. Re-edited by W. G. CARROLL. Dublin : Gill & Sons. 1882.

A BOOK on contemporary Ireland which eschews the thorny path of politics is sufficiently phenomenal to be noticed on that ground alone. But Mr. Dennis's compact little volume, apart from its singularity in this respect, is worthy of serious study as a practical handbook to the commercial resources and capabilities of the country it treats of. If it is discouraging in one direction, from its recital of all that has been left undone, it is cheering in another, as a guide to what it is yet possible to do ; and, while the reader is in one page reduced to despair by the large expenditure of capital and energy represented as necessary to a country whence capital seems disposed to fly, and where energy has yet to be created, he is restored to hopefulness as he turns to the next, and finds set forth the potential riches of a land, which man, not Nature, has stricken with the curse of sterility. To show the Irish people, " what varied employment for their labour, what virgin sources of national wealth, lie within their grasp, if they will only pluck up courage and energy and enterprise equal to that which the Irish race exhibits in other parts of the world," has been the author's aim as stated in his preface, in the hope of thus arousing in them that spirit of self-help, without which all other gifts are lavished on a nation or an individual equally in vain.

To the fatal tendency of Ireland to export her raw produce, even when compelled to buy back the same materials in a higher stage of manufacture, he attributes much of the chronic misery of the country, and he shows in what innumerable directions this cardinal sin against the maxims of political economy militates against her prosperity.

Thus she exports nearly all her rags and imports her paper ; ships her rich iron ore across the Channel to get back pig iron from Scotch and Northumbrian foundries ; despatches her live cattle to England, carrying their hides on their backs, to be there manufactured into leather, and fetching thence nearly all her saddlery and seven-eighths of her boots and shoes ; supplies wool to the looms of Bradford, yet spends annually a quarter of a million in the purchase of hosiery in Germany and Scotland ;

manures her fields with the superabundant produce of her fisheries, yet brings from across the water Scotch-cured fish for her own consumption.

The Irish marbles are a feature of all English decorative architecture, where the peachy flush of that quarried at Armagh may be seen vying with the clouded greens of the Galway serpentine, yet large quantities of Italian and Belgian marble cut and polished ready for use are annually passed through the Dublin Custom-house, and chimney-pieces and monuments come completely finished from abroad. An attempt recently made to "boycott" the church of the Augustinians in Cork, for having imported an altar from London, shows the unsound state of the native trade, for a saving of £100 is stated to have been thus effected. In other quarries Ireland is equally rich, and, for her own purposes, equally in vain. Great part of the Thames Embankment is faced with Dalkey granite, and four varieties from Down and Armagh may be seen in the Albert Memorial, yet shiploads of the same stone are brought from Cumberland to Dublin, and Irish houses and churches are built of Bath and Caen stone.

As to various minor industries the same tale of neglected opportunities is told. Wicker baskets are brought from the South of France, yet osiers, which in three years are worth £2 to £3, and eventually £20 per acre, would form a profitable fringe to the waste edges of Irish bogs and rivers, while basket-weaving, at which even a second-rate worker can earn £1 per week, would agreeably diversify the six months idleness of an Irish cabin. The extensive demand, again, for straw bottle envelopes, is principally satisfied by importation from France to the annual value of £100,000, a single firm of wine merchants alone, out of three hundred in Dublin, importing two millions a year at a cost of 16s. per thousand, with an added 5s. for freight. A better quality is actually produced in Ireland at less than two-thirds the price, 10s. per thousand with 2s. freight, but the manufacture, though carried on in a small way at twenty-two places, is altogether inadequate to the demand, which, it is calculated, would suffice to give constant employment to all the poor of Dublin at an average rate of wages of 10s. per week. Thus a source of comparative wealth to many indigent families is absolutely confiscated to the benefit of the foreign workman, by the absence at home of all industrial organization.

A still more melancholy tale of once flourishing industries, now moribund or extinct, is told in our author's pages. The typical history of the glass manufacture is narrated by him as follows:—

In the last century there were twenty-two flint-glass manufactories in Ireland. At the beginning of the present century there were fifteen.

Of these, thirteen lived till well within the century. There now remains only one. The factories at Waterford, Cork, and Newry used to turn out goods of the very finest quality. Old Irish cut-glass is eagerly sought for by collectors. The writer has himself bought in Waterford wine glasses of local make and of the highest degree of finish and brilliancy. They had been in one family nearly a hundred year. The famous "Glass House" of Waterford, where they were made, was in good working order thirty-five years ago. The gasalier in Waterford Town Hall is a good specimen of its manufacture. A Waterford decanter will now fetch treble the price of the best English crystal. The "Glass House" came to an end in consequence of a strike. It was owned by very rich people (they were Quakers), and when the workmen struck they quietly gave up the business and went away. Unhappily this is not the only instance in which a strike has killed an industry in Ireland. In certain other cases the works were stopped because they could not be made to pay, or because when foreign competition arose the glass-makers were seized with that species of paralysis which we have before observed in connection with other trades.

Ireland, from her abundant supply of granite, the substitution of which for sand dispenses with the use of sulphate of soda as an ingredient in the process, is peculiarly favourably circumstanced for the production of glass, and at Elbogen and Dresden five million bottles are annually manufactured from granite identical with that found in her northern counties. Yet Belgian glass undersells home-made in the Irish market, and a factory recently opened in Dublin had to be closed for this reason.

English competition on the other hand, or the fear of it, has killed the paper manufacture, for which large mills formerly existed in Dublin, Cork, and other places. For the rougher descriptions, now made from miscellaneous substances, this is inevitable, but in the finer qualities, made from rags, Mr. Dennis believes that a little enterprise only is needed to enable Ireland to hold her own. She still carries on a large manufacture of paper bags, but made entirely from imported material.

Coachbuilding is another of the trades whose prosperity is a thing of the past. The number of hands employed in it in Dublin, reckoned, at the close of the last century, as high as 1700 to 2000, had, after the famine, declined to 700 or 800, and the twenty-five factories then at work have since dwindled to ten, employing only about 200 men. English importation, combined with the depression of the landed interest, are here the principal causes of deterioration.

Of humbler handicrafts the same tale of steady decline is told. Thus the Irish boot and shoe manufacture, which formerly supplied the entire home market, is now ousted from seven-eighths of it by the inferior, but cheaper, production of English lasts.

The tanneries which once existed in every Irish town have disappeared, the curing of hides being effected in the West of England by a more expeditious, though less effectual, process than that in vogue in Ireland. Brushes, formerly an article of export to England, have now ceased to count as an Irish product, no factory being licensed for their manufacture, carried on, where it exists, only by individual workmen.

Mr. Dennis's list of languishing and decadent trades includes, in addition to those already mentioned, engraving, gun-making, glove-making, locksmithy, sculpture, ship-building, soap-boiling, chandlery, tool-making, type founding, shirt and collar making, straw hat making, fancy box making, bleaching and dyeing, button-making, machine lace making, cooperage, and sugar-refining.

All these industries [he says] are dead or dying. English competition has driven Irish cutlery out of the market, as our cutlery is being driven out by German wares. The Irish gentry no longer require guns, save for self-defence, and even these they buy in England; pin-making languishes for lack of Home Rule (so says the solitary pin-maker in Ireland); the copper and brass trade is declining from the sheer absence of skilled workmen, there being a very general aversion in the trade to apprentices; and jewellery is no longer bought—at least, none of Irish manufacture. Even dial-plate making, which formerly supported a good many skilled hands in Dublin, has died out. A few years ago there was but one dial-plate maker left in Ireland. He would not take an apprentice, and went to England. His disappearance killed the trade, and the plant he used was purchased for 15s. by the Museum of the College of Science.

A firm of gold and silver lace makers struggled against fate for forty years and then gave in. The banks of the Suir, at Waterford, used to ring with the merry hammers of the shipbuilders, but they are silent now. There is not a town in Ireland where you may not see one or more derelict mills, hollow and roofless, testifying to the lifeless condition of manufacturing industry in general.

Flour-milling, till recently a most lucrative trade, is in a state of woful decadence owing to American competition, so severely felt that two-thirds of the Irish mills have been closed within the past ten years. The larger concerns which still hold their own have only been enabled to do so by the adoption of steel rollers in place of the old mill-stones, the heating of the flour by the friction of the latter, producing so great a deterioration of its quality that it cannot compete with that which has undergone gradual reduction in the steel rollers. The American flour being all roller-ground, displaces the stone-ground quality, which no baker will take when the other is available.

The mutual interdependence of the various industries is curiously illustrated by the effects of this transference on cattle

and dairy farming. Flour, being a cargo easily stowed and handled, is brought by shipowners at nearly nominal rates, while the bran and other refuse of the grain separated in milling are so bulky and springy as to be necessarily left behind.

Hence it follows [says our author] that the offal of wheat and oats, which is so valuable for pig and cattle feeding, is chronically at famine prices. Thirty-five years ago the Irish millers were glad to get from £3 to £4 a ton for their bran; but now it readily fetches £6 or even £8 a ton, and the millers cannot supply the demand. In other words, the Irish cattlemen and dairymen have to pay double the intrinsic value of the bran, it is at once so necessary and so scarce. The Irish millers themselves admit that they could hardly work and meet the competition in foreign flour were it not for the exorbitant price they get for bran. That fact of course considerably handicaps the cattle and dairy industries. The price of bran in Ireland very often exceeds the price of wheat, a circumstance which led us to remark before that the cereal crops of Ireland, if they exceeded the needs of the population, might profitably be turned into food for cattle. One of the indirect effects of the revival of milling in Ireland would therefore be one of the most important. All the bran produced would sell readily at a good price, to the benefit both of producer and consumer; cattle raising and dairy farming would pay better, and the classes favourably affected would be able to raise their scale of living.

All these statements as to wheaten flour apply equally to oaten meal, of which large quantities are also imported from the United States, though oats, unlike wheat, is the staple cereal crop of Ireland. The evils of the present system are so great and obvious, that Mr. Dennis ventures, "with bated breath and with whispering humbleness," to mention the proposed remedy of a small protective duty amounting to 1s. per sack or 8s. per ton on imported flour, raising the price of the quartern loaf by half a farthing. The arguments on both sides are summed up by him as follows:—

On the one side, bread a farthing per eight pounds dearer. On the other, employment for thousands of mill hands, abundance of cheap milk and butter, a consequent increase in the growth and consumption of oatmeal, this in itself having in turn a favourable influence on the cattle and dairy industries; a large supply of cheap "seconds" flour for those who can afford it or do not care for oatmeal; with subsidiary advantages to the sack industry, the twine industry, carriers by sea and land, and so on. The question is whether the increased employment, the better and cheaper food, would make up for the extra half farthing on the loaf. It is rank heresy, we believe, to formulate such a question; to answer it in the affirmative would be high treason. Perhaps we had better let it alone.

It is, however, allowable to remark that, since bread is not in

Ireland, as in England, the poor man's staple food, the question of protection stands on a totally different footing in the two countries, and it is a pernicious error of modern doctrinaires to treat them as if their interests were in this respect identical. The belief, moreover, that a separate Irish legislature would find means, despite all statutory restrictions, to impose protective duties in favour of Irish industries is, in many minds, a strong, though unavowed, argument for Home Rule. The secondary results to a country of the sacrifice of any portion of its trade are too often left out of sight by theorists on political economy on this side of the water.

The modern revolution in transport, enabling English and American competition to crush out native production in these various branches of industry, is the main cause of their extinction, and its effects are assisted and redoubled by the high rates of inland, in contrast with the cheapness of foreign, transit. The inequality thus created is equivalent to a bounty on foreign as against native goods, and Mr. Dennis styles the system pursued by the Irish railways as a war waged by them on the industries of the country. The high fares charged for passenger traffic combine with infrequent train service to act as a check upon this department of the carrying trade, and the proportion of individuals who travel to the whole population, which in England amounts to twenty, is in Ireland but three and a half per cent.

Similar results, with more disastrous consequences, have ensued from the strangling of goods traffic by exorbitant rates, and the railway receipts per mile have remained practically stationary since 1849, a period which in England shows a fourfold, and in Scotland a threefold increase. Road carriage in Ireland consequently still competes successfully with steam transit, and carrier vehicles may be seen flowing in a continuous stream parallel to most of the lines of railway. But the heaviest injury is inflicted on local industry by the preferential rates in favour of imported goods, compulsorily enforced on the Irish railways under the dictation of the companies owning the English lines. They are thus constrained to transport sea-borne goods landed at the Irish ports at lower rates than those charged for conveyance from one part of Ireland to another. Hence such anomalies as the charge of 17s. 6d. for the transport of a ton of flax from Stranorlar in County Donegal to Belfast, a distance of 100 miles, while it may be brought from Flanders for 21s. 6d., or only 4s. more. The railways seek to recoup themselves by exorbitant charges on local traffic for the ruinous rates at which they are compelled to carry British and continental goods, and the low scale of through freight thus imposed, renders it actually cheaper for Irish wholesale houses to import their stock from England than to purchase

local products in other parts of Ireland. Heavy and cumbersome goods in particular, such as stone, slate, and marble, bricks, pottery, and earthenware, are more cheaply brought from over sea than carried for comparatively short distances overland in Ireland, and the whole internal trade of the country is so heavily handicapped in consequence that no manufacture can be carried on profitably save at a sea-port.

Mr. Dennis thinks the evil sufficiently crying to warrant State intervention, on the principle of a bargain with the railway companies, by which, in consideration of a guarantee of something like three per cent. interest on capital, they should consent to a revision of rates, the extension of facilities for traffic, and a certain amount of supervision by the authorities.

While Irish industry is thus overweighed by cost of transport in the struggle against foreign competition, it has to contend against a still more insidious adverse influence, in the prejudice against its products in the minds of the Irish themselves. Thus, though their homespun friezes are so popular abroad that an Irish province has given its name to the most universally worn overcoat in the world, though Lord Waterford exports nearly all his woollens to France, and the Blarney mills weave for Yorkshire and America, the very paupers in Ireland were, until recently, clad in Scotch tweeds and Bradford hosiery. A step in the right direction was taken in 1881, by the guardians of the North Dublin Union, when they determined to clothe the inmates of the workhouse in home-made fabrics. The example thus given was followed by other Unions, with the result, not merely of stimulating the native manufacture, but of effecting a saving in many cases of twenty per cent. in price and 100 per cent. in durability.

The spirit of preference for foreign articles pervades even the peasantry, and a recent American traveller,* entering the principal shop in Dungloe, a village in Donegal, and asking to be shown some home-made woollens, was told there was no sale for them, while piles of Scotch tweeds at higher prices were pointed out to him. The taste of the better classes in fancy articles of luxury follows the same bent, and the beautiful Belleek porcelain finds a market in every country but Ireland. Mr. Dennis tells of a visitor to the pottery, who saw, in the packing rooms, goods to the value of from £500 to £600 made up, not only for London, Paris, Rome, Florence, and Vienna, but even for New York and Philadelphia, while a paltry £5 covered the value of the orders for Ireland.

* "Ireland under Coercion. The Diary of an American." William Henry Hurlbert. Edinburgh; David Douglas. 1888.

If in manufactures, foreign competition combines with native taste to thrust the Irish producer from the market, it must be admitted that in agriculture his own thriftlessness is a powerful ally of his rivals abroad. Farming, though the chief business of the mass of the population, is carried on by methods described as the most barbarous in Europe, the alternation of barley with potatoes, and an occasional crop of oats by way of interlude, being the only substitute for the scientific rotation of crops considered indispensable elsewhere. This primitive system of husbandry is due to dependence on the potato as the principal esculent, the simplicity of its culture being its chief recommendation in the eyes of the Irish peasant.

He turns up his land [says our author], plants it, waits four or five months, and then digs the crop. The product of these operations is his sustenance. It has not, like cattle or wheat, or any of the higher products of farming, to be turned into money before it can be made available for his own use. The complex transactions by which producers and consumers in a civilized society provide for the wants of others and secure the satisfaction of their own do not enter into the economics of the Irish peasant. He sticks his potato into the ground, and in due time he gathers the harvest. Feeling hungry, he goes to his store, deals himself out potatoes enough for a meal, claps them into a pot, eats them, and is content. He is, in fact, only one remove from the savage who digs up roots from an otherwise undisturbed soil.

The relationship between the kindly earth and the mouth it fosters was rendered still more direct by the fatal practice formerly prevailing of only digging the potatoes when required for use, and leaving them soaking until then in the damp soil, instead of storing them in dry pits as soon as mature. The gradual enfeeblement of the plant by this treatment is believed to have predisposed it to disease, and thus to have been the chief cause of the Irish famine.

Scarcely less woful is the mismanagement of the hay crop. Not alone is it allowed to suffer considerable deterioration by too long deferring the harvest, but thousands of tons, worth £4 per ton in Dublin, Liverpool, or London, are annually lost from neglect of the means required for fitting it by compression for railway transport. Nor can ignorance or want of means be pleaded in extenuation of this wilful waste, for Mr. Dennis tells us how the Midland Railway Company got from America, some years ago, four of the most improved trussing machines, and vainly tried to instruct the people in their use.

That [he goes on] was when hay, unsaleable at the place where grown, would have been eagerly bought for £4 per ton in Dublin. The machines are now lying idle, nobody seems to know exactly

where. There was one case in particular of a man who could not sell his hay for £2 per ton. He was offered the chance of trussing it, and sending it for a charge of 7s. 6d. per ton to Dublin, where it would have fetched £4. He would not do it, he would not take the trouble.

In the great national industry of dairy farming, for which Ireland is better adapted by soil and climate than any part of Europe, the same neglect of improved methods has placed her far behind many other countries inferior to her in natural advantages. Irish butter, once admittedly the best in the world, has now to sail under false colours in order to cheat the English consumer's palate, as under its own name it is practically unsaleable in London. One of the principal Co-operative Stores in that city, which takes a large supply from the well-managed dairy of Mrs. Travers, Timoleague, County Cork, actually sells it as "Danish," and indignantly repudiates the possession of a single pound of Irish butter. The displacement of the latter in the London market is represented by a decrease in its importation between 1848 and 1884 from 379,000 to 5,168 packages, while that of foreign butter swelled, in the same time, from 576,888 to 1,703,772 packages. The comparative price list is equally significant, for Danish and German butter are at its head at £6 10s. and £6 respectively; Swedish, French, and Belgian come next at £5 14s. 6d., £5 12s. 6d., and £5 3s. 6d.; and Irish salt butter is classed lowest at £4 19s. 3d.; the quality known as "mild cured;" of which only a limited quantity is made, being, however, rated higher, at £5 11s. 6d. Thus there is a foundation of truth for Colonel Saunderson's caustic remark that "Cork butter is now used for the adulteration of butterine."

This reversal of the relative positions of the Irish and Continental producers is due at once to the stationary position, if not actual retrogression, of Irish dairy farming during the past sixty years, and to the rapid strides it has made throughout the rest of the world during the same period. Cows of an inferior breed, neglected in all the hygienic details essential to produce the animal perfection required of them, half-starved in winter, and allowed to roam the pastures practically wild in summer, yield but 123 pounds per year of comparatively inferior butter, instead of what should be their normal production—viz., 200 pounds of a much higher quality. Incredible slovenliness characterizes all the processes of the dairy; the milk is set in the close, ill-ventilated sleeping-rooms of the family, the churning is of the most primitive description, and the butter, heavily salted and dripping with water, sometimes in the proportion of 20 per cent. to its weight, is sent to market in a dirty firkin, if not in a rude lump tied in a cloth. As an instance of the want of nicety cha-

racterizing its subsequent treatment, may be mentioned the practice, frequently witnessed by the writer in the case of a country buyer for the Cork market, who invariably wiped the long scoop used for sounding the firkins on the mane of the nearest horse before plunging it in for the extraction of the next specimens.

Since the landowners, who, in England, take the lead in the improvement of this branch of rural industry, have been in Ireland alienated or abolished, Mr. Dennis thinks the intervention of the State is there urgently required, to rescue from total collapse a trade of such magnitude that its proceeds are still estimated at six million sterling. This course has been pursued in the countries of Northern Europe with such success, that in Finland the production of butter has been doubled within the last ten years, and its price multiplied by two and a quarter.

Meantime, it is pleasant to record that native initiative has not been altogether wanting, and that the success of the Munster Dairy School near Cork may well encourage the creation of similar institutions elsewhere. Not only do the eighty dairy-maids annually trained there command high wages, both in their own country and in England and Scotland, but the profits realized by the sale of the products of the school already go near to superseding the local guarantee, by rendering it self-supporting.

A commendable spirit of enterprise has also been shown in the eagerness with which the new process for separating cream from new milk by centrifugal machinery has been adopted throughout Ireland, a large trade in sweet cream having been thus created. A fresh industry in tin cans has also sprung into being as a secondary consequence, and the sudden demand for labour in this department along the banks of the Cork river caused recently quite an influx of prosperity among the classes affected. The revolution in the dairy business due to this invention is illustrated by the increase in the production of Danish butter from an average of nineteen million pounds yearly between 1877 and 1882, to thirty-two millions in 1887, and an estimated forty-five millions in 1888, a result attributed, in the Consular Report, to the use of centrifugal separators to the number of 2200.

The breeding of Kerry cows for stock ought to be a lucrative branch of Irish dairy farming, as they are comparatively scarce, and sell, when good, at very high prices. These little creatures, specimens of which, no larger than an ordinary donkey, formed an attractive feature of the Exhibition at Olympia, are very profitable to keep, from their large yield of milk in proportion to food consumed.

The parcel post has in a small way been a boon to the Irish dairy farmers, enabling them, when they can command private custom, to deal directly with the consumers, thus cutting off intermediate profits, and at the same time to escape the heavy transport rates, which render it cheaper to import butter into London from the rival producing countries of Europe than from the neighbouring island. Cattle-raising for the slaughter-house occupies a still larger place than dairy farming among Irish rural trades, the numbers exported amounting approximately to half a million of horned beasts and a million and a half of sheep. Mr. Dennis urges by forcible arguments the necessity, on economic grounds, of substituting a trade in dead meat for this large export of live cattle, as the deterioration of the carcasses from the sufferings inflicted on the animals by the journey, averaging thirty shillings per head, causes an absolute loss of over a million a year, sunk, as he says, in the Irish Channel. The value of the hides is also diminished by the condition in which the animal is slaughtered, while the leather trade is crippled by their export, and a number of lesser industries, like those connected with horn, and various forms of offal, are altogether annihilated. American and colonial competition is cited as a barrier to the Irish dead meat trade, but since the carcasses, instead of being frozen, as for a long sea voyage, would require merely to be chilled and transported in refrigerating vans, there is no reason why they should not be as profitably sold as those brought from Scotland under like conditions. The real obstacle, in Mr. Dennis's view, is the opposition of the middlemen, who have secured the control of the business by large advances to the graziers, together with the possession of a large proportion of shares in the cattle steamers. An experiment in this direction was actually made by the Midland Great Western Railway, and the attempt to develop a fresh pork export trade by the erection of an abattoir, where, in 1884, 20,000 pigs were slaughtered, proved, as far as it went, a complete success. The system never received, however, any further extension, for the reason, plainly stated by Sir Ralph Cusack, chairman of the railway, that "the traders did not like it." It is one of the misfortunes of Ireland, that the current of trade there never seems strong enough to sweep away the obstacles raised by private interests in order to dam it up in a particular channel.

The seas of Ireland should be as great a source of wealth as her pastures, yet here again her industrial history is one of misused opportunities. Her coast-line, of some 2000 miles in extent, is inhabited by a hardy and adventurous seafaring population, who yet see the fish, with which their waters teem, swept into the nets of English, Scotch, Norwegian, and Dutch fishermen, with scarcely an effort even to dispute the prey with them. The case

of a neighbouring country in all respects less favourably circumstanced offers a striking contrast.

Scotland [says Mr. Dennis], with a coast-line only 500 miles longer than that of Ireland, with fewer harbours, and less fruitful and more tempestuous seas, supports by her fisheries one-seventh of her entire population. Ireland supports less than one two-hundred-and-fiftieth.

That the decrease in this proportion is progressive is shown by the falling off in the number of men and boys employed in fishing, from the estimate of 50,220 for 1862, to 21,482 for 1886. Want of proper boats and gear is the principal cause of this neglect of natural resources. Deeked vessels of about 30 tons, costing from £200 to £400 each, are required for the deep sea fishing thirty or forty miles from shore, for which the small craft in use are quite unsuited. The inferiority of the gear and tackle is owing to ignorance of the art of net-making, practised by the fisher-folk of other countries, the cheaper and worse descriptions alone being within reach of the scanty means of purchase available. A sudden rise in the price of kelp some years ago, from £5 to £7 per ton, caused an actual retrogression in this respect, as the seafaring population, diverted from their proper avocation by the inflation of the rival industry, allowed their fishing-gear to fall into disrepair, which, with kelp now depreciated in price to £3 per ton, cannot be easily remedied. Then the lack, equally of proper transport to convey the fish to distant markets, and of curing-houses to save it on the spot, leads to destructive waste in seasons of abundance, and it is a common sight to see the potato gardens manured with sprats after an unusually plentiful take. Meanwhile, a traveller asking for salt fish at an inn in Connaught will be regaled with a dried haddock or herring, caught by a Scotch fishing-boat within thirty miles of the spot, conveyed to Dundee or Glasgow to be cured, and reimported into Ireland to be eaten in view of the ocean where it swam when alive.

The indolence or superstition of the fishermen is another barrier to their prosperity, and on certain days of the week, banned by local custom as unlucky, Galway Bay might have been seen, down to a recent time, actually roughened with shoals of fish, while the Claddagh boats lay beached on the strand, and their dark-browed owners lounged idly on the quay. The whole Connemara coast, where lobsters sell for 3s. 6d. to 5s. per dozen, and cod and turbot have no appreciable value, is untapped by a railway, and even the market of Galway is consequently inaccessible to its produce.

Mr. Dennis founds a claim to State assistance on behalf of the

Irish fisheries, on the unequal working of the bounty system established in 1819 and giving a premium on fish taken, fish cured, and boats built. For whereas Scotland had been for sixty years in enjoyment of this subvention ere it was withdrawn, giving her fisheries ample time to achieve an independent existence, those of Ireland were thus artificially fostered only for three years, a term too short to produce any permanent result.

Private beneficence has recently shown how judicious and well-planned assistance may succour a struggling industry, and the story of the Baltimore Fisheries is a lesson in practical philanthropy. The initiative came from the energy and sagacity of Father Davis, whose remote parish in the extreme south of Ireland consists of a group of sea-girt islands and a barren strip of coast. The precarious largesse of the sea alone stood between its inhabitants and starvation, while, for want of proper means and equipments, they were crippled in their only trade. An inspiration of charity suggested to their pastor to appeal, on behalf of his flock, in a quarter where a woman's generous heart holds Fortunatus's purse in trust for all who are at once destitute and deserving. Lady Burdett-Coutts, entering warmly into the scheme of the Irish priest, agreed to advance the large sum of money required to enable the fishermen of Cape Clear to compete on equal terms with their Manx and Dutch rivals, and £10,000 was at one time lent for this purpose, without interest or security. The islanders combined by families for the purchase of some eighteen or twenty of the stout Manx-built boats classed as yawls, costing with the necessary gear about £600 each, and with this fine fishing fleet they are now able to hold their own against all comers. Meantime, not only have the instalments for the repayment of the loan been faithfully and punctually met, but the once starving islanders are transformed into men of substance, with accounts in the local banks, while the decayed hamlet of Baltimore has grown into a thriving fishing port, placed in touch with the outer world by a steamer on the Ilen meeting the West Cork Railway at its present terminus, Skibbereen.

The success of this experiment has led to its repetition elsewhere. Other loans have been made by private individuals on similar terms, in addition to £200,000, of which only £20 remained unpaid, advanced in the County Clare by the Fishery Commissioners. Thus, a powerful stimulus has been given to the fishing industry throughout the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, causing, as a secondary result, the resuscitation or development of various minor branches of trade.

Nor did Father Davis's efforts relax when his first object had been achieved. Aided by large private subscriptions, Lady Bur-

dett Coutts again coming forward as a benefactress of the cause, together with the Duke of Norfolk and others, while the Government contributed a grant of £5000, and the County Grand Jury one of £1,000, he has established in Baltimore an industrial school of fishery, where 150 boys from all parts of Ireland are being instructed in all the practical business of their profession. The presence of a group of bright-faced sailor lads at Olympia, busied in making and mending nets, has given the British public ocular proof of the existence and efficacy of this institution.

The impetus given by judicious loans to a flagging or nascent industry could not be more aptly illustrated than by the episode of the Baltimore fisheries, which furnishes an encouraging and much needed proof that even in Ireland a great benefit may be thus conferred with little risk. The local banks do not, however, act on this principle, and their illiberal policy is denounced in a vigorous chapter of *Industrial Ireland*. Our author therein accuses them in round terms, of denying all credit to sound local enterprise, while investing in foreign speculation the capital drawn from the savings of the country, and thus draining away the very life-blood of its commercial system.

In regard to drainage, reclamation of waste lands, and the gradual restoration to the once Green Isle of the forest mantle of which she has been so recklessly stripped, he makes out a strong case for legislative or financial intervention on the part of the State, the immediate outlay required being here too large, and the prospect of reimbursement too remote, for the encouragement of private enterprise. We now turn from his discouraging picture of industrial decline, and scarcely less depressing review of resources requiring extraneous assistance for their future development, to the more cheering contemplation of instances where such aid has actually been proved efficacious in the past, or where an industry has flourished by its own inherent vitality.

This has been to some extent the case with the woollen trade, despite its temporary annihilation as a sacrifice to the commercial jealousy of England. The Act of 1699 forbidding the exportation of wool from Ireland to the continent, while from England and Wales it was excluded by practically prohibitive duties, gave a blow to Irish prosperity, which it has never recovered. Nor did this disastrous measure even fulfil its end of securing the desired monopoly, since it was defeated by a contraband trade on such a scale as to enable foreign weavers to undersell the produce of British looms. This restrictive legislation continued in force for forty years, long enough for the universal practice of smuggling created by it to have fostered in the Irish mind that habitual contempt for law which renders the task of governing the country an almost insoluble problem. The party feeling, which still runs

so high between the various sections of the population, may be traced to the same cause, for the linen trade, patronized by William of Orange, as a counterpoise to the persecuted industry, still associates its prosperity with his name, correspondingly execrated in the provinces where the rival manufacture flourished.

The Irish woollen trade has sufficiently recovered from the legislative ban to be now in a fairly thriving condition. There were in 1886 forty-seven factories, working 79,376 spindles and 763 power-looms, with 3136 hands employed. The largest establishments are those of the Messrs. Mahony at Blarney; of Mr. Leachman at Lear Vale, Clonmel; of the Messrs. Hill at Lucan, County Dublin; and of the Marquis of Waterford at Kilmacthomas. The latter previously squalid little village has been transformed into a thriving town by the neighbourhood of the factory, giving employment to 150 hands at good wages. The curious anomaly is noticed, that Ireland manufactures exclusively the class of wool—namely, the short soft staple used for clothing—of which she produces least, the bulk of her fleeces yielding the long staple, or combing wool, mostly sent to Bradford to be spun into worsteds and yarns. The restriction of the home market, owing to the prejudice of the Irish themselves against goods of native manufacture, is the principal obstacle to the development of the woollen trade, which is, in consequence, chiefly an export one. Its products, though more sound and durable, want the finish imparted to foreign cloths by a certain intermixture of shoddy, and some concession to public taste might be advisable on this point, as well as on those of colour and pattern.

The manufacture of poplin, a mixture of wool and silk, with the durability of the one and the sheeny lustre of the other, has always been an Irish speciality. Its very excellence, however, stands in the way of its general adoption, as milliners and mercers hesitate to recommend a fabric which, by outwearing twice or thrice over their ordinary goods, would correspondingly diminish their profits. The difficulty, so often lamented over at the present day, of getting a reliable black silk of foreign make, ought to stimulate ladies to exercise private judgment in this respect by trying the substantial and beautiful textures woven on the farther side of St. George's Channel.

The Ulster linen manufacture is the one Irish trade that stands in no need of extraneous assistance, and can hold its own against foreign competition by the unrivalled excellence of its product.

The condition of the factories, the health and comfort of the work-people, and the position of the article in the markets, leave [says Mr. Dennis] very little to be desired. The total volume of the trade, in-

cluding home consumption, is about twelve millions sterling, and the only really unsatisfactory feature is that five-sixths of the sum paid for the raw material go into the pockets of foreign flax-growers instead of into the pockets of the farmers of Ulster and Connaught.* In all other respects the trade is so managed as to secure to Ireland the greatest possible return. Ireland imports the flax, but she only parts with it again in the most highly finished form. The raw material is manufactured up to its highest commercial value. It is not only woven, but it gives employment to thousands of people in bleaching, in hemming and stitching, in embroidery and wood and paper box making, and in shirt and collar making. That is the proper way to conduct an industry. Industrial organization has reached its highest point when a community is itself employed upon all the various processes, from producing the raw material to turning out the finished article. If that plan were adopted in all the industries of Ireland, the condition of the country would improve by leaps and bounds.

The Irish flax factories were numbered in the official statistics for 1886 at 166, working 826,276 spindles and 21,954 power-looms, with a staff of 61,749 operatives. The whole textile industries of Ireland give employment to 68,158 people, the corresponding figure for Scotland being 152,279, and for England and Wales 814,474. The exports of linen yarns and manufactures from the United Kingdom were valued in 1886 at £6,192,626, an advance on the estimate of £5,947,631 for the previous year, while those of cotton and woollen goods sum up, in round numbers, to 68 and 24 millions respectively. The Ulster-linen trade, without altogether escaping the universal industrial depression of recent years, has suffered less than its twin manufacture in England, and has always returned a margin of profit to mill-owners. The largest factory in Ireland is that of the Flax Spinning Company, formerly Messrs. Mulholland, in Belfast, in which 970 power-looms and 2000 operatives are constantly at work. Here the flax fibre may be seen undergoing the various processes of combing and heckling, by which it is reduced from the rough tow-like bundles first manipulated by the "roughers," to skeins as soft and silky as an infant's hair. The process of "wet spinning," still principally in use, implies saturation by steam and consequent high temperature, necessarily trying to the health of the operatives, while the "roughers" suffer from pulmonary affections induced by the irritant dust given off by the flax in its first combing. They decline, however, to submit to the restraint of wearing the gauze respirators, by which these evil effects would be obviated. The linen leaves the looms in

* Flax culture is, however, again on the increase in Ireland, and the minimum of 89,225 acres grown in 1884 had recovered to 127,865 in 1886.

“webs” of from sixty to ninety yards long, still retaining the impress of the vegetable origin in a hue resembling that of newly saved hay. The bleaching grounds are in the country, and the approach to Belfast is indicated by tracts of linen whitening the grass, and suggesting, at a distance, a partial fall of snow. The works at White Abbey, on the Lough shore, about three miles from the town, employ 120 hands in the various processes undergone by the “web” before it is presentable in the market. These consist principally of soaking and boiling in various chemical solutions, followed by machine scrubbing with soap and water, the durability of the fabric depending on the thoroughness of these successive cleansings, which rid it of the lime and acids used to discharge its natural colour. The familiar laundry processes of starching and blueing then follow, sometimes with the addition of wax, the final “finish” being imparted by calendering or passage under revolving cylinders, faced with steel or gutta percha according to the surface desired. The “beetle finish,” acquired under the pounding action of a row of vertical beams, rising and falling in succession like the keys of an instrument, is still more costly and effective.

Plain white linen attains its final stage of perfection in the bleaching works, but the figured descriptions have to undergo the further process of printing. This may be seen in the factory at Whitewell, situated among rural surroundings, in a grassy park high up on the mountain side, facing the Scottish mainland across the intervening leagues of blue water. The workmen’s cottages are scattered through the grounds or grouped in an adjoining hamlet, and the workmen’s children, blue-eyed and barefoot, shout and scamper through copse and clearing. Crazy stairs and worm-eaten floors give a character of Hibernian homeliness to an establishment whose consumption of seventy tons of coal a week proves its commercial activity. Steam printing, by revolving copper cylinders engraved with the design, is carried on in one department, but is less interesting than the primitive method of impressing the pattern on bordered handkerchiefs by hand alone. A block or stamp is pressed on the cloth at regular intervals, after a dip into chemical colour which, pale at first, is developed by subsequent exposure to steam for two hours, when a faint ochre turns to bright red, or a dull brown to deep purple. Diaphanous muslins for the West Indian creoles, and bordered headkerchiefs for the Sandwich islanders, piled in close juxtaposition, testify to the cosmopolitan character of the trade.

A staff of designers is employed on the premises, where the manufacture of the blocks is also carried on. A narrow band of copper, bent at the desired angles and affixed by its edge to the block, gives an endless variety of geometrical tracteries, solid colour

being obtained by filling up the interstices with felt, but the more complicated designs are printed with a lead-faced stamp of French manufacture. The copper workers earn, by their highly skilled labour, requiring great manual dexterity, wages averaging 35s. per week. In a series of rooms, called "the library," are stored the disused blocks and cylinders, the latter numbering over 3000. As cotton and linen are printed by the same machinery, Manchester goods in considerable quantity are sent over here to undergo the process.

In another suburb, beneath the shade of venerable elms and beeches, is situated Messrs. Murphy & Orr's factory for the higher qualities of damask. In this establishment the hand-loom alone is used, steam-driven machinery being inadequate to the delicate treatment required by the finer yarns. Here may be seen growing, under guidance of deft fingers, the satin-rolled napery which forms the housewife's pride, and here is unfurled in glittering lengths from the loom, that still more beautiful fabric, the silk and linen damask, brocaded in two colours, first produced by this firm for the visit of the Princess of Wales, and intended for decorative table linen such as teacloths and centre-slips.

Flax, in another form, is used in Messrs. Marcus Ward's giant factory for printing, lithography, bookbinding, and ornamental box making, since linen fibre provides all the paper used on the premises. Here might have been seen a short time ago the curious spectacle of a Christmas book, for sale in Amsterdam, being printed in Dutch by Irish type-setters unacquainted with the language. The stamping of railway tickets, each with a different number, by self-acting machinery, is one of the many interesting processes freely subjected to the scrutiny of visitors by the courtesy of the proprietors.

The mill girls of Belfast, recognizable by a dark plaid folded cowl fashion over their heads, are a conspicuous element in the population. Efforts are not spared by the more charitable of their own sex to counteract the rough influences of their daily lives, and evening schools are held for their instruction, in which the classes are taught by ladies. Two large and handsome Catholic churches, thronged early and late by the working population alone, testify to their zeal for the faith here held by the minority, and we may trace a fanciful analogy between the origin of these imposing edifices, raised by the Irish flax-spinners, and that of the Florentine Cathedral, erected mainly by the offerings of the guild of wool.

Irish manufactures are at no disadvantage as compared with their English rivals in regard to their coal supply, conveyed across the Channel at rates, if anything, lower than its inland carriage in England. A large reserve exists, moreover, in the Irish coal-

fields, as yet only superficially worked, and containing an estimated aggregate of 209 million tons. The yearly production is actually decreasing, but only because the upper seams are becoming exhausted, while the deeper and richer stores are as yet untouched. Iron was at one time produced and even exported by Ireland, as the evidence of ancient slag-heaps goes to prove, and the denudation of the island of its timber has even been ascribed by some to the extensive use of wood in smelting. Over a district of 167 square miles in the county Antrim, pisolitic iron, yielding 40 per cent. of metal, is found, yet not a single ton of iron is now smelted in Ireland.

Well may we ask [says Mr. Dennis] why are not the coal of Tyrone and the iron of Antrim brought together to provide work for Irish labour, investment for Irish capital, and wealth for the Irish nation? Why leave the coal undug, and send the crude ore away to Cumberland, to Scotland, and to Wales, at prices that barely pay the cost of mining it? Why does Ireland import pig-iron when she might be so bountifully supplied at home?

The present abnormal state of the coal and iron trade, in which temporary inflation and over-production caused vast accumulation of stocks, supplies, in his opinion, the answer to his questions, and he believes that, if the prices of 1873 had been maintained, "Tyrone would now be the rival of Lanarkshire, and Antrim of Cleveland." Nay, he goes on to prophesy a future time, when, as the English coal supply becomes less accessible, that of the sister island may take its place, since, after it has to be sought in Great Britain at 4000 feet below the surface, it will still be reached in Ireland at half that depth.

But while these larger industries must depend for their future development on the great revolutions of trade, there are minor ones that unostentatiously prepare the road for them, as the minute labour of the coral insect lays the foundations of continents. The habits of industrial activity must be acquired at home, and the Irish hovel, with the six months idleness entailed on its inmates by the absence of multiplicity of culture, has hitherto been a school rather of indolence than of energy. Hence the importance of profitably utilizing this absolutely wasted time by means of the minor avocations known as cottage industries. Of these, lace-making, though exclusively a feminine occupation, is the chief, and the success in this field of the Irish peasant women should be an encouragement and example to their male relatives.

The first rural lace and work school in the south of Ireland was, we believe, the one started in the small town of Clonakilty, now some sixty years ago, by Miss Catherine Donovan, locally cele-

brated as "Miss Kitty." Compelled by health to abandon the vocation of a religious, she resolved to devote her life to good works in the world, and began by forming a little class for the instruction of poor girls in the elements of education, including needlework and a rude species of embroidery. From this humble commencement her admirable talent for organization developed the institution known as the "Clonakilty School," receiving commissions for the execution of lace and work from wealthy and aristocratic customers in all parts of the world.

To a religious, not alone in intention but by profession, Sister Mary of the Presentation Convent at Youghal, is due the invention of Irish point lace. Her earnest desire to help the starving people during the Irish famine set her mind at work on the problem how to do so, and the sight of a piece of old Italian lace suggested the solution. Embroidery, paid for at the rate of a penny an hour, was an industry already practised by the women of the district, and, after much patient study of her pattern, she selected a few of the most promising of these workers, and showed them how to copy it. The result was the production of Youghal point, first exhibited in 1852, at which 125 women, employed by the Sisterhood, are now earning from four to twelve shillings a week.*

Other convents vie with that of Youghal in their lace-work. The Poor Clares of Kenmare design their own patterns, and execute orders for Royalty; the Ursulines of Cork teach the peasant girls to imitate in crochet the old Venetian guipure, and Spanish and Italian point; at Clones is made a beautiful silk crochet, and in Tralee the rougher sort of Greek lace. Carrickmacross is celebrated for its delicate appliqué, Miss Keane's school at Cappoquin for its Venetian point, and Limerick for its old specialty in black and white lace, revived and improved by Mrs. Vere O'Brien.

Another class of embroidery for tea-cloths, curtain-borders, &c., executed on damask from old Italian, Greek, and Turkish designs, is now taught at Garry Hill, on Lord Bessborough's Carlow estate, by Mrs. Edward Ponsonby and other ladies. The articles produced, to which pillow-lace has recently been added, find a ready sale in London, where they are disposed of by Messrs. Debenham and Freebody, as well as by Mrs. Ponsonby herself at 15 Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square. To still larger proportions has grown Mrs. Ernest Hart's organization of the work of the Donegal peasantry, and its results may be inspected at Donegal House, 43 Wigmore Street, the London depôt of the Donegal Industrial Fund. Homespun tweeds and friezes, hosiery and underclothing,

* "Ireland and the Arts of Peace," *Tablet*, Aug. 18, 1888.

knitted and crocheted shawls and wrappers, here testify to the skill of the Irish peasant, when well guided and directed. The art of preparing useful dyes from indigenous plants, thus turning to account all the resources of the country, has been inculcated by the zealous founders of this institution. Though started in 1883 in pure benevolence, it has been rendered not merely a philanthropic, but a commercial success, mainly by the enforcement of the rigorous but necessary rule of rejecting all faulty work.

The Baron's Court Cottage Industry, established by the Duchess of Abercorn, deals in similar goods, and supplies socks to several regiments of Her Majesty's forces, both regulars and militia. The earnings vary from six to twelve shillings per week, and women flock in from ten miles round to receive the materials, weighed out to them by the steward's wife, who weighs again the completed work returned to her. The school boasts a diploma and medals, conferred at the Edinburgh Exhibition as a testimony to the excellence of its products.

While so many efforts are made to assist the struggling peasantry, the sufferings of another class are not forgotten; and Mrs. Power Lalor is the head of an organization for the sale of work executed by necessitous Irish ladies, reduced to penury by non-payment of rents and other charges on property. Plain and fancy work, art embroidery, and every form of decorative device are wrought by those who now find the leisure pastime of days of affluence their sole resource against starvation.

All these various undertakings, though charitable in their primary intention, are organized on the sound commercial principle of supplying a genuine want, and being financially self-supporting. The wholesome truth is thus recognized that a healthy growth must be supplied by natural means of subsistence, and that a spoon-fed industry will lead but a rickety and precarious existence. Neither must it be forgotten by enthusiasts for cottage manufactures, that hand-labour can only compete successfully with machinery when subsidiary to other means of support, and when made the means of profitably utilizing time which would otherwise be unproductive.

Mr. Dennis looks indeed to the homely fireside handicrafts as likely to fulfil a far higher function than their immediate one of relieving present distress. For in them alone he sees a hope of reviving the industrial habit, which has to an incredible extent died out in the country, and thus slowly rebuilding from its foundations on the lowest stratum of society the shattered fabric of national prosperity.

No inherent capability for any form of work is wanting to a nation whose sons develop such varied faculties and talents when transplanted to other shores. Irish brains supply half the

journalism of London, and Irish muscle half its manual labour; the emigrant from Galway or Clare has reclaimed the waste in Manitoba, the settler from the banks of the Suir or Shannon is the successful pioneer of sheep farming in the Republic of the River Plate. Irish statesmen have helped to build up the British Empire, and Irish soldiers are second to none on its roll of honour. The harvests of Kent are gathered by Connemara reapers, the hulls on the Clyde grow into shape beneath hammer blows dealt by the sturdy arms of Ulstermen.

But in this very drain on her population probably lies the secret of the industrial atrophy of Ireland. She exports all her best raw material in humanity as well as in other produce, and suffers from the absenteeism of talent as well as of property. The Irish emigrant, moreover, rarely returns, like those of other nations, to enjoy his improved fortunes in his native country, but seeks rather to transport his whole kith and kin to the happier land beyond the sea. It is a common experience in the Apennines of Tuscany and Lucca, to be saluted in English by a mountaineer, who, having spent a score or so of years in America, has returned to invest his savings in the purchase of a farm among the hills where he was born. This practical proof of patriotism is rarely given by Irishmen, and thus the soil does not share in the prosperity of its sons. The country languishes in proportion as the race thrives, and the new and more flourishing Irelands in Canada, in Australasia, and in the United States, must be regarded as at once the cause and compensation of the old Ireland's depletion and decline. The expenditure of so much energy abroad leaves her without sufficient vitality to struggle against the keen commercial competition of the modern world. Swamped with foreign goods, crippled by exorbitant rates of inland carriage, deprived, on free trade principles, of the protection required for her agricultural produce, it is no wonder if, with her reproductive energies thus spent in colonization, she flags in the race in which the commercial organization of centuries barely enables England to hold her own. And, since the working of economic laws is as independent of human control as that of the forces of the universe, it is in seconding, not opposing, them that their results may be corrected. Thus a remedy for Irish depression must be sought on the lines indicated in the pages from which we have quoted so largely, by fostering instead of forcing, and developing rather than striving to create.

E. M. CLERKE

LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE
BISHOPS OF BRAZIL.

Venerabilibus Fratribus Episcopis Brasiliae

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

IN plurimis maximisque pietatis significationibus, quas universae fere gentes, ad gratulandum Nobis annum quinquagesimum sacerdotii feliciter plenum, exhibuerunt quotidieque exhibent, una quaedam singulariter movit, a Brasilia profecta, quod nimirum, ob eius eventus faustitatem, libero sint iure donati non pauci ex iis, qui per latissimos istius imperii fines sub iugo ingemunt servitutis.—Tale quidem opus, christianae plenum misericordiae, curantibus cum clero viris matronisque beneficis, auctori Deo et largitori bonorum omnium oblatum est, tamquam gratiarum testimonium de aucto tam benigne Nobis munere aetatis et incolumitatis.—Nobis autem fuit acceptum in primis et iucundum, eo vel magis, quod in hac Nos pergrata opinione confirmabat, omnino velle Brasilianos servitutis immanitatem tolli penitusque extirpari. Cui quidem voluntati populari obsecundatum est eximio studio ab Imperatore pariter et a Filia augusta, itemque ab eis qui rei publicae praesunt, certis quoque legibus in id latis et sancitis. Quantum Nobis haec res afferret solatii, nominatim, superiore mense Ianuario, augusti Imperatoris apud Nos Legato declaravimus: hoc amplius adiuncto, Nosmetipsos ad Episcopos Brasiliae, miserorum servorum caussâ, litteras daturus.*

Nos quidem ad omnes homines vice fungimur Christi, Filii Dei, qui humanum genus amore tanto complexus est, ut non modo non recusarit, naturâ nostra suscepta, versari nobiscum, sed et nomen adamarit Filii hominis, palam testatus, se ad consuetudinem nostram propterea accessisse ut praedicaret captivis remissionem,† atque a pessima, quae peccati est, servitute humano genere vindicato, omnia quae in caelis et quae in terra sunt in se instauraret,‡ itemque universam Adami progeniem ex alta communis noxae ruina in gradum pristinum dignitatis restitueret. Aptissime ad rem S. Gregorius Magnus: *Quum Redemptor noster totius conditor creaturae, ad hoc propitiatus humanam voluerit carnem assumere, ut divinitatis suae gratia, dirupto, quo tenebamur captivi, vinculo servitutis, pristinae nos restitueret libertati, salubriter agitur, si homines quos ab initio natura liberos protulit, et ius gentium iugo substituit servitutis, in ea qua nati fuerant, manumittentis*

* “A l’occasion de Notre Jubilé, . . . Nous désirons donner au Brésil un témoignage tout particulier de Notre paternelle affection, au sujet de l’émancipation des esclaves.” (*Réponse à l’Adresse du Ministre du Brésil de Souza Correa.*)—† Is. lxi. 1: Luc. iv. 19.—‡ Ephes. i. 10.

*beneficio, libertate reddantur.**—Addecet igitur, et est plane muneris Apostolici, ea omnia foveri a Nobis impensique provehi, unde homines tum singuli tum iure sociati habere queant praesidia ad multiplices miserias levandas, quae, tamquam corruptae arboris fructus, ex culpa primi parentis profluxere: ea quippe praesidia, quocumque in genere sunt, non modo ad cultum et ut humanitatem valde possunt, sed etiam apte conducunt ad eam rerum ex integro renovationem, quam Redemptor hominum Iesus Christus spectavit et voluit.

Iamvero tot inter miserias, graviter deplorandum videtur de servitute, cui pars non exigua humanae familiae abhinc multis saeculis est obnoxia, in squalore iacens et sordibus, idque omnino contra quam a Deo et natura erat primitus institutum.—Sic enim ille rerum conditor summus decreverat, ut homo in bestiis et agrestibus et natantibus et volucris regum quemdam dominatum teneret, non item ut in similes sui homines dominaretur: *Rationalem factum, ex Augustini sententia, ad imaginem suam, noluit nisi irrationabilibus dominari: non hominem homini, sed hominem pecori.†* Quo fit ut *conditio servitutis iure intelligatur imposita peccatori. Proinde nusquam Scripturarum legimus servum, antequam hoc vocabulo Noe iustus peccatum filii vindicaret. Nomen itaque istud culpa meruit, non natura.‡*

Ex primi contagione peccati et cetera mala omnia et ista erupit monstruosa perversitas, ut homines fuerint, qui, memoriâ fraternae ab origine coniunctionis reiecta, noniam duce natura mutuum inter se benevolentiam mutuamque observantium colerent, sed cupiditatibus obedientes suis, homines alios infra se putare coeperint, et perinde habere ac nata iugo iumenta. Hoc modo, nulla ratione habitaneque communis naturae, neque dignitatis humanae, neque divinae expressae similitudinis, consecutum est ut, per certationes et bella quae deinde exarserunt, qui vi existerent superiores, ii victos sibi subiicerent, atque ita multitudo eiusdem generis individua sensim in duas abscesserit partes, sub victoribus dominis victa mancipia.—Cuius rei luctuosum quasi theatrum memoria praeorum temporum explicat, ad tempora usque Domini Servatoris, quum calamitas servitutis populos omnes late pervaserat, rariorque erat numerus ingenuorum, ut Caesarem poeta ille atrociter dicentem induxerit; *Humanum paucis vivit genus.§* Idque apud eas etiam nationes viguit, quae omni cultu expolitae eminebant, apud Graecos, apud Romanos, quum paucorum dominatio esset in plurimos; eaque cum improbitate et superbia tanta exercebatur, ut servorum turbae nihil supra censerentur quam bona, non personae sed res, omnis expertes iuris, ipsa adempta facultate retinendae fruentaeque vitae. *In potestate dominorum sunt servi, quae quidem potestas iuris gentium est: nam apud omnes peraeque gentes animadvertere possumus, dominis in servos vitae necisque potestatem esse, et quodcumque per servum acquiritur, id dominis acquiritur.¶*—Ex hac rerum perturbatione licuit dominis servos permutare, venumdare, hereditate tradere, caedere, morti dare, iisque abuti ad licentiam diramque superstitionem: im-

* Lib. vi. ep. 12.—† Gen. i. 26.—‡ Gen. i. 25, Noe c. xxx.—§ Lucan. Phars. v., 343.—¶ Iustinian. Inst., l. i., tit. 8, n. 1.

pune et in luce licuit.—Quin etiam ethnicorum qui prudentissimi ferebantur, philosophi insignes, consultissimi iuris, hoc sibi aliisque, per summam communis iudicii iniuriam, suadere conati sunt, esse servitum nihil aliud quam necessariam naturae conditionem; nec enim sunt veriti profiteri, quia servorum genus generi liberorum longe multumque et virtute intelligendi et praestantia corporum cederet, oportere idcirco, servos, veluti carentia ratione et consilio instrumenta, dominorum usquequaque voluntatibus temere indigneque servire. Eiusmodi detestanda maxime tum inhumanitas tum iniquitas; qua semel accepta, nulla iam sit oppressio hominum barbara et nefanda, quae non sese in legis quadam iurisve specie impudentissime tueatur.—Inde vero quale flagitorium seminarium, quae pestis et pernicies in civitates manarit, exemplorum pleni sunt libri: in animis servorum exacui odia, teneri dominos suspicione metuque perpetuo; alios ad explenda iras parare faces, cervicibus alios instare crudelius; aliorum numero aliorum vi civitates commoveri, levi momento dissolvi: tumultus et seditiones, direptiones et incendia, proelia caedesque misceri.

In eo deiectionis profundo mortalium plurimi laborabant, multoque miserius ut mersi erant superstitionum caligine; quum, maturis divino consilio temporibus, lux e caelo admirabilis oborta est, et gratia redimentis Christi ad hominum universitatem se copiose profudit; cuius beneficio illi erecti sunt e caeno et aerumna servitutis, omnesque omnino a deterrimo peccati servitio ad praestantissimam dignitatem filiorum Dei sunt revocati et adducti.—Apostoli enimvero, inde ab initio Ecclesiae, praeter alia praecepta vitae sanctissima, hoc etiam tradidere et inculcavere, quod est non semel scriptum a Paulo ad renatos e lavacro Baptismatis: *Omnes filii Dei estis per fidem, quae est in Christo Iesu: quicumque enim in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis. Non est Iudaeus neque Graecus, non est servus neque liber, non est masculus neque femina; omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Iesu.* Non est Gentilis et Iudaeus, circumcisio et praeputium, barbarus et Scytha, servus et liber; sed omnia et in omnibus Christus.† Etenim in uno Spiritu omnes nos in unum corpus baptizati sumus, sive Iudaei sive Gentiles, sive servi sive liberi, et omnes in uno Spiritu potati sumus.‡*—Aurea sane, honestissima, saluberrima documenta, quorum efficacitate non modo hominum generi decus redditur suum atque augetur, sed etiam, cuiuscumque ipsi sunt loci vel linguae vel gradus, inter se consociantur et vinculis fraternae necessitudinis arctissime continentur. Ea vere beatissimus Paulus, qua Christi urgebatur caritate, ex ipso Eius corde hauserat, qui se fratrem singulis cunctisque hominibus perbenigne dedit, quique de se omnes, ne uno quidem dempto aut posthabito, ita nobilitavit ut consortes adscisceret naturae divinae. Ea ipsa non secus fuere ac divinitus insertae propagines quae mirum in modum provenientes effloruerunt ad spem felicitatemque publicam: quum, decursu rerum et temporum, perseverante opera Ecclesiae, societas civitatum ad similitudinem familiae renovata coaluerit, christiana et libera.

Principio enim solertissima cura Ecclesiae in eo versata est, ut

* Gal. iii. 26-28. † Coloss. iii. 11. ‡ i. Cor. xii. 13.

populus christianus de hac etiam magni ponderis re sinceram Christi et Apostolorum doctrinam acciperet probeque teneret. Iam nunc per Adamum novum, qui est Christus, communionem fraternam et hominis cum homine et gentis cum gente intercedere: ipsis, sicut unam eandemque, intra naturae fines, originem, sic, supra naturam, originem unam eandemque esse salutis et fidei: omnes aequabiliter in adoptionem unius Dei et Patris accitos, quippe quos eodem ipse pretio magno una redemerit: eiusdem corporis membra omnes, omnesque eiusdem participes immensae divinae: omnibus gratiae munera, omnibus item munera vitae immortalis patere.—Hisce positis, tamquam initis et fundamentis, contendit Ecclesia ut servilis vitae oneribus et ignominiae mitigationem aliquam bona mater afferret; eius rei causâ iura atque officia dominos inter servosque necessaria, prout affirmata sunt in Apostolorum epistolis, definivit valideque commendavit.—Apostolorum enim Principes ita servos quos adiunxerant Christo commonebant: *Subditi estote in omni timore, non tantum bonis et modestis, sed etiam dyscolis.** *Obedite dominis carnalibus cum timore et tremore, in simplicitate cordis vestri, sicut Christo; non ad oculum servientes, quasi hominibus placentes, sed ut servi Christi, facientes voluntatem Dei ex animo, cum bona voluntate servientes; sicut Domino, et non hominibus; scientes quoniam unusquisque quodcumque fecerit bonum, hoc recipiet a Domino, sive servus sive liber.†* Idem Paulus Timotheo suo: *Quicumque sunt sub iugo servi, dominos suos omni honore dignos arbitrentur; qui autem fideles habent dominos, non contemnunt, quia fratres sunt, sed magis serviant, quia fideles sunt et dilecti, qui beneficii participes sunt. Haec doce et exhortare.‡* Tito pariter mandavit, doceret servos dominis suis subditos esse, in omnibus placentes, non contradicentes, non fraudantes, sed in omnibus fidem bonam ostendentes, ut doctrinam Salvatoris nostri Dei ornent in omnibus.§—Illi vero fidei christianae prisci discipuli optime intellexerunt, ex tali hominum fraterna in Christo aequalitate nihil admodum de obsequio, de honore, de fidelitate, de ceteris officiis, quibus ad dominos tenerentur, neque minui neque remitti; inde autem non unum consequi bonum, ut eadem nimirum officia et certiora essent, et leviora fierent atque suavia ad exercendum, et fructuosiora ad gloriam promerendam caelestem. Sic enim dominis reverentiam et honorem habebant tamquam iis hominibus qui auctoritate Dei, a quo omnis potestas derivatur, pollerent; non apud ipsos poenarum metus aut consiliorum astutia et incitamenta utilitatum valebant, sed conscientia officii, vis caritatis. Vicissim ad dominos iusta ab Apostolo spectabat cohortatio, ut bene factis servorum gratiam ipsi bonam rependerent: *Et, vos, domini, eadem facite illis, remittentes minas; scientes quia et illorum et vester Dominus est in caelis, et personarum acceptio non est apud eum: ||* considerarent, sicut servo haud aequum sortem dolere suam, quum *libertus sit Domini*, neque item homini libero, quum *Christi sit servus, ¶* licere usquam spiritus tollere super-

* 1 Petr. ii. 18.

† Eph. vi. 5-8.

‡ 1 Tim. vi. 1-2.

§ Tit. ii. 9, 10.

|| Ephes. vi. 9.

¶ 1 Cor. vii. 22.

beque imperare. In quo erat dominis praeceptum, ut suis ipsi in servis hominem agnoscerent convenienterque colerent, neque alios a se natura, et secum pares religione conservosque ad communis Domini maiestatem.—Istis tam rectis legibus, maximeque factis ad partes conformandas societatis domesticae, re ipsa paruerunt Apostoli. Insigne Pauli exemplum, ut fecit ille scripsitque benevole pro Onesimo, servo Philemonis fugitivo: quem ad eum remittit hac peramanti commendatione: *Tu autem illum ut mea viscera suscipe . . . iam non ut servum, sed pro servo carissimum fratrem et in carne et in Domino; si autem aliquid nocuit tibi aut debet, hoc mihi imputa.**

Utamque agendi rationem in servos, ethnicam et christianam, qui conferre velit, facile dabit, fuisse alteram inclementem et flagitiosam, alteram mitissimam plenamque honestatis, neque erit commissurus, ut Ecclesiam, tantae indulgentiae ministram, merita laude fraudare videatur.—Id eo vel magis, quum quis diligenter advertat qua Ecclesia lenitate et prudentia foedissimam servitutis pestem exsecuit depulitque.—Illa enim ad manumissionem libertatemque curandam servorum noluit properare, quod, nisi tumultuose et cum suo ipsorum damno rei publicae detrimento fieri profecto non poterat; sed praecipuo consilio prospexit ut animi servorum in disciplina sua erudirentur ad veritatem christianam, et consentaneos mores cum baptismo induerent. Quamobrem, in servorum multitudine quos sibi filios adnumerabat, si qui, spe aliqua illecti libertatis, vim et seditionem essent moliti, evitiosa studia improbavit semper Ecclesia et compressit, adhibuitque per suos ministros remedia patientiae. Haberent scilicet persuasum, se quidem, propter sanctae fidei lumen atque insigne a Christo acceptum, ethnicis dominis multum dignitate antecellere, ab ipso tamen fidei Auctore et Parente religiosius adstringi, ne quid adversus eos in se admitterent, neu minimum a reverentia eis debita et obedientia discederent; se autem quum nossent regno Dei adlectos, libertate filiorum eius potitos, ad bona non peritura vocatos, labore ne vellent de abiectioe incommodisque vitae caducae, sed oculis animisque ad caelum sublatis, se ipsi consolarentur sanctoque in proposito confirmarent. Servos in primis allocutus est Petrus Apostolus quum scripsit: *Haec est gratia, si propter Dei conscientiam sustinet quis tristitias, patiens iniuste. In hoc enim vocati estis, quia et Christus passus est pro nobis, vobis relinquens exemplum, ut sequamini vestigia eius.†* Laus tanta sollicitudinis cum moderatione coniunctae, quae divinam Ecclesiae virtutem praeclarius exornat, augetur etiam a fortitudine animi supra quam credibile sit invicta et excelsa, quam bene multis de servis infimis potuit ipsa indere et sustinere. Permira res, qui dominis suis erant in exemplum morigeri eorumque gratia omnium erant laborum patientissimi, nullo ipsos pacto potuisse adduci, ut dominorum iniqua mandata mandatis Domini sanctis anteferrent, atque adeo vitam acerbissimis cruciatibus, securis animis, securo vultu obiecisse. Nomen *Potamianae* virginis ad memoriam invictae constantiae ab Eusebio celebratur; quae scilicet potius quam impudici

* Ad Phil. 12-18.

† 1 Petr. ii. 19-21.

heri indulgeret libidini, mortem non timida appetiit, et profuso sanguine fidem Iesu Christo servavit. Similia admirari licet servorum exempla, qui, dominis libertatem sibi animorum, fidemque Deo obligatam oppugnantibus, firmissime ad necem repugnaverunt; qui vero, christiani servi, aliis de causis restiterint dominis, vel coniurationes turbasve civitatibus exitiosas concitarint, historia prodidit nullos.

Pacatis exinde rebus quietisque Ecclesiae temporibus, apostolica documenta de fraterna inter Christianos coniunctione animorum sancti Patres admirabili exposuere sapientia, et caritate pari ad servorum utilitatem transtulerunt, hoc enisi convincere, ut iura quidem dominis in operis servorum ex honesto constarent, nequaquam vero liceret imperiosa illa potestas in capita et immanis saevitia. In Graecis praestat Chrysostomus, qui habet hunc locum saepe tractatum, quique perlaeto animo et lingua affirmavit, servitutem, ad veterem verbi notionem, iam per id tempus, magno christianae fidei beneficio esse sublatam, ut sine re nomen inter Domini discipulos et videretur et esset. Etenim Christus (sic ille summam disputat), quum culpam origine contractam summa in nos miseratione detersit, sanavit idem consecutam multiplicem ad ordines societatis humanae corruptionem; proptereaque, quemadmodum mors per ipsum, terroribus positus, placida est ad beatam vitam migratio, ita sublatam esse servitutem. Christianum hominem, nisi rursus peccatis serviat, servum ne dixeris; fratres omnino, quotquot sunt in Christo Iesu renati et suscepti: a nova ista procreatione atque in Dei familiam cooptatione, non a claritate generis, ornamenta proficisci; a veritatis, non a sanguinis laude dignitatem parari; quo vero species ipsa evangelicae *fraternitatis* ampliorem habeat fructum, opus admodum esse, vel in externa vitae consuetudine, vicissitudinem quamdam elucere studiorum et officiorum libentissimam, ita ut servi eodem ferme loco ducantur quo domestici et familiares, iisque a patrefamilias non solum ea suppetant quae sunt vitae victusque, sed omnia etiam religiosae institutionis praesidia. E singulari denique salutatione Pauli ad Philemonem, gratiam adprecantis et pacem *Ecclesiae quae in domo tua est*,* documentum aequae dominis servisque christianis optime haberi statutum, quos inter communio sit fidei, inter eos communionem esse debere caritatis.†—De Latinis merito et iure commemoramus Ambrosium; qui tam studiose in eadem causa omnes necessitudinum rationes est persecutus, tamque definite ad christianas leges utrique hominum generi propria attribuit, nemo ut aptius fecerit: cuius sententiae nihil attinet dicere quam plene cum sententiis Chrysostomi perfecteque convenient.‡

Erant haec rectissime, ut patet, utiliterque praescripta; sed et iam, quod caput est, integre sancteque a priscis temporibus sunt custodita ubicumque floruit christiana professio.—Quod nisi esset, non ita Lactantius, defensor ille religionis eximius, confidenter quasi testis

* Ad Phil. v. 2.

† Hom. xxix. in Gen., or. in Lazar., Hom. xix. in ep. i. ad Cor., Hom. i. in ep. ad Phil.

‡ De Abr. de Iacob, et vita beata c. iii., de Patr. Ioseph. c. iv., Exhort. virgin. c. i.

instaret: *Dicit aliquis: Nonne sunt apud vos alii pauperes, alii divites, alii servi, alii domini? Nonne aliquid inter singulos interest? Nihil: nec alia causa est cur nobis invicem fratrum nomen impertiamur, nisi quia pares esse nos credimus; nam quum omnia humana, non corpore sed spiritu metiamus, tametsi corporum sit diversa conditio, nobis tamen servi non sunt, sed eos et habemus et dicimus spiritu fratres, religione conservos.**

Procedebant Ecclesiae curae in patrocinio servorum, et, nulla missa opportunitate, eo usque caute pertinebant, si tandem ii possent in libertatem dari: quod profuturum valde erat ad salutem etiam sempiternam.—Bene respondisse eventus, annales sacrae antiquitatis afferunt testimonia. Nobiles ipsae matronae, Hieronymi laudibus spectatissimae, huic rei iuvandae singularem operam contulerunt: referente autem Salviano, in christianis familiis, iisque non ita locupletibus, fiebat saepenumero, ut servi manumissione munifica liberi abirent. Quin etiam eo praeclarius specimen caritatis S. Clemens multo ante laudavit; quemadmodum Christiani nonnulli sese servituti, conversis personis, subiecerint, quod servos quosdam alio pacto liberare nequissent. † Quare, praeter quam quod servorum manumissio in templis haberi, item ut actio pietatis, coepta est, eam Ecclesia instituit christifidelibus testamenta facientibus commendare, tamquam opus pergratum Deo magisque apud ipsum meriti et praemii: ex quo illa manumissionis heredi mandandae concepta verba *pro amore Dei, pro remedio vel mercede animae meae*. Neque rei ulli, in pretium captivorum, temperatum est: donata Deo bona, divendita; aurum et argentum sacrum, conflata; basilicarum ornamenta et donaria, alienata: id quod Ambrosius, Augustinus, Hilarius, Eligius, Patritius, alii multi et sanctissimi viri fecerunt non semel.—Vel maxime fecerunt pro servis Pontifices romani, illi vere in omni memoria et infirmiorum tutores et vindices oppressorum. S. Gregorius M. quam plurimos potuit ipse in libertatem asseruit, et in concilio romano an. DXCVII iis libertatem concessam voluit qui monasticam vitam agere constituissent: posse servos, invitatis dominis, matrimonium libere inire Hadrianus I defendit: ab Alexandro III, an. MCLXVII, apertissime edictum est mauro Valentiae regi, ne quem christianum hominem servitio addiceret, quod nemo natura servus, a Deo liberi omnes facti. Innocentius autem III, an. MCCII, Ordinem *Sanctissimae Trinitatis Christianis redimendis* qui Turcarum in potestatem incidissent, rogatu auctorum, Ioannis a Matha, Felicis Valesii, probatum ratumque habuit. Similem huic Ordinem *Mariae sanctae a Mercede* Honorius III posteaque Gregorius IX rite probavere: quem Petrus Nolascus ea ardua lege condiderat ut religiosi illi homines se ipsi pro Christianis in tyrannide captivis captivos devoverent, opus si esset ad redimendos. Idem Gregorius magis amplum libertatis subsidium decrevit, ut Ecclesiae servos nefas esset permutari: idem exhortationem ad Christifideles addidit, ut pro admissorum poenis servos suos Deo Sanctisque piaculi causâ donarent.—Accedunt multa in hac re benefacta Ecclesiae. Ipsa etenim servos ab asperis dominorum iris damnosisque iniuriis, adhibitâ severitate poen-

* Divin. Instit. i. v., c. 16.

† 1 Ep. ad Cor. c. 55.

arum, defendere consuevit; quos violenta manus vexaret, iis perfugia pandere aedes sacras; manumissos accipere in fidem, atque eos animadversione continere, qui ausi malis artibus liberum hominem in servitutem redigere. Eo ipsa propensius libertati favit servorum, quos quoquo modo, pro temporibus locisque, haberet suos; vel quum statuit ut omni servitutis vinculo ab episcopis solverentur, qui se laudabili vitae honestate aliquamdiu probassent, vel quum episcopis facile permisit, ut sibi addictos suprema voluntate liberos dicerent. Dandum item miserationi et virtuti Ecclesiae, quod servis remissum aliquid sit de gravitate legis civilis, quoad est impetratum, ut proposita Gregorii Magni temperamenta, in scriptum ius civitatum recepta, valeret: id autem factum, Carolo Magno praesertim agente, qui ea in *Capitularia* sua, quemadmodum postea Gratianus in *Decretum*, induxit. Monumenta denique, leges, instituta, continuo aetatum ordine, docent et declarant magnifice summam Ecclesiae caritatem in servos, quorum conditionem afflictam nullo tempore vacuam tutela reliquit, omni semper ope allevavit.—Itaque Ecclesiae catholicae, amplissimo Christi Redemptoris beneficio, expultrici servitutis, veraeque inter homines libertatis, fraternitatis, aequalitatis effectrici, satis numquam, proinde ac de prosperitate gentium merita est, haberi potest vel laudis vel gratiae.

Saeculo inclinante quinto decimo, quo tempore, funesta servitutis labe apud gentes christianas prope deleta, sese civitates in libertate evangelica stabilire atque etiam latius proferre imperium studebant, haec Apostolica Sedes diligentissime cavit, necubi mala eiusdem pravitatis germina reviviscerent. Ad regiones igitur nove repertas Africae, Asiae, Americae, vigilem providentiam intendit: fama enim manaverat, earum duces expeditionum, homines christianos, armis ingenioque minus recte uti, ad struendam imponendamque innoxiiis nationibus servitutem. Cruda scilicet natura soli, quod erat subigendum, neque minus metallorum opes explorandae, effodiendae, quum operas bene validas postularent, iniusta plane suscepta sunt atque inhumana consilia. Fieri enim coepta est quaedam mercatura, servis ad id opus ex Aethiopia deportandis, quae, nominata deinceps *la tratta dei Negri*, nimium quantum eas occupavit colonias. Secuta quoque est, non absimili iniuria, indigenarum hominum (qui universe *Indi* appellati) ad modum servitutis oppressio. His de rebus ubi Pius II certior est factus, morâ nulla interposita, die VII oct. an. MCCCCLXII, epistolam dedit ad episcopum Rubicensem, qua tantam improbitatem redarguit et damnavit. Aliquo post tempore, Leo V quantum potuit officiorum et auctoritatis apud reges et Lusitaniae et Hispaniarum adhibuit, qui eam licentiam, religioni pariter atque humanitati iustitiaeque probrosam, radicitus excidendam curarent. Nihilo minus ea calamitas confirmata haerebat, manente impura causa, inexplebili habendi cupiditate. Tum Paulus III, de conditione Indorum servorumque maurorum paterna caritate anxius, ad hoc venit extremum consilii, ut solemni decreto, in luce quasi conspectuque omnium gentium, pronuntiaret: triplicis modi potestatem illis deberi universis iustam et propriam; posse nimirum sui quemque esse iuris, posse

consociatos suis legibus vivere, posse rem sibi facere et habere. Hoc amplius, litteris missis ad Card. Archiepiscopum Toletanum, qui fecissent contra idem decretum, in eos statuit interdictionem sacrorum, integra romano Pontifici reconciliandi facultate.* Eadem providentia eademque constantia, Indis atque Mauris, iisque vel nondum christiana fide instructis, alii subinde Pontifices sese assertores libertatis acerrimos praestitere, Urbanus VIII, Benedictus XIV, Pius VII; qui praeterea in principum Europae foederatorum Vindobonensi conventu, communia consilia huc etiam advertit, ut ea Nigritarum distractio, quam diximus, multis iam desueta locis, funditus convelleretur. Etiam Gregorius XVI negligentes humanitatis et legum gravissime admonuit, idemque Apostolicae Sedis decreta statutasque poenas revocavit, et rationem nullam praetermisit ut externae quoque nationes, europaeorum secutae mansuetudinem, a dedecore et feritate servitutis abstinerent, abhorrerent.† Opportunissime vero Nobis accidit, ut suâ summorum principum rerumque publicarum moderatores gratulatione prosequamur, quibus perseveranter instantibus, querimoniis diuturnis aequissimisque naturae et religionis iam satis est factum.

In re tamen persimili residet Nobis in animo alia quaedam cura quae non mediocriter angit, et Nostram urget sollicitudinem. Quippe tam turpis hominum mercatura ea quidem mari fieri desit, terrâ vero nimis multum nimisque barbare exercetur; idque maxime in nonnullis Africae partibus. Hoc enim perverse a Mahometanis posito, hominem Aethiopem adsimilise nationis vix aliquo numero supra esse belluam, videre licet et horrere perfidiam hominum atque immanitatem. Ex improvise in Aethiopum tribus, tale nihil metuentes, more irruunt impetuque praedonum; in pagos, in villas, in metalia incursant, omnia vastant, populantur, diripiunt; viros perinde et feminas et pueros, facile captos vinctosque abducunt, ut per vim ad nundinas trahant flagitiosissimas. Ex Aegypto, ex Zanzibar, partim quoque ex Sudan, quasi et stationibus, illae detestabiles expeditiones deduci solent; per longa itinera pergere viri constricti catenis, tenuissimo victu, sub crebra verberum caede; ad haec ferenda imbecilliores necari; qui satis salvi, gregatim cum reliqua turba ire venum, atque emptori prostare moroso et impudenti. Cui vero quisque venditus et permissus sit, discidio miserabili qua uxorum, qua liberorum, qua parentum, illius in potestate ad servitutem adigitur maxime duram et fere nefandam, neque ipsa recusare potest sacra Mahometi. Haec Nos, summa animi aegritudine, a quibusdam non ita ante accepimus, qui coram nec sine lacrimis eiusmodi infamiam et deformitatem spectaverunt: cum iis autem plane cohaerent qua a nuperis Africae aequinoctialis exploratoribus sunt narrata. Quin etiam istorum ex testimonio et fide compertum apparet ad quater centena millia sic homines afros vendi solitos, pecorum instar, quotannis; quorum dimidiam circiter partem de viis asperrimis languidos concidere ibique interire; ut, sane ad dicendum quam triste, velut factam ex residuis ossibus semitam ea loca peragrantes dispiciant.—

* *Veritas ipsa*, 2 Jun. 1559.

† *In supremo Apostolatus fastigio*, 3 Dec. 1837.

Quis non tantarum miseriarum cogitatione moveatur? Nos equidem qui personam gerimus Christi, amantissimi omnium gentium Sospitatoris et Redemptoris, quique adeo laetamur de plurimis gloriosisque Ecclesiae promeritis in omne genus aerumnosos, vix possumus eloqui quanta miseratione erga illas afficimur infelicissimas gentes, quanta caritatis amplitudine ad eas pandimus brachia, quam vehementer cupimus omnia ipsis posse allevamenta et subsidia impertire, eo proposito ut, simul cum servitute hominum, servitute superstitionis excussa, uni veroque Deo, sub Christi suavissimo iugo, possint tandem servire, divinae hereditatis nobiscum participes. Utinam omnes, quicumque imperio et potestate antecedunt, vel iura gentium et humanitatis sancta esse volunt, vel religionis catholicae incrementis ex animo student, ubique omnes, hortantibus rogantibus Nobis, ad eiusmodi mercaturam, qua nulla inhonesta magis et scelerata, comprimendam, prohibendam, extinguendam enixe conspiciunt.—Interea, dum acriore ingeniorum et operum cursu nova itinera ad africanas terras, nova commercia instruuntur, contendant viri apostolici, ut, quoad melius fieri possit, sit salutis servorum libertatique consultum. Huc ipsi alio praesidio nullo reapse proficient, nisi, divinâ gratia roborati, toti sint in disseminanda fide nostra sanctissima eaque laboriosius in dies alenda; cuius est fructus insignis ut libertatem mire conciliet ac pariat *qua Christus non liberavit*.* Itaque, tamquam in speculum virtutis apostolicae, inspiciant monemus in vitam et facta *Petri Claver*, cui recentem gloriae lauream addidimus: in eum inspiciant, qui summâ laborum constantiâ, annos continenter quadraginta, maurorum gregibus servorum miserrimis sese totum impendit, vere ipsorum Apostolus praedicandus, quibus se perpetuum servum et profitebatur et dabat. Caritatem viri, patientiam si curae habeant sumere sibi et referre, ii profecto digni existent administris salutis, auctores consolationis, nuntii pacis, qui solitudinem, incultum, feritatem, in ubertatem possint religionis cultusque laetissimam, Dio iuvante, convertere.

Iamque in vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, cogitatio et litterae Nostrae gestiunt conquiescere, ut vobis iterum significemus iterumque vobiscum sociemus singulare quod capimus gaudium, ob ea quae isto in Imperio publice inita sunt de servitute consilia. Siquidem per leges quum provisum cautumque sit, ut, quotquot sunt adhuc de conditione servili, in ordinem et iura liberorum debeant admitti, id Nobis ut bonum et faustum et salutare per se videtur, sic etiam spem firmat fovetque ad auctus rei civilis reique sacrae in futurum laetandos. Ita Brasiliici nomen Imperii apud humanissimas quasque gentes erit merito in commemoratione et in laudibus, nomenque simul florebit Imperatoris augusti; cuius ea fertur praeclara vox, nihil se habere optatius, quam ut omne in finibus suis servitutis vestigium celeriter deleatur.—At vero, dum ea ipsa legum iussa perficiuntur, incumbite alacres, omni ope rogamus, et operam providentissime date praesenti rei, quam difficultates impediunt profecto non leves. Omnino per

* Galat. iv. 31.

vos efficiendum, ut domini et servi optimis inter se animis congruant optimaque fide, neu quidquam de clementia aut de iustitia decedant, sed, quaecumque transigenda sunt, omnia legitime, sedate, christiano modo transigant: quod enim exoptabant omnes, tolli et deleri servitutem, hoc prospere cedat optandum maxime est, nullo divini vel humani iuris incommodo, nulla civitatis perturbatione, atque adeo cum solida ipsorum, quorum agitur causa, utilitate servorum.— Quibus singulatim, sive qui iam facti liberi sunt, sive qui fient propediem, monita nonnulla salutis, e sententiis delibata magni gentium Apostoli, pastoralis cum studio animoque paterno commendamus. Ergo illi memoriam et voluntatem gratam pie ad eos servare diligenterque profiteri studeant, quorum consilio operaque in libertatem vindicati sunt. Tanto se munere numquam præbeant indignos, nec umquam libertatem cum licentia cupiditatum permisceant: eâ vero utantur quo modo cives decet bene moratos, ad industriam vitae actuosae, ad comoda et ornamenta quum familiae tum civitatis. Vereri et colere maiestatem principum, parere magistratibus, legibus obtemperare, haec officia et similia, non tam metu adducti quam religione, assidue exsequantur: etiam cohibeant arceantque alienae copiae et praestantiae invidiam, quae dolendum quam multos ex tenuioribus quotidie torqueat et quam multa ministret nequitiae plena instrumenta adversus ordinum securitatem et pacem. Re sua et statu contenti, nihil carius cogitent, nihil appetant cupidius quam bona regni caelestis, quorum gratiâ in lucem editi sunt et a Christo redempti: de Deo eodemque Domino ac Liberatore suo cum pietate sentiant, eum totis viribus diligant, eius mandata omni cura custodiant. Sponsae eius, Ecclesiae sanctae, se filios esse gaudeant, esse optimos laborent, et quam possint amoris vicem sedulo reddant.

Haec eadem documenta vos item, Venerabiles Fratres, ipsis suadere et persuadere libertatis insistite; ut, quod summum est Nobis votum idemque vobis bonisque omnibus esse debet, partae libertatis fructus religio in primis, quacumque istud patet Imperium, amplissimos habeat, ad perpetuitatem persentiat.

Id autem quo succedat felicius, cumulatissimam a Deo gratiam opemque maternam Immaculatae Virginis imploramus et exposcimus. Caelestium munerum auspiciem paternaeque Nostrae benevolentiae testem, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, clero populoque universo Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die V Maii An. MDCCCLXXXVIII.

Pontificatus Nostri Undecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

Science Notices.

Celestial Photography.—The great international work of photographically charting the entire heavens will be begun next year at fifteen or sixteen observatories. Most of the civilized peoples of the earth will take part in it. France has led the way in promoting the scheme, and will co-operate in its execution at Paris, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Algiers. Spain has appointed a charting-station at San Fernando, Mexico will help at Tacubaya, Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, Chili at Santiago, the Argentine Republic, already famous for its astronomical enterprise, at La Plata. Austria and Australia will besides almost certainly contribute their respective quotas from Vienna and Sydney. Our own Government has found it curiously difficult to make up its mind on the subject; but since it is at last announced that Parliament will be asked to vote the supplies necessary for providing both Greenwich and the Cape observatories with photographic telescopes, its hesitation is no longer worth remembering. Each will cost less than £1500, and the yearly expense of keeping it employed will amount to perhaps £200, so that the entire outlay is scarcely formidable enough to alarm the sensitive instincts of even the most apprehensive and economical Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Within four years, it is expected that the two series of plates, required for carrying out the plan adopted at the Paris Congress of April 1887, will be ready. This consists, first, in the preparation of a photographic picture of the skies embracing all stars to the fourteenth magnitude inclusive, to the estimated number of about twenty-five millions; next, in the provision of a "photographic catalogue" of some two million stars down to the eleventh magnitude. The two parts of the scheme are most intimately connected. For it is perfectly obvious that the mere delineation, in the form of an apparently countless throng of dark dots on glass negatives, of twenty-five million stars, would be utterly useless without the means of individually identifying them. And they can only be identified by the presence on each plate of several known, or catalogued stars, from which the positions of the others can be derived by accurate measurements. Hence the distinction between the "chart-plates" and the "catalogue-plates." The first series will be exposed during a quarter of an hour, the second only for a few minutes, under conditions nicely adapted to secure the utmost possible precision.

When the two series—each comprising some twenty thousand plates—have been successfully obtained, the work will enter upon a second stage, likely to be considerably more tedious than the first. To deduce a catalogue complying with all the refined exigencies of

modern astronomy, from mere impressions of the stars, is a less simple process than might be supposed by the uninitiated. Its details have lately been elaborated by Dr. Gill, the able director of the Cape Observatory, in a paper which undoubtedly marks a "new departure" in practical astronomy. He insists, above all, on the necessity of a "Central Bureau" for organizing and pushing forward the indispensable reductions, calculations, and measurements. These will occupy, according to his estimate, a quarter of a century, and will cost £10,000 a year, to be contributed, in shares equitably apportioned, by all the nations engaged in the joint undertaking.

When it is accomplished, twenty-five million stars will be really *known* to astronomers. Twenty-five million suns, large and small, will have been brought within the ken of science. Henceforward, not one among them can undergo without detection any marked change either of position or brightness. Each can be confronted, after the lapse of centuries, with documentary evidence relative to its condition in the year 1900. Nor is it only individual stellar vicissitudes, profoundly interesting though they be, that will thus be brought to light. The great problem of "how the heavens move," though beyond question insoluble in its entirety by the human intellect, may also receive a measure of elucidation. "Star-drift" on a vast scale will perhaps be rendered apparent; the march of processions of suns, the unfolding of spiral wreaths of suns, will begin to become sensible; dominant orbs will visibly control the movements of lesser ones in their neighbourhood; something of the obscurity which at present involves the purpose and circumstances of our own journey through space may be dissipated. Nay, the simple counting of the stars on the plates may help us to fix approximately the boundaries of the sidereal universe. For it can be determined whether the numbers of the stars continue to increase with their decreasing grades of brightness, in the same proportion as for the higher magnitudes, or whether a *thinning-out* manifests itself among the faintest and (presumably) most distant luminaries. Experimental proof may in this way not improbably be afforded as to the finite character of the visible scheme of things.

The *scale* of the stellar world seems, however, to widen continually under our scrutiny. Researches into the parallaxes of the stars attest, with growing emphasis, their enormous and inconceivable remoteness. Professor Pritchard, who led the way and at present stands alone in applying photography to this purpose, is successfully prosecuting the inquiry at Oxford. Six stars have so far been determined by him. As regards the famous pair 61 Cygni, his negatives practically confirm the visual measurements of Sir Robert Ball. They show the revolving stars, although among the very nearest to the earth, to be still so remote that light must employ seven years and seven months in travelling from them to our eyes. The pole-star is eight and a half times farther away, so that we see it in the place it occupied no less than sixty-five years ago. The swift-moving star, μ Cassiopeiæ, sends its beams to us from a yet

profounder abyss of space ; a brilliant second-magnitude star in the same constellation, discovered by Father Secchi to possess an atmosphere of vividly blazing hydrogen, proves to be immeasurably remote. Both the two brightest stars in Cassiopeia, on the other hand, are found by Professor Pritchard to lie nearer to the earth than the pole-star ; though the distance of α Cassiopeia is nearly six times, that of β two and a third times that of δ Cygni. From the vast majority of the stars it appears probable that the transit of light hither occupies hundreds or even thousands of years. So that the picture of the heavens for the year 1900, looked for as the result of the photographic charting process soon to be set on foot in both hemispheres, will belong in reality to a multitude of different epochs, for the most part unknown, and reaching back, in some cases, to the dim prehistoric past.

The Great Southern Variable.—The announcement that γ Argus is beginning to revive is of singular interest to those acquainted with the history of the star. Its exceptional nature was first brought prominently to the notice of astronomers by Sir John Herschel's observation at the Cape on December 16, 1837, of the sudden tripling of its light. It then decidedly surpassed Procyon, and continued to increase during about a fortnight, until its only superiors in the sky were Sirius and Canopus. This high level was not, however, long maintained, and γ Argus had sunk to about the level of Aldebaran before the end of April 1838. In 1843, however, a still more brilliant outburst than that witnessed by Herschel was observed by Maclean, then the Royal Astronomer at the Cape. After some curious preparatory "flutterings," it reached its highest known maximum in April of that year, when it nearly equalled Sirius. Until the end of 1844, it remained generally brighter than Canopus, but, with the beginning of 1845, a definitive decline set in, which proceeded, nevertheless, at so leisurely a rate that in 1856 the lustre of the star still rivalled that of α Centauri. It touched, however, the limit of naked-eye visibility in 1868, and has ever since remained below it.

Now it appears, from Mr. Tebbutt's observations at New South Wales, that the ebb of light in this extraordinary object has at length run out, and that the flow of the luminous tide has set in. There seems no doubt that the star gained half a magnitude between April 1887 and May 1888, and that its rays, though still of a ruddy tint, have put off a certain dulness, suggestive of semi-extinction, and assumed a more sparkling and vivacious character than they have shown for many years. A rapid upward movement is hence believed to be at hand, culminating, perhaps, in a blaze no less vivid than that of forty-five years ago.

The changes of this star are nothing new ; we have clear evidence that they have been in progress during at least two centuries. The first extant observation was made by Halley at St. Helena in 1677, when γ Argus was of the fourth magnitude, while about ten years later, at Macao, Father Noel, a Jesuit missionary, noted it unsus-

pectingly as of the second. Nor had it, although it may have undergone many intermediate vicissitudes of which we know nothing, fallen off from that standard when Lacaita visited the Cape in 1751. Early in the present century, however, its descent once more to the fourth magnitude was testified to by the African traveller Burchell, who, at San Paulo, near Rio Janeiro, in 1827, saw with amazement the same star equal the brightest gem of the Southern Cross. A period of sixty-seven years was assigned to its fluctuations by Professor Loomis, the well-known American meteorologist and astronomer; but although they are pretty sure to be repeated, we cannot look for anything approaching to strict punctuality in their recurrences. Their interest and significance are greatly heightened by the circumstance that the object exhibiting them is plunged into the midst of a remarkable gaseous nebula, known as the "Key-hole Nebula," from the interruption of the brightest part of its light by an oval lacuna, shaped somewhat like a key-hole.

The Climate of Mars.—M. Pizeau, of the Paris Academy of Sciences, has lately attempted to explain the "canals of Mars" as products of glaciation. The enigmatical changes visible on the surface of the planet strikingly recall, he points out, the varied phenomena of ice-fields. Among these, the appearance of "parallel wrinkles," the opening of crevasses and rectilinear fissures, are most remarkable, and have recently been observed on a large scale by Nordenskiöld in Greenland. According to this view, the famous "canals" are nothing more than prodigious crevasses in the thick coating of "palæocrystic" ice with which Mars is perennially covered. But can we, in the dearth of others, admit this explanation, which would undoubtedly smooth away a good many difficulties? We fear not.

Since Mars receives only four-ninths as much solar heat per square foot as we do, the temperature at its surface *ought* to be much lower than it is here. Were the earth, just as it is, transported to its place, glaciation, from which at the most the zone included between the tropics would escape, should at once set in. Moreover, the atmosphere of Mars is much thinner than our own, and might hence be expected to afford a much less efficient protection against the cold of space. Yet, in point of fact, the Martian climate appears to be singularly mild. The polar snow-caps provide a measure of the extent of glaciation, and, by their diminution in summer, give palpable proof of the advancing warmth of the season. Their melting, as M. Flammarion remarked in answer to M. Pizeau, proceeds more rapidly and advances much farther than in the terrestrial arctic and antarctic regions. In the southern hemisphere, indeed, the summer of which takes place when the planet is at its nearest to the sun, the polar calotte all but completely disappears, its diameter having probably been reduced in 1879 to 120 kilometres. The northern snow-cap, at its minimum in May of the present year, was estimated by the same astronomer to be about 300 kilometres across. Confronted by these well-established facts, it is impossible to admit that the surface of

the planet is at all extensively glaciated, or its seas generally ice-bound. A mean temperature rather seems indicated not incompatible with the existence of even highly organized life, and suggesting a provision, through the agency perhaps of some atmospheric peculiarity, for storing up and turning economically to account the scanty heat-supplies received from the sun.

Modern Views of Lightning Conductors.—The researches of Prof. Oliver Lodge show very conclusively that the protection of a building from lightning is anything but a simple matter, and that the older electricians very much underrated the difficulties attending such a task. Prof. Lodge had an opportunity of exposing his theories during the lectures he recently delivered on the subject at the Society of Arts. He did not stop short at speculation, but endeavoured to prove by experiment that his ideas were worthy of acceptance. The illustrations he employed in every case seemed conclusive, but it is somewhat startling to find that two other distinguished electricians—Prof. Hughes and M. Guillemin—have performed some experiments at the Ecole de St. Cyr, which, on one important point, seemed to disagree with Prof. Lodge's conclusions; therefore one feels inclined to agree with Prof. Hughes, when he thinks that "all the researches that have been made have never yet approached the true condition of things." There are also other scientists who do not entirely agree with these latest ideas concerning lightning conductors. At this year's meeting of the British Association at Bath, we found on the programme "a discussion" on the subject between Mr. Preece, who attacked some of Prof. Lodge's arguments, and the professor himself, who endeavoured to maintain his ground, notwithstanding such a formidable opponent.

Although Prof. Lodge may not be entirely correct in his views, his work on the subject must be recognized as immensely valuable, as he has collected data which forms an admirable vantage ground for general discussion. It is with the vagaries of the lightning flash that Prof. Lodge chiefly deals—those uncomfortable "side flashes" that have puzzled so many. His ridicule of the conventional method of testing conductors is very apt; he says that a Leclanché cell, a galvanometer, or Wheatstone bridge are powerless to answer many important questions. He imagines such an accident as the following: A house is struck at one corner; the lightning rushes apparently part way down the conductor, then flashes off sideways to a roof gutter, sends forks down all the spouts, and knocks several bricks out; another branch bangs through a wall in order to run aimlessly along some bell-wires, and then out through a window-frame and down a spade propped up against the wall to earth. Such freaks require explanation. A lightning tester is sent for. He comes with his Leclanché cell and galvanometer. The electric energy from one Leclanché cell is supposed to represent that of a lightning flash, but one might just as well compare the "trickle down a hill-side" to "the path of an avalanche." The lightning tester reports that the earth of the conductor has 100 ohms resistance, and thus

accounts for the accident. He forgets, however, the resistance to be found in the path which the lightning chooses instead of the 100 ohms—it is something more like 100,000 ohms. Prof. Lodge finds that it is not a matter of mere conductivity; the most important factor is left out of consideration, that is, “electrical inertia”—in other words, the “self-induction” of the conductor. For this there must be an antidote. It is “elasticity”—electric capacity. The self-induction of the conductor must be reduced as much as possible, and the electric capacity must be increased whenever convenient. We learn from Prof. Lodge that the best way to lessen the self-induction of the conductor is to provide plenty of surface. He says that if a conducting rod is analyzed into a bundle of parallel wires or filaments, and a current started in all, the rising current in any one filament exerts an opposing force in all the others; that this self-generated electro-motive force due to induction between the different filaments of the conductor exactly imitates the effects of ordinary inertia as observed in massive bodies submitted to sudden mechanical forces. That since electrical inertia is due to a mutual action between the filaments into which a conductor may be supposed to be divided, it is manifest that the closer packed they are the greater their inertia will be, and to diminish inertia it is only necessary to separate the filaments and spread them out. He leads us, therefore, to the conclusion that a lightning conductor should not be a solid rod, but rather a thin sheet or a number of detached wires. Thus the “shape” of a conductor may be of great consequence, although so great a master of science as Faraday stated it was of no consequence whatever, the one necessary thing, in his opinion, being sectional area, weight for linear foot. Faraday for once was wrong. He thought only about conduction, and did not take inertia into consideration. Prof. Lodge decides that iron is the best material for a conductor; he goes so far as to say, “I regard the use of copper for lightning conductors as doomed.” This is the point in which Prof. Hughes and M. Guillemin disagree with him, the latter advocating the condemned metal. Prof. Lodge asserts that the magnetisability of iron is no objection to its use; that the flash is either too quick to magnetize the iron, or else the current confines itself so entirely to the outer skin of the conductor that there is nothing to magnetize. He tells us, too, that its inferior conductivity is an advantage in rendering the flash slower, and therefore less explosive; that its high melting-point, cheapness, and permanency are qualities which commend its adoption; he finally adds that it is not so likely to be stolen as copper. The remarks made about the capacity of conductors deserve notice, as, according to Prof. Lodge’s theory, increase of capacity is the remedy against self-induction. We are warned, however, that the term “capacity of a conductor” has a conventional meaning to denote its conducting power. Whenever he uses the phrase he means its elastic power. This is an instance how progress often tends to confusion of scientific expression. The dictionary of science needs constant

revision. We are told that the only plan in practice for increasing this "capacity" or elasticity of a conductor is to expand it over as much surface as possible. A lead roof is quoted as an expansion of fair capacity. "There should be as little mere rod projection as possible before some extent of surface begins: flat sheet for chimneys is better than round rod; it has at least more capacity and less self-induction."

In the case of tall, isolated chimneys, a collar of sheet metal at the top is suggested, and at intervals all the way down, or instead of this a warp of several thin wires joined together round the chimney by an occasional woof.

In the course of the same lectures which have made my base of comment, Prof. Lodge makes some pregnant remarks concerning the use of points. He agrees with others that points are correct, but he advocates their more liberal use. "Any number of them, rows of them, like barbed wire, not necessarily at all prominent, along ridges and eaves." It is fortunate, perhaps, that he states that the points need not be too obtrusive, or else the indignation of architects might have been aroused; but now that architects are instructed that there is no need for great spikes and ugly tridents, making the protected building symbolic of Neptune, architect and electrician may work in consort. The remarks concerning the "return stroke" are somewhat original. The ordinary explanation of this is the recovery of electrical equilibrium disturbed by static induction. Prof. Lodge thinks that it is due to electrical oscillations and overflows which can be easily set up in a charged conductor. He says: "A discharge from any one point of a conductor may cause such a disturbance and surging as to precipitate a much longer flash from a distant part of it."

It is not pleasant to find that in consequence of these effects a tall chimney or other prominent building in one neighbourhood, though it is protected by a conventional conductor, may be a source of danger around; that from it our houses may receive splashes of lightning. This is an unsatisfactory conclusion in one sense, but welcome if it should arouse more concentrated effort to master the situation.

The Recent Electric Light Litigation.—At the present moment the electrical industry in this country is in a very different position to that which it held a few weeks ago. Then it was one company alone—the Edison-Swan—who had the legal right to manufacture incandescent lamps for the consumers of electrical energy. By the judgments of 1887, first given by Mr. Justice Butt, endorsed later on by the Court of Appeal, all other makers of lamps had to suppress the forbidden industry. One company alone—the Brush Company—resisted the monopolizing sentence, and made and sold lamps. An action was brought by the Edison-Swan Company nominally against some of the users of these lamps, but substantially it was against the Brush Company, as they undertook to pay the costs of proceedings. The issue of the renewal of the conflict has been a

decision the very opposite to those of the preceding year, which puts the industry on a new footing. The decision of Mr. Justice Kay has in fact pronounced the famous Edison patent invalid. Mr. Edison is not the inventor of the incandescent lamp. There is now a pretty open field for competition in this industry of the "Carbon Filament," for no wide claim for a filament of this substance can be supported, only special processes of manufacturing the filament. But while there is an open field for the carbon conductor in *vacuo*, the Edison-Swan Company still has the legal monopoly of the important process of "flashing" the filaments. This renders the carbon homogeneous; it is, in fact, a most important stage of lamp construction. New competitors in electric incandescent lamp manufacture will have to invent some other plan of producing the desired effect, without flashing the filaments in an atmosphere of a gas containing carbon. Until they have done this they will be heavily handicapped. But necessity may produce an alternative method of putting the finish to the thread of carbon. At any rate there is now opportunity and scope for invention. Those who have read the proceedings of the late *cause célèbre* will have realized that taking out a patent properly is no easy matter, and that the interpretation of patent law admits of very fine distinctions. One of the most important points of the case in question was that condition expressed in every patent, that the patentee must so clearly express himself that a workman of ordinary intelligence can make the article from the description given in the patent. It seems the exact interpretation of the word workman varies according to circumstances. If the invention is a complete novelty it may mean *any* ordinary workman; if it is a new departure in a known industry it may mean a specialist workman. In the case of the incandescent lamp neither of the cases seemed to apply. When Edison took out his patent there certainly was no incandescent lamp industry, and consequently no specialist workmen. But there were other workers in the laboratory trying to make the incandescent lamp a commercial affair at the same time that Edison was employed on this task, and therefore it was a very fair trial of the clearness of Mr. Edison's specification to entrust the test of making the filaments from the wording of the patent to such scientists as Crookes. The experts chosen set to work on lamp-making with Edison's specification as their guide, and they failed. Consequently, on the point of "clearness," Mr. Edison's patent was found wanting. The remarks of Mr. Justice Kay on the "width of claim" allowable might well be studied by inventors. It seems that if an inventor discovers a principle and applies it, in his patent he can support a wide claim—*i.e.*, a monopoly—for his joint discovery and invention. If Edison had discovered the incandescence of a solid carbon conductor by the passage of a current of electricity through it, and had also invented the means of applying that principle in the incandescent lamp, he might then have kept any one from making an incandescent lamp, but the principles were known long ago, and therefore, according to one of the interpretations of

patent law, Edison's wide claim is invalid. One wonders whether any one ever yet discovered a principle and its application simultaneously. Invention usually is a slow outcome of scientific research.

The Purification of Air by Ozone.—At the International Congress of Hygiene held at Vienna in September last, the opening discourse was made by M. Brouardel on the Propagation of Typhoid Fever, and one of the aims of the Congress was to throw light on the combating of this malady, which annually destroys in Paris from 1500 to 1600 persons. Naturally the subject is one of vital interest to Frenchmen, and their doctors and savants are urging, first the purification of water, which distributes 90 per cent. of the typhoid germs, and secondly, the purification of air.

It is well known that ozone, an allotropic form of oxygen, introduced into the atmosphere in sufficiently large quantities, kills insects, flies, bees, butterflies, &c.; and it is proposed to ozonize the air in and about habitations to such a degree as to destroy the various micro-organisms which abound in the atmosphere in periods of epidemic. The French ozonizing apparatus consists of two glass tubes, filled with powdered graphite serving to conduct the electricity produced by a primary or secondary battery and passing through an induction machine which is coupled up to the two conducting tubes. These tubes are parallel one to the other, and at a distance suitable for the discharge which takes place in the air between them. Electrical discharges partially transform the oxygen of the air into ozone, which mixes with the surrounding atmosphere. Would not the ozonization of air possibly form a *direct* application for the Wimshurst Influence Machine, which apparently gives off abundance of ozone whilst it is being worked? This being a mechanical method of production, might be more convenient than the arrangement of batteries.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Franciscan Enterprise in Peru.—On the 28th of July the Peruvian Government assented to an important contract for the development of the north-eastern regions of Peru. It appears, from a private letter recently to hand, that the Franciscans (Grey) have explored a vast tract of country which has hitherto been comparatively little known. Their missionary labours have been crowned with success, for they have baptized and brought into the Church several hundred natives of a tribe whose existence was before unheard of.

While engaged upon their missionary work, these pioneers of civilization have likewise made several discoveries which cannot fail to exercise a very important influence on the commercial prosperity of Peru. They have discovered that the sands of several of the streams and rivers of the district which they have just explored are auriferous, and produce a very rich yield of gold after the washing. They have likewise discovered that the country for many leagues round contains great mineral wealth—silver, lead, and copper existing in abundance. The Government have already sent out engineers to sink shafts, and to make the necessary observations previous to the carrying on of the work specified in the contract mentioned above. The contract, it should be added, provides for the making of new roads, construction of railways, cutting of canals, and sinking of mines. At the present time, Peru is in a very impoverished condition, thanks to the Freemasons, who, affecting to be “patriotic,” and declaring that they, and no one else, had the interests of the country at heart, fomented a revolution immediately after the Chilian war, thus bringing the nation, already reduced to great poverty, to a state of absolute insolvency. Let us hope that the discoveries of the Franciscan missionaries may bring about a better state of affairs, and that both the Church and the country may largely benefit by their devoted labours.

African Diamond Mines.—Dr. Matthews* writes on South Africa with the authority of twenty years' residence as a medical practitioner in Natal and the Kimberley district. Amid the mass of historical and social information contained in his book, the account of the growth and development of the diamond mines is the most novel and valuable. Since 1867, when the attention of a passing stranger (Mr. John O'Reilly) was drawn to a specially pretty stone, sold afterwards for £500, among the pebbles used as playthings by the children of a Boer called Niekerk, the export of diamonds from the South African colonies has grown to the value of over three and a half million sterling, reached in 1886. The first diggers settled on the bank of the Vaal, where the precious stone is still found in alluvial soil, though not in any large quantities; the estimated annual yield being valued at about £50,000. The dry diggings, from 1870, when those at Du Toit's Pan were first worked, proved speedily so much more productive as completely to eclipse those by the river. Two other mines, known as Bulfontein and Old De Beers, were quickly opened, within a mile or two of the first, but all three were soon afterwards temporarily deserted when it became known that a young hunter called Rawstorne, while resting under a thorn-bush on a neighbouring Kopje, had, in idly scratching the ground, unearthed a splendid diamond. The name of the “New Rush,” first bestowed on the site, graphically portrayed the sudden influx of humanity which rapidly transformed the browsing ground of the

* “Incwadi Yami; or, Twenty Years' Personal Experience in South Africa.” By J. W. Matthews, M.D. London: Sampson Low. 1887.

wild antelope into a busy encampment, and subsequently into the thriving town which owes its existence to the famous mine now bearing its name of Kimberley. Though the riches of this treasure-house are practically inexhaustible, the increased depth of excavation continually adds to the expense of working, leading to amalgamation of individual holdings into those of companies. Thus, the 1100 separate interests originally existing were in August 1866 reduced to 22, while the same process had converted the 592, 1417, and 799 claims of Old De Beers, Du Toit's Pan, and Bulfontein, into 6, 34, and 21 holdings respectively. The workings, at first open to the sky, are now subterranean, and machinery is substituted for hand labour in almost all the operations the quarried rock and soil are subjected to.

Kimberley, connected with Cape Town by direct railway, is now a town of 16,000 inhabitants, and civilization is represented there by the electric light, and by a theatre where Italian opera is performed, attended by an audience in full evening dress.

Illicit Diamond Dealing.—Very quickly, on the opening of the diamond mines, followed that of the surreptitious trade in stolen diamonds secreted by the natives employed by the owners of the claims. Ingenuity was ransacked to discover hiding-places for the stones, which were inserted in punctures of the skin or stowed in hollows in the heels of boots or handles of trunks. The harpies who dealt in the real stones fraudulently obtained were, in their turn, preyed on by other harpies, who palmed off imitation stones on them, a wrong for which, of course, they could invoke no legal redress, and an entire social organization grew up and thrived on the profits of these various nefarious transactions. So widely was society in Kimberley permeated by the ramifications of the illicit trade, that the jury system had to be set aside, and a commission of three judges substituted in the trial of diamond-stealing cases. The profits may be inferred from the instance of a German, recorded by our author, who, after having undergone flogging and a term of imprisonment for the offence, returned to his native country with a fortune of over £30,000. The most effectual remedy is found in what is known as the *onus probandi* law now in force, by which every one found in possession of a diamond is bound to show a legal title to it.

Kaap Valley Goldfields.—The discovery of gold in South Africa dates from 1867, when the Tati diggings in the Matabele country were explored by Mr. Hartley, the celebrated elephant hunter. Little success has, however, hitherto attended the attempt to work them, and the centre of gold mining operations has, since 1882, been transferred to the Kaap Valley in the Transvaal. The discovery by two brothers of the name of Barber in 1884 of a rich reef of auriferous quartz on the Umvoti Creek, was followed in May 1885 by that of "Bray's Golden Quarry," on the Sheba range, about ten miles distant. So rich did this mine prove that, despite cost of transport, the company formed to work it paid back, in fifteen months, 63½ per cent. of its capital in dividends, its £1 shares sold readily at

£75 or over, and the return of its crushing averaged 7 ozs. 3 dwts. per ton, although 4 ozs. per ton were lost in the refuse owing to imperfect treatment. Barberton, the capital of this district, is fast rising into importance, and already boasts a club, a theatre, three banks, and several churches, to minister to the wants of a population of over 2000. It is, as yet, very badly off for communications, being reached from Natal or Kimberley by several days' travelling in post waggons or carts, the unbridged rivers having, when in flood, to be swum by the passengers. Its eventual outlet will be by Delagoa Bay, from which it is but 130 miles distant, as opposed to 450 from Durban and 1300 from Capetown.

Catholicity at the Diamond Fields.—Dr. Matthews pays a high tribute to the zeal and devotion of the Catholic priests, and in particular to that of Father Hidien—the pioneer of religion at the diggings—who died there of fever in 1871, revered and loved by that lawless population.

At that time the Catholics of Du Toit's Pan [says the writer], like the Hebrews of old in the desert, assembled for divine worship in a tent, while their priest, living in a tent waggon close by, was ready to follow his congregation wherever a new rush might draw them. When Colesberg Kopje (Kimberley mine) developed into a permanent digging, Father Le Bihan (Father Hidien's successor) followed, and it was here, through his instrumentality, that a permanent church of wood and iron was erected. When this was out of debt, Father Le Bihan turned his attention to education, and built, in an incredibly short space of time, the three first schools in Griqualand West, one for boys, one for girls, and the third for infants. Just at this juncture Bishop Richards paid the Fields a visit from Grahamstown, and at a banquet which was given in his honour on that occasion, I recollect that Mr. R. W. Murray, the vice-chairman, told the company "that his experience of the Catholic Church in South Africa was that, wherever the Catholics erected churches, schools at once followed, of which Kimberley was an instance in point."

A new church of stone and brick was begun in November 1879, and completed in a year, at a cost of £7000. A handsome convent, built in 1878, is occupied by the Sisters of the Holy Family, who superintend the education of girls, and the Sisters of Nazareth have still more recently (1888) sent out some of their members to found a branch there.

Christmas Island.—This latest addition to the British Empire is situated about 200 miles to the south of the western extremity of Java, and about a third of the distance between that island and the Keeling Islands, also British territory. As it has never been inhabited, and is indeed uninhabitable, from the want of water, which sinks into its limestone rocks, while its absence of a harbour deprives it of all strategic value, it would be an utterly useless possession were it not for the guano and cocos, which give it some commercial importance. Scientifically, however, it is of considerable interest, and the reports of visits paid to it in 1886 by H.M.S. *Flying Fish* (Captain Maclear), and in 1887 by H.M.S. *Egeria* (Captain Aldridge), read to the Royal Geographical Society by the Hydrographer to the

Admiralty, contain some curious facts. The island is composed of coral, believed to have been formed on a volcanic cone, and subsequently upheaved, in a series of uplifts alternating with stationary periods, to its present height of over 1100 feet. There is probably no other instance known of an island retaining its coral covering intact to such a height, forming in some places steep and almost inaccessible cliffs, covered by the most luxuriant vegetation. The surface of the island is, moreover, honeycombed all over, from the wearing action of rains and weather, which have carved it into fantastically formed crags and spires. Its vegetation is also peculiar, as the trees have in many cases thrown out pillar-like buttresses from their trunks. It swarms by night with rats, and by day with huge crabs of a repulsive aspect, blueish-yellow in colour, with monstrous claws and protruding eyes. There is but one anchorage, available only for small vessels, and not very safe.—(*Times*, July 18, 1888.)

Californian Fruit Production.—The riches of the gardens of California promise to rival those of its goldfields, and, according to a report on its agriculture by the British Consul at San Francisco, it produces every kind of fruit grown in temperate and semi-tropical regions. Apples, pears, plums, cherries, peaches, currants, gooseberries, blackberries, raspberries, and strawberries belong to the former category, and to the latter, the orange, lemon, citron, shaddock, and other citrus fruits, the olive, pomegranate, fig, banana, apricot, nectarine, walnuts, almonds, and grapes producing both wine and raisins. Its trade in green fruit with the Eastern States amounted in 1887 to 35,000,000lb., while the production of its canneries in the previous year is estimated at 30,000,000lb., including 659,950 cases of fruit, 203,500 of vegetables, and 22,500 of jellies and jams, and the estimate for 1887 is 792,500 cases of fruit, averaging 45lb. each. Of these cases 220,000 were peaches, 175,500 apricots, 150,000 pears, 60,000 cherries, 40,000 plums, 35,000 grapes, 25,000 blackberries, and 15,000 each strawberries and gooseberries. Dried and evaporated fruits also form a very large article of export, amounting in 1887 to 16,000,000lb. of grapes, 3,000,000lb. apricots, 1,340,000lb. honey, 1,750,000lb. prunes, 1,500,000lb. walnuts, 1,750,000lb. peaches, apples (evaporated) 550,000lb., peaches (evaporated) 1,250,000lb., plums and almonds 500,000lb. each, with other fruits in lesser quantities. The growing of grapes for raisins proves very profitable, and the Californians believe, apparently with good grounds, that their raisins will eventually drive all others out of the markets of the United States. Greater attention to vine culture and wine manufacture, together with importation of foreign varieties, has caused a great improvement in the quality of Californian wine, formerly disliked for its harsh flavour, and 13,000,000 gallons were produced in 1887, while 150,000 acres are planted with vines, of which 90 per cent. are of the best foreign varieties.

Volcanic Disaster in Japan.—An eruption, equal in its devas-

tating effects to any recorded in history, took place on the morning of July 15, 1888, from the long quiescent crater of Bandaisan, on the island of Tokio, and two days' journey from the city of the same name. No outburst had taken place from it for nearly eleven centuries, and the catastrophe was as unexpected and appalling as that which buried the cities of Campania. The existence of hot springs alone testified to the continued activity of the volcanic forces, three of these solfataras having been situated at the foot of the secondary peak, Sho-Bandaisan, about 3000 feet high, which formed the actual vent of the recent explosion. The ancient crater was on the summit, 5800 feet high, and the disruptive forces appear to have been exercised to a great extent in a lateral direction, giving comparative immunity to places situated on the mountain, behind the point of discharge. Slight shocks of earthquake, accompanied by subterranean rumblings and disturbances in the flow of the springs, are said to have been perceived for some days previous, but the first serious warning of danger was conveyed by an earthquake at 7.30 on the fatal morning, followed at intervals of a quarter of an hour by two other shocks of increasing violence.

Instantly upon the last [writes a correspondent from Tokio in the *Times* of September 11] arose a fearful noise, described by some as like that of a hundred thunders, by others as the most unearthly sound that ever startled the ears of men. Sho-Bandaisan was seen to be lifted bodily into the air, and spread abroad, and, after it, leaped forth tongues of flame and dense dark clouds of vapour and *ejectamenta*. Of the ensuing phenomena it is hard to gain any clear idea from the tales of the distracted survivors. Apparently, however, a quick succession of reports, accompanied by violent earth throes and winds of hurricane force, lasted for about a minute. Then began the shower of ashes, dust, hot water, and leaves. The light quickly faded as the exploded matter spread over the firmament, so that day was soon changed into night, and did not return for several minutes. Meanwhile the avalanches of earth and mud must have already done much of their deadly work. We gather, at least, from the narratives of some of the survivors at Nagasaka, and from other concurrent testimony, that the interval between the explosion and the arrival of the mud-torrent which swept past that hamlet cannot have been more than from ten to fifteen minutes. Before the light was restored all the flower of the village had been swallowed up. How that long journey of some ten miles from the crater had been performed by the mud at such an astonishing speed it is impossible to say. There is evidence that in places the earth-flow lasted for about an hour. But in the above we have the clearest proof that some at least of the destroying matter was hurled over the country at railroad speed, even after being deflected through wide angles from its original line of motion.

Widespread Devastation.—The scale of the convulsion may be estimated from the fact that a mountain mass of some 700,000,000 tons weight was tossed bodily into the air, and its *débris* deposited to a depth of perhaps 15 feet, over an area of 30 square miles. A rugged, almost sheer cliff, 600 feet high, is left standing as the remaining fragment of the mountain blown away. The secondary effects of the eruption included whirlwinds of extraordinary violence, levelling

forests as though reaped by a scythe, outbursts of scalding water in floods from the ground, inundations from rivers dammed up by the disrupted masses flung across their beds, and earth-shocks overthrowing buildings and obliterating landmarks. The comparatively small number of human victims, computed at about 600, is accounted for by the scantiness of population in the devastated districts. All vegetation is annihilated, the country being absolutely buried beneath the earth-deluge, and strewn in some places with masses of rock weighing as much as 200 tons. Lakes have been formed where none existed previously, valleys filled with ejected matter, villages buried beneath 20 feet of ash and cinder, and only a chaotic scene of destruction is left in place of rice fields and mulberry groves over an area about half that of London. The subterranean forces do not seem to have exhausted their energy, and clouds of suffocating steam, charged with mephitic vapours, still rise with sullen roar from the wreck of the crater. The eruption would seem to have been unaccompanied by any flow of lava, as is often the case in explosions from long disused vents which the volcanic forces have to clear of accumulated obstructions to their free play.

Excursion to Central Asia.—A special train with a party of excursionists to Samarkand was announced to leave Paris on the first Saturday of September. The price of the return ticket, including food, interpreters, steamboats, carriages, &c., was 5000 fr., or £200, and every arrangement was made for the comfort of the passengers, including the provision of a medical attendant. The trip is timed to take two months, the outward route being by Vienna, Cracow, and Lemberg to Kief, thence to Odessa, across the Black Sea by steamer to Sebastopol, and through the Baidan Valley to Yalta, whence another steamer will convey the party to Novo Rossisk on the Circassian coast. The passage of the Caucasus and a visit to Tiflis follow; Askabad, the headquarters of General Alikhanoff, will then be reached by the Central Asian Railway, which will convey the travellers to the oasis of Merv, and thence across the Oxus to Samarkand. Five days are allowed for sight-seeing in the capital of Tamerlane, where are his tomb, his palace, and the celebrated Koktash, or "Blue Stone," on which the Emirs are crowned. The homeward route includes a visit to the wonderful petroleum region of the Caucasus, the voyage across the Black Sea from the port of Batoum, and last, not least, a visit to Constantinople.

Paris to Constantinople.—The through service from Paris to Constantinople, *viâ* Vienna, Pesth, Belgrade, Nish, and Sofia, was inaugurated on August 11 by a train passing over the new part of the line, and conveying a large party of guests, correspondents, and representatives of the various railway companies interested, from Buda-Pesth to Sofia, where an inaugural banquet took place under the presidency of Prince Ferdinand. The journey was continued on the following day *viâ* Vakarel, Bellona, and Adrianople to Constantinople, and on the same day the actual through service began by

the starting of a train from the Golden Horn to Paris. The distance of 1270 miles thence to Vienna is accomplished in forty-eight hours, and the whole time to London in ninety-four hours of actual travelling, but the present arrangements necessitate a break of a day at Vienna. The Sleeping Car Company intend to run a through train weekly before long, by which the journey from Calais to Constantinople may be performed without changing carriages. This improvement in Oriental travelling may prove to be the pioneer of a further revolution, by which the long-talked of Euphrates Valley route to India by Bagdad and Bassorah on the Persian Gulf, and thence by steamer to Kurrachee, may at last be opened up. The Sultan has given an Irade empowering a syndicate of English and German financiers to work this line through Aleppo, and its construction would render possible the delivery of English letters simultaneously at Bombay and Calcutta within a fortnight.

Krakatoa Revisited.—Dr. Treub, director of the Botanical Garden of Buitenzvig, Java, has published an account of the reappearance of vegetation on the Island of Krakatoa, which, as our readers doubtless remember, partly sank, and was wholly overwhelmed by ashes and pumice-stone during the eruption of its volcano in 1883. Yet Dr. Treub, on visiting it three years later (on June 26, 1886), was surprised to find it covered with vegetation to its mountain summit. No root or seed of previously existing plants could have survived the eruption, as the toughest organism must have been destroyed by the excessive volcanic heat, and the whole surface was covered with a layer of ash and pumice-stone from 3 feet to 240 feet thick. Nor could the new vegetation, in Dr. Treub's opinion, have been introduced by man, since the island is uninhabited and difficult of access. It must, therefore, have sprung from seeds carried either by birds, or by air or water currents. It consists, for the most part, of ferns, of which eleven different varieties were found, and of single specimens of blossoming herbs, such as are found on coral reefs, newly risen above the level of the sea. The ferns, however, were not the first living organisms to reclothe the desolated rocks, and Dr. Treub found indications that the way had been prepared for them by a thin layer of algæ, which covered the pumice-stone and ashes in the first instance, softening the soil so as to render it capable of absorbing water, and by their decay forming a vegetable mould from which other plants might draw nourishment. The algæ were thus the pioneers of the ferns, and they, in their turn, of the blossoming herbs, which will doubtless be succeeded by some higher order of vegetable production. Thus in a few years all trace of the great convulsion will be obliterated by the reparatory powers of nature.

Opening of the Yenesei Route to Siberia.—Sir Robert Morier, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in a despatch to Lord Salisbury of June 30, 1888, gives a history of the efforts of an English seaman to open up a commercial route to the heart of Siberia. Joseph Wiggins, mate of a brig connected with the Archangel trade,

conceived many years ago the idea of opening up a new waterway from the Arctic Ocean into the Kara Sea, by the gates of Kara, then supposed to be ice-bound, and thus, by way of the Yenesei River, penetrating to the heart of Siberia and the northern confines of China. In 1874, he fitted out a small Arctic-built steam-yacht, the *Diana*, of about 120 tons, and made a successful experimental voyage, passing through the Kara Straits to the mouth, first of the Obi and afterwards of the Yenesei. He ascertained that the Gulf Stream passes eastward along the coast of Lapland to Novaia Zemlia, and has sufficient force, in combination with the volume of water poured through the Straits by the Obi and Yenesei, to drive the ice to the north of the Kara Sea, and keep the navigation open during the summer months. English capitalists did not show any great eagerness to adopt the idea, but with the help of a Russian mine-owner he was enabled, in 1876, to fit out a steamer, with which he ascended the Yenesei for nearly 1000 miles. Though the vessel was destroyed by the breaking up of the ice in the following year, she had been successful as a pioneer, and in 1879 Mr. Wiggins carried a cargo from Liverpool to the mouth of the Obi, and brought another back. Five steamers were subsequently freighted in England for the same destination, but they were condemned by him as unfit for their work, and their disastrous voyage, while it justified his forecast, threw doubt for some time on his previous conclusions. In 1887, however, some merchants were found enterprising enough to risk the venture, and forming themselves into a company, under the title of the *Phoenix* Merchant Adventurers, they freighted a steamer of 400 tons with samples of goods, and started her in charge of Captain Wiggins, from Newcastle-on-Tyne to Yeneseisk. The Kara Straits were safely passed, and the ascent of the river, strange to say, was then successfully made, under the guidance of a blind Samoyede chief, whose accurate description from memory of the landmarks enabled it to be accomplished in safety. On October 9, 1887, a sea-going steamer, bringing cargo from across the ocean, for the first time cast anchor and landed goods at Yeneseisk, in the heart of Siberia, 2000 miles inland, and within a few hundred versts of the Chinese frontier. Captain Wiggins, moreover, not only succeeded in getting the whole of the cargo of the *Phoenix* admitted free of duty, but obtained a like concession for his countrymen for five years, for certain classes of merchandise landed on the Yenesei or Obi.

The Ob-Railway.—A trade route to the same region will also be opened by the Ob-Railway, to which the Russian Government has just given its sanction. It will be the most northern line, not alone in Siberia, but in the world, and the contractor for its construction expects it to open up a new life for the country it passes through, and to be of large benefit to English trade as well. Its port will be on the Sea of Baigatsch, from which it will run for a distance of 400 versts to the little town of Obdorsk, through the district of the Ingor. It is intended to carry goods traffic almost exclusively,

and twelve trains a day will be run, consisting of twenty-five waggons each. Corn, to the amount of 30,000,000 poods a year, is the principle export from Siberia, and of this the greater part goes to England. When the railway is completed, it is calculated that the total cost of its transport to London from the rich agricultural district of Barnaul will be but 40 kopeks per pood.

M. de Lesseps on the Panama Canal.—In a paper by M. de Lesseps on the Panama Canal, read before the British Association on September 5, he announces that it will be provisionally constructed with ten locks, in order to be open for traffic in 1890 (an absolute necessity by the terms of the concession). Since November 1887, two sections, one of 17 kilometres from Colon on the Atlantic side, the other of 8 kilometres from Boca on the Pacific side, have been open, and the work done later has been principally devoted to widening and deepening them. In April last the full canal width had been attained over a section of $4\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres from Colon, and a depth throughout nearly 14 kilometres, varying from a minimum of 5 to a maximum of $8\frac{1}{4}$ metres. During the six months between January 1 and June 30, 1888, the excavation had reached a total of 7,479,400 cubic metres, exceeding by nearly 100,000 cubic metres per month the average the contractors were bound to. The provisional opening of the canal by means of locks will necessitate an excavation of forty million cubic metres, of which ten millions will be in hard rocks. It is somewhat difficult to reconcile these figures with the statement that the canal will be completed in two years, as the rate of excavation hitherto has not exceeded 12,000,000 cubic metres per annum, a figure which will now have to be raised to 20,000,000. This moreover represents material mainly taken from soft ground, the maximum for the rocky sections of Culebra and Emperador not having exceeded 1,616,000 cubic metres a year, a rate at which seven years would be required to prepare the mountainous sections for the locks. The contract for the new work has been taken by M. Eiffel, constructor of the stupendous tower now in course of erection in Paris.

Notes on Fobels.

With the Immortals. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London: Macmillan. 1888.

MR. STEVENSON'S "Dr. Jekyll" and Mr. Anstey's "Vice Versá" are answerable for having suggested to other novelists those flights into the realms of the weird or grotesque supernatural, of which we now see so many examples. Mr. James Payn, in "The

Eavesdropper," has given a specimen of the latter style, and Mr. Crawford, in the present work, of the former, not, we think, to the advantage of his readers. An electrical experiment on a gigantic scale produces, first, an atmospheric convulsion, and secondly, a series of ghostly resuscitations, in the course of which the spirits of the illustrious dead return to hold communion with the living in lengthy dialogues, which we fear the ordinary reader will be tempted to skip wholesale. Heine, Chopin, Julius Cæsar, and other notabilities of the past were doubtless good company when alive, but would seem, in the other world, to have developed a tendency to longwindedness, at least equal to that of most flesh and blood bores of our acquaintance. The scene of these spiritualistic adventures is, however, a romantic one, and Mr. Crawford has not evolved it altogether out of his own imagination. The Moorish ruin which an enterprising Englishman has adapted to the uses of a luxurious modern dwelling, with its gardens and terraces overlooking the blue Bay of Salerno, is an actual fact. Its real site is the crag-platform of Ravello, a thousand feet above Amalfi, where are to be seen, in perfect preservation, a group of Saracenic buildings as characteristic as those of Southern Spain. Were ghosts indeed to "revisit the glimpses of the moon" the choice of such a spot for their reappearance would do credit to their taste for scenery.

The Fatal Three. By M. E. BRADDON. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1888.

MISS BRADDON'S plot turns on the shipwreck of wedded happiness owing to a conscientious scruple on the part of the wife, who leaves her husband in the mistaken belief that he is the widower of her half-sister. The tragedy of her life is thus linked to that of an older one, for it is her aunt, Miss Faussett, who, tricked in early youth into a mock-marriage with an Italian adventurer, has borne the child, for whose mysterious parentage her brother suffers in character and domestic happiness. A sombre and perhaps truthful picture is given of the later life of this lady, subsisting on the applause and flattery of others as a substitute for her shattered self-respect, and seeking to atone for the error of her youth by external good works, while hardening her heart against her unhappy child, and screening her immaculate reputation at the cost of her own truth and the peace of others. The mystery is finally cleared up by the fortuitous discovery of a packet of old letters, but Mildred returns to her husband only to claim his love and care for the short remainder of a life shortened by the misery she has gone through. A lighter vein of interest is introduced by the adventures and flirtations of the heroine's niece, Pamela, a young lady whose happy inconstancy of temperament enables her to adopt the ready cure of substitution of persons for her romantic disappointments. It is perhaps hypercriticism to say that Miss Braddon's attractive title has no obvious justification in the plot, and that we reach the third

volume without ever conclusively identifying "The Fatal Three" whose acquaintance is promised by the title page.

The Blacksmith of Voe. By PAUL CUSHING. London: Blackwood. 1888.

IT is paying a high tribute to the author's narrative power to say that the interest of his story outweighs its absurdities and incongruities. The reluctant courtship of Ruth Boden, the miller's daughter, by the middle-aged bachelor Balthasar Phythian, at the instigation of a maiden sister especially remarkable for her aristocratic hauteur, is a gratuitous outrage on probability, and has little connection with the main plot, which in itself turns on an incident barely credible, the return of a man to his native village at the lapse of some twenty years, and his residence unrecognized among his former friends and associates. His original disappearance resulted from a fratricidal struggle in which his brother believed him to have perished, while the rest of the world supposed him to have fled from justice, as the guilty aggressor in the quarrel. His son Abel plays the part of hero, his niece Ruth, daughter of the would-be fratricide, that of heroine, and the account of the rescue of this pair from the inundation of the Scarthin forms a thrilling close to the second volume. The humours and oddities of rustic life are described in a style that recalls the authors of "Mehalah" and "Far from the Madding Crowd," but there is still a certain crudity of conception displayed in the tendency to push originality to extravagance. Mr. Cushing, when this defect has been toned down by added maturity of judgment, promises to be a brilliant addition to the group of novelists of English country life.

Ninette, an Idyll of Provence. By the Author of "Vera," &c. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1888.

THE rural scenery of Provence furnishes a charming setting for this tale of southern French peasant life. All the troublesome complications in the heroine's destiny are introduced by an evil step-mother, an adventuress of the worst type, whom Hugues Firmin had married with the mistaken idea of retrieving his broken fortunes by the help of her imaginary savings. The machinations of this woman, in combination with an equally unscrupulous cousin-confederate, hasten on the ruin of her unhappy husband, and imperil the happiness of Ninette by throwing obstacles in the way of her union with Noel, her handsome and true-hearted lover. The great earthquake of the Riviera is ingeniously utilized to bring about the solution of these difficulties, and the guilty pair, overtaken by an appalling judgment while still fresh from the riot of the Carnival, are among those buried among the ruins. The picture of French rural society is a dark one; modern ideas are represented as bringing us face to face with that most miserable of spectacles, "an impious peasantry," while foreign competition inflicts material ruin on those who have

forfeited all spiritual consolation, and the whole political and administrative machinery of the country is manipulated by the vilest and most corrupt members of society. No Catholic writer gives a more beautiful picture of religion and its working than this gifted novelist, though not, we believe, a member of the Church which seems to have so much of her sympathy.

Sylvia Arden. By OSWALD CRAWFURD. London:
Kegan Paul. 1888.

MR. CRAWFURD, hitherto best known as a writer on Portugal, has made his mark as a novelist of the sensational school with his present work. "Sylvia Arden" is a delightful tale, dramatically told, and abounding in incident and picturesque situation. We do not presume to guarantee the probability of the central idea, the creation of a miniature sovereignty for himself by an adventurous English squire on the Channel coast, presumably in Cornwall, where he lives isolated in his own demesne surrounded by foreign dependents, and dealing arbitrarily with the liberties and lives of all who venture within his territory. Granted, however, its possibility, the state of things thus created furnishes ample field for startling adventure of a novel and romantic kind. The motive which prompts the eccentric conduct of Gregory Morson, the master of Scarfell Towers, in thus seeking to play the part of a petty despot, is his desire to appropriate a hidden treasure of golden ingots, forgotten or abandoned in the workings of prehistoric miners. His machinations include the attempted assassination of the heroine, his cousin and *fiancée*, and the partial poisoning of the hero through the instrumentality of an Italian doctor and a mysterious drug, under whose influence, while helpless but fully conscious, he is actually, but of course temporarily, buried alive. All these sinister designs are happily baffled in the end, and poetic justice, in the form of a violent death, is wreaked upon their author, while the innocent survivors profit by his ill-gotten wealth. The incidental conversations are brightly written, and the author has caught some of Mr. Rider Haggard's knack of giving verisimilitude by minuteness of detail.

The Reverberator. By HENRY JAMES. London:
Macmillan. 1888.

MR. JAMES'S incisive style gives vitality to his slight sketches of life and manners, enabling the reader to take interest in the faithfully limned but shadowy personages who flit across his pages like the bodiless reflections in a mirror. Their outward form and semblance is accurately reproduced for us, the trick of manner or trait of countenance is vividly brought before us, but superficial intimacy never grows into sympathetic comprehension, and we come no nearer to their inner selves at the end of the concluding volume than at the moment of our first introduction. The fortunes of an American trio, father and two daughters, sojourning at an hotel in

Paris, are the subject of the present tale, and the aimless, yet contented vacuity of their lives under these circumstances is doubtless a veracious presentment of those of many of their fellow-countrymen. The group here portrayed are, however, redeemed from inanity by their utter amiability and innocence of guile. The heroine, the pretty and petted Francie, is a pale but exquisite silhouette, and her unflawed sweetness, loyal sincerity, and absolute transparency of character atone for what we cannot but feel to be a total absence of mind. The necessary complication in her destiny is brought about by the treachery of a compatriot, the Paris correspondent of an American society paper, *The Reverberator*, who takes advantage of her simplicity to draw her out on the secrets and scandals of her fiancée's family, in order to break off her engagement by their publication. Much turmoil is naturally created among the various sisters and brothers-in-law of the noble French connection into which she is going to marry, and she nobly prefers risking the loss of her lover to clearing herself of complicity by a falsehood. Her beauty and *nüiveté* however triumph in the end, and we leave her restored to happiness.

Maiwa's Revenge. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. London: Longmans. 1888.

MR. RIDER HAGGARD'S readers will not be sorry to meet their old friend, Allan Quatermain, in the pages of his present volume, which narrates a thrilling experience of that mighty hunter of great game in South Africa. His participation in the "war of the Little Hand," between two native tribes, is due to his desire to save a white captive from the clutches of the cruel chief whose kraal is the object of attack. *Maiwa's* gruesome tale gives an element of tragedy to the episode, which is worked out in all its sanguinary details with the author's usual realistic power.

The Black Arrow. By ROBERT L. STEVENSON. London: Cassell & Co. 1888.

THE graphic power, so strikingly displayed in the author's previous historical tale, "Kidnapped," of reproducing the past without any loss of living interest, is again a notable characteristic of the present volume. Here, however, the scene is shifted from the Jacobite rising in the Western Highlands to the English Wars of the Roses during the disastrous reign of Henry VI. The plot turns on the oppression of his two wards, boy and girl, by a cruel and unscrupulous knight, with their manifold adventures in trying to escape from his tyranny. The "Black Arrow" is the cognizance of a band of outlaws, who wage a guerilla warfare on the knight and his underlings, and become for a time the associates and allies of the fugitive hero. The latter eventually wins his spurs in more honourable fight, under Richard of Gloucester, handed down to history as Crookback. Of him, in his early youth, the author draws a lifelike portrait, while his tale gives a stirring picture of the time in which it is laid.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Juillet 1888 (Paris).

The Jubilee Edition of Tatian's Diatesseron.—This number of the *Revue* opens with an article on Tatian's *Διά τερσάρων* by Professor J. P. P. Martin, of the Theological School at Paris, which will be of considerable interest to Biblical students. It may be remembered that the same author wrote an article on the same subject in 1883, of which a brief account was given in our pages at the time (DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1883). The occasion of his present paper is the appearance of an edition of an Arabic text with a Latin translation prepared and published at Rome by the Augustinian Father A. Ciasca, of the Vatican Library, in celebration of the Holy Father's Jubilee.* An Arab text had long lain in the Vatican Library, and it was to have been published five years ago. The Abbé Martin considers the delay in its publication providential, because it bore indications which led to doubts as to its being in detail an authentic and not an interpolated codex. This MS. (numbered 14 in the Vatican Library) was seen, as it happened, by the Apostolic Delegate to the Copts whilst he was in Rome, and recalled to his remembrance a similar MS., in Egypt, which on his return he procured for the Vatican Library. From this new acquisition, compared with the former MS., has been made Father Ciasca's Arabic edition; and the Abbé Martin's article is chiefly occupied in showing his reasons for believing that the newly acquired Arabic codex, though late in date (written in the ninth century), is authentic, and in indicating its value as a help in Biblical studies. If his conclusion as to its authenticity be correct, it follows, among other interesting deductions, that the incident of the woman taken in adultery was not in Tatian's original. But the most curious portion of the Abbé Martin's article is his explanation, based on data furnished by this last Arabic codex, of how the variations in copies of the Diatesseron arose. He applies the same principle of explanation to account for a number of interpolated sentences in even the text of the New Testament Epistles—among others, the famous clause (1 Jo. v. 7) of the three Heavenly Witnesses. So that Tatian's Diatesseron has played an important rôle, not only in the East directly, but in the West, by reason of those Harmonies of the Epistles which were modelled on it and were so long used as lectionaries in Spain

* "Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniæ." Arabicè. Nunc primum ex duplici codice edidit et translatione latina donavit P. Augustinus Ciasca, Ord. Eremit. S. Aug. &c. Romæ. 1888. In 4to, xvi.-108 pp., and 210 pp. of Arab text.

("the use of them still continues," he says, "in some of the Spanish cathedrals"). This brief mention will be enough to indicate to the student the value of the present article. It will perhaps interest many if we quote the Abbé Martin's concluding words giving his critical opinion of the merits of Father Ciasca's learned undertaking.

I must not bid adieu to Tatian's Diatesseron [he writes] without congratulating Father Ciasca on the care with which he has edited his beautiful volume. The Arabic types are very fine, and the result repays the trouble of having had them expressly cast for the work. The Latin translation is what one would have expected from a conscientious scholar. The Introduction is perhaps somewhat brief, but it contains all that is really of interest scientifically and critically. The "*Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniæ*" has worthily honoured Pope Leo's Jubilee, and the learned world will long preserve the remembrance of it.

Baptism in Play.—In an article entitled "*Dioclétien et les Chrétiens avant l'établissement de la tétrarchie (285-293)*," M. Paul Allard gives another instalment of those interesting articles, so full of erudition and useful reference, on the sufferings of the early Christian martyrs and the times in which they lived. The title of his present contribution sufficiently indicates the period with which it is concerned, and here we can make no attempt to even name the headings of the various incidents and persons who come in for mention. We may refer to one description as of vivid dramatic interest—the pages in which M. Allard describes the conversion and martyrdom of S. Gesenius, the comedian. He prepared, for the amusement of Diocletian and the Roman crowd, a mimic representation of Christian baptism, and (as happened more than once in like circumstances) when the would-be comedy of pouring the water over him took place, grace flashed across his soul, the farce became a reality, and, declaring himself a Christian in fact, and that he had seen the heavens open to let a hand rest upon him, and had seen the angels blot his sins out of the book, the Master of the Revels became himself the sport of anti-Christian hatred, and, having suffered with heroic patience various tortures, was finally beheaded.

Other articles in this number would well merit some detailed mention if space permitted. One of considerable length (occupying, in fact, no less than seventy-four pages of the Review) is by M. Gaston de Bourges, and is sufficiently described in the title, "*Le Comte de Vergennes : ses débuts diplomatiques en Allemagne, auprès de l'Electeur de Trèves et de l'Electeur de Hanovre, 1750-1752.*" The Comte de Vergennes was made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by Louis XVI. on his accession in 1774, and remained so until his own death in 1787, and the article, being founded on inedited documents in the archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and in private archives which escaped destruction at the time of the French Revolution, contains not a little that is interesting and valuable *pour servir*. This is followed by a study in Administration—"Ressources extraordinaires de la royauté sous

Philippe VI de Valois," by M. J. Viard, somewhat tough for the general reader, but valuable to those concerned. Among the minor articles may be mentioned one by the Comte de Mas Latrie on some recent discoveries in Cyprus, these being—(1) a tomb slab of a son of King Hugh IV. of Lusignan (found at Nicosia); (2) the tomb of Adam of Antioch, Marshal of Cyprus, who died at the beginning of the thirteenth century; and (3) some fragments of inscriptions. Another of these minor articles is a critique by M. Adolphe d'Avril of M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire's recent volume "*L'Inde-anglaise, son état actuel, son avenir*" (Paris, 1887). M. St.-Hilaire, we learn, has an enthusiastic admiration of British rule in India, "not as it showed itself during '*la période mercantile*,'" but such as it now is, since the suppression of the celebrated Company. He tells his countrymen of the "tolerance" of English authority in India in the matter of the Catholic religion, and gives them the touching narrative of the marvellous self-sacrifice of two French Religious, missionaries among one of the tribes. The literatures of India have naturally a special attraction for the author, and he is here much indebted to Mr. Monier Williams. As to the future of India, M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire has something interesting to say. There is its religious future, and as to this he believes that "India will end by becoming Christian *tout entière*. . . . Christian civilization gains ground daily and loses none." Catholics, he adds, are proportionately most numerous, and especially among the Hindoo peoples, and the organization of Catholic missions, he says, is very strong (*puissante*), adding (he himself is not a Catholic) "*le Protestantisme est moins bien partagé*." Thus far the religious future. As to the political, M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire considers that English rule in India has nothing to fear from the native tribes: the danger, still distant, but a real danger, is exterior—the danger from Russia.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik*.

The Late Dr. Scheeben.—The July number contains a second article on the Bull "*Unam Sanctam*" of Boniface VIII. This article has the melancholy interest of being the last contribution from the gifted pen of the late Dr. Scheeben, Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the episcopal seminary of Cologne. Dr. Scheeben's career was closely connected with the development of dogmatic theology in Germany since the Vatican Council, and with the history of the Council itself. For he, perhaps, second only in the country after Cardinal Hergenroether, was conspicuous in the defence of the Bishops of the Council and of the famous decision of July 1870. Professor Scheeben was educated in the German College, Rome, where he

attended the lectures of Perrone, Passaglia, Tarquini, Ballerini, and Kleutgen. Even in his early years at the German College he gave undeniable proofs of his speculative power and originality in illustrating the great mysteries of religion. As a mark of his wide attainments may be mentioned his strong attachment to Father Secchi, under whose guidance he made such progress in the astronomical sciences as enabled him to begin a great work on questions connected with astronomy and music, a work which would have been published before long had Dr. Scheeben's life been spared. Cardinal Patrizi conferred the dignity of priesthood on Dr. Scheeben on December 18, 1858. After his arrival in Germany he at once began the study of the works of the Fathers and scholastics, and at intervals, as time went on, he brought out a series of dogmatical writings which have earned for him the admiration of Catholic divines in every country. Having translated the "Glories of Divine Grace" of Father Eusebius Nieremberg, and brought out a new edition of Cazinius's "Quid est Homo?" he published in 1865 his first great work, "The Mysteries of Christianity," which for original power and extensive studies marks an epoch in German theology, although the mystical element which pervades it makes some parts rather difficult to be understood. At the time of the Vatican Council, as we have said, Dr. Scheeben showed himself one of the ablest defenders of the Holy See. We may especially mention his celebrated "Gegenerklaerungen," in which he confuted the thirty "Erwaegungen" for the Bishops of the Council published by Dr. Doellinger. It was, however, his "Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik" which made Scheeben's name familiar to Catholic scholars—a work which, it is much to be regretted, he did not complete. The wanting portion is the part treating of the Sacraments. For further details of the Professor's literary work we refer the reader to the article in the *Katholik*.

Rosmini's Philosophy.—In the same number we have two articles on the Rosminian propositions recently condemned by the Holy See. The articles present us with a picture of the holy life of this remarkable man, and trace the history of his writings; justifying the action taken by the Holy Office in its recent condemnation.

2. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

Austrian Influence and the Fall of the Stuarts.—Father Zimmermann contributes a rather lengthy criticism on the fourteen volumes of a work of special interest to English readers, Onno Klopp's now completed "Der Fall des Hauses Stuart und die Succession des Hauses Hannover in Grossbritannien und Irland, 1660–1714." Former historians of this period held views favourable to either England or France, and, unfortunately, the French view has of late years fascinated such scholars as Professor Ranke. The immense influence exercised during that critical period by the

Imperial Court of Vienna, and chiefly by Leopold I., has been curiously kept out of sight until Onno Klopp, availing himself of the Vienna archives, has brought to light the part played by Leopold and his successors in defeating the tyranny of Louis XIV. We may accept the result of his work so far as it is concerned with unravelling the anti-Catholic policy of the French Court, the dupes of which undoubtedly were both Charles II. and his brother James II. But it is very doubtful whether Klopp's estimate of William III. as the champion of religious liberty, forced into the enactment of anti-Catholic laws by the Parliament of England, will be accepted by English or Irish Catholics. On the whole, Klopp seems to be too severe on the Stuarts. His work, nevertheless, is one which no English historian will be able to ignore without depriving himself of an immense store of historical matter gathered from original documents, and hitherto quite unknown.

Father Paul von Hoensbroech treats of the "most ancient witnesses for the tomb of St. Peter," in refutation of certain theories on St. Peter's Roman episcopate and tomb in Rome, of late adopted by some German Protestant archæologists against the time-honoured opinion of Catholic divines and antiquaries. Father Lehmkuhl comments on the Pope's Encyclical on "Liberty:" whilst Father Hagen furnishes a readable account of Washington and its scientific institutions: and Father Duhr has an interesting article on "Joan of Arc as judged by Modern Historians," the historians being chiefly the French authors, Fresne de Beaucourt, Marius Sepet, Wallon, &c., who plead for the canonization of their great countrywoman. Father Baumgartner writes on St. Petersburg, tracing a vivid picture of Northern customs, life, and manners, whilst in a second paper he introduces us to Nicolas Gogol, one of the most celebrated literary heroes of young Russia.

3. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).*

Professor Schmid treats of the supernatural efficacy of human acts for salvation. Professor Kellner writes on the Roman Procurators in Palestine at the time of Christ. By far the most able article in this number is contributed by Father Grisar, S.J., on the collections of ancient letters of the Popes and their bearing on questions of dogmatic theology. He begins by criticizing the several editions of the Bullarium, and points out their great shortcomings. Even the most recent Bullarium of Turin, published under the auspices of Cardinal Gande, is not at all up to the standard of modern requirements. Next comes a critical examination of the second edition of Jaffé's "Regesta Romanorum Pontificum, A.D. 1-1198," just completed in two bulky volumes. Jaffé collected for the first edition 11,000 documents; the second edition, which is the combined work of three German historians, is founded on no less than 17,000 documents. We fully endorse Father Grisar's wish that this second edition may find its way to the library of every

theologian. The editors of it are not spared some severe criticisms on their discriminations between false and genuine letters. Their work, however, deserves great praise, and the services they have rendered to Catholic science, and especially to the Apologists of the Holy See, must not be underrated. Professor Pflugk-Hartung also comes in for great praise for having recently published three volumes of Papal Bulls gathered from Italian archives. Father Grisar's able article would well repay translation into English.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 7 *Luglio*, 1888.

The Municipal Elections.—This number contains an article on the municipal elections of Rome which took place on the 17th of June, the result of which is celebrated as a splendid victory by the dominant Masonic sect, a new plebiscite affirming the intangibility of Rome as the property of Italy—that is, the Italy of the sect. “It had to be proved,” says the *Italia*, “that Rome is not a clerical city, although such a demonstration was not needed [why, then, make it?], since at Rome, and in all Italy, the immense majority of the population is liberal and unionist.” “This so-called plebiscite,” however, truly observes the *Emancipazione*, “does not represent the principle of liberty, the national sentiment or aspirations after progress, but political imposture and material self-interests.” If there was to be a plebiscite, the first thing to be eliminated was anything like compulsion or coercion. Yet never was there such abuse of the engine of force as on this occasion. The *Italia* of Milan says: “The vote of Rome was the evident effect of the concourse of the *employés* to the urns. They were under orders, it is true. No matter—if citizens will not do their duty from love, they must be compelled to do it.” There is, indeed, no attempt made to deny the coercion exercised. The *Nazione* says: “In our camp much work has been done, and with unwonted ardour. The authorities began by giving the example of what was felt to be so needful and desirable. The camp of the Government officials was set all of a stir, for it is question there of a phalanx which is able by itself to decide the fate of the battle. The Catholic electors,” the *Nazione* asserts, “cannot muster above 8,500, while the Liberals, coming forward as strong as in previous years, provided they be assisted by the full and efficacious alliance of the Government *employés*, may easily form an army of 12,000.” And so it was; the compact phalanx of the State officials, brought up by their leaders to the urns and placed in the alternative of doing as they were bid or losing their employment, *freely* voted as they were commanded. To make more sure, or, at any rate, to increase the triumphant majority, the Government at the last moment inscribed on the list of electors the names of 1300 individuals who possessed no title for

figuring there save as being persons on whom Francesco Crispi could rely. Add these apocryphal electors to the host of officials and some three or four thousand Roman Liberals, and the victory is easily explained. But does such a victory, considering its object and the means employed to win it, merit the epithet of *splendid*? It achieves the destruction of communal liberty by a plebiscite of brute force. It is, in fact, a retaliation for the honours recently paid by Rome to the Holy Father, a revenge which has been peremptorily demanded by the Masonic world and, so to say, imposed on its willing instrument, Crispi. The lodges felt that the impression created by the Jubilee celebration had served to open the eyes of many who through weakness had been led seriously to believe in the intangibility of Rome. The palpably unsatisfactory character and formation of the first plebiscite of 1870, with its famous 40,785 ayes against 46 noes, has been continually impelling the Revolution to try and force fresh favourable demonstrations from Roman electors. The *Fanfulla* sorrowfully confesses as much. "We stick at this every year," it writes; "we must needs be for ever calling upon the electors to save Rome from the peril of again falling under the temporal dominion of the Pope. The august word of two kings, expressing the decided will of the nation, the assertion of the honourable Crispi that the question of the temporal power is non-existent for Italy, does not suffice." They have found this out rather late, but better late than never; they have discovered that there are people in Rome who prefer the affirmation of Leo XIII. to that of the man of Ribera, and that the 46 noes of 1870 have risen to 9000, and would be more but for the violence, intrigues, and stratagems of their opponents. And so the Turin paper thus sums up the matter: "The numerical majority of the Government in the elections is a thing unquestionable; but we venture to ask to whom does the moral victory principally belong? This necessity of every year repeating plebiscites, because to assure the intangible conquest not even the 'affirmation of the honourable Crispi' suffices, is a triumph for the Papal cause. We are now at the nineteenth plebiscite; next year the victors will feel the necessity of having recourse to a twentieth."

Beneficence.—The series of articles on Political Economy are continued. The subject treated in this number is Beneficence. The duty of beneficence is shown to be inseparable from the right of property (a right demonstrated in previous articles). It solves a great difficulty arising from the individual appropriation of the soil, an appropriation which necessarily entails a distinction between those who possess and those who do not, between rich and poor, between those who have an abundant superfluity and those who lack even the needful. Now this, as is objected, cannot be in accordance with the will of God, who gave to all, along with existence, a right to the preservation of that existence by the fruits of the earth. Nor does it suffice to say that he who does not possess may supply his wants by labour, for infirmity and old age often deprive him of the ability to toil, or he may fail to get employment through over-

competition. No doubt every man has a right to be nourished by the fruits of the earth, but it is not therefore necessary that all should be common property. On the contrary, not universal plenty, but universal misery, would spring from such a state. Copious production is impossible without good cultivation, nor can this be obtained but by the stimulus of private interests. What is needed is that no one should be excluded from participation in what the earth produces; and this is effected through the virtue of *beneficence*, which causes the rich to give of their superfluity to the poor. The proprietor is bound to do this, as the minister of Divine Providence; and it is by fulfilling this duty that property escapes from the assaults of Socialism. The writer, taking S. Thomas for his guide, proceeds to inquire what is to be understood by superfluity, which must necessarily be a relative term according to a man's social position, but which selfish greed, ambition, pride, and luxurious habits are ever tending to narrow in the estimation of the worldly. For the satisfaction of this and other questions appertaining to the subject we refer the reader to the lucid and concise exposition given by the writer. He shows how religion and Christian charity come in to decide the question, or rather to render its precise decision unnecessary. The charity of Christ in the heart converts the act of natural beneficence into an act of the love of God, and makes it the price of life eternal. We no longer wonder, then, to see among Christian proprietors men who give to the poor without stint, and even without measure—nay, not seldom reduce themselves to penury to relieve the needy.

4 Agosto.

Free Competition.—The subject of the second article on Political Economy is free competition, by which it understands the absolute exclusion of any Governmental intervention in the functions of the economical life of the country. In this respect, it is the complete opposite of the theory of Socialism, which would have capital, labour, and the participation of products entirely under the control of the State. This system is, on the face of it, absurd, absorbing, as it would, by the Government all the individual forces of its subjects. The other system—that of unrestricted competition, the value of which occupies so many minds at the present day—is impartially considered by the writer. He fairly states the *pros* and *cons*, the alleged advantages, and the evils which its ardent advocates seem to overlook. Free competition, he allows, is doubtless favourable to abundant and rapid production, but by no means to equal distribution. Its defenders, he thinks, treating the question in the abstract, regard riches in themselves rather than man whom riches are to benefit. Absolute free trade, he holds, tends to increase the wealth of the rich, but to diminish the sufficiency of the poor, its inevitable result being the reduction of wages. The advocates of free trade view this as simply the result of increased population, and the reason-

ing they adopt might, he says, hold good if capital and population acted like two physical forces, regulated by dynamic laws; whereas they act as moral forces, moved and governed by free-will, and therefore cannot be made the subject of calculations of this sort, but obey passions and interests which ill harmonize together. Unrestricted competition, in short, operates in many ways to the prejudice of the working-class, and becomes the origin of that selfish maxim: to obtain the greatest amount of work with the least possible outlay—viz., by the lowest possible wages. It will be said that what the workman loses in wages is made up to him by the lowering of prices; but it is not so. The one is seldom proportioned to the other; moreover, the fall of prices seldom affects precisely those things which correspond to the working-man's needs. They are, besides, of a fluctuating and uncertain character, and subject to all the tricks and frauds of trade. The writer treats of the grievances of monopoly, which free trade was to abolish; and so it has as regards the monopolies conceded by Government; not so, however, those artificial monopolies which rich capitalists and merchants are able to create. He also deals ably with the question of strikes, the defensive weapon of the oppressed mechanic—a phenomenon unknown to our forefathers, and the offspring of the unbridled competition of our times. The writer does not condemn free competition in a certain measure, without which there would be neither emulation nor progress. True liberty, he says, consists in the faculty of using one's own proper rights without hindrance. The present unbridled licence, as it ought to be called rather than liberty, would place it in the use of material ability, and power—that is, of *force*—used without check. He would, therefore, not dispense entirely with a moderate Governmental protection. "Experience," he says, quoting Sismondi, "has made us feel the need of this protecting authority, in order to hinder a great number of men being sacrificed to the increase of a wealth in which they will never partake." The writer proceeds to advert to specific cases in which he thinks the intervention of the civil power is desirable, in some most imperatively so.

18 *Agosto.*

Italian Emigration.—Some startling statistics are here furnished with reference to the alarming increase of emigration from Italy. Previous to 1860, although internal migration existed to a certain extent, and this even mostly of a temporary character, rare indeed was the case of families, especially of the rural class, selling their small possessions and crossing the seas to find bread to eat; for it is mainly the agricultural poor and the inhabitants of the small country towns who form the bulk of the present exodus. The Piedmontese began, it is true, to migrate to Algeria in the year 1852; and in 1860 there were already in Algeria 12,755 Italians, mostly natives of the ancient Ligurian and sub-Alpine provinces, which had been the

first to realize the delights of famishing "liberty." But from 1819 to 1855 not more than 1785 Italians had emigrated to the United States, of whom 2995 were subsequent to 1850. Many of these emigrants had, however, gone for commercial purposes, and rather to better themselves than to escape from starvation. Later on the pressure of want has been the prevailing cause of emigration, and its rapid increase among the Neapolitans has steadily accompanied the introduction of so-called modern civilization and liberty. Misery, and nothing else, is the source of the depopulation of so many rural districts throughout the land once deservedly called the garden of Europe. The spectacle is most distressing, and often these wretched emigrants, unable to sell their poor tenements, will abandon them, leaving the doors open and the keys hanging on a nail. Setting aside all notice of such emigrants as leave their country with any prospect or purpose of a return, however distant, we shall find, by consulting the list that is given, that, whereas in 1876 there were only 19,756 emigrants (already a much increased proportion over that of previous years), their number had risen in 1886 to 85,355. We have been so ingenious, said the senator Jacini in January 1880, that we may be said to have exhausted all known fiscal devices, and nothing remains but to tax the air we breathe. And, earlier still, the Conte di Sambuy declared in the Chamber that the Italian taxpayer was reduced for food to a squeezed orange.

Even the Liberal economists have taken the alarm, and on the 15th of December, 1887, Crispi presented to the Chamber a Bill to hinder emigration. Notwithstanding the specious pretexts of checking abuses by which it is sought to veil it, it can be styled nothing less than a most cruel and tyrannical law, devised to deprive Italians of the liberty of seeking a livelihood where they will. What with the lavish waste of public money and grinding taxation, everything has been done to starve the people and drive them to desperation; and, when this people would escape from death by abandoning their paternal roofs and seeking other lands, it is actually intended to chain them down to die perforce on their native soil! We have here, we may well say, the most bitter outrage that can be offered to the natural right of every man born into this world to the food needful for the support of his life.

Notices of Books.

St. Peter, Bishop of Rome ; or, the Roman Episcopate of the Prince of the Apostles. Proved from the Fathers, History, and Archæology, and illustrated by arguments from other sources. By the Rev. T. LIVIUS, C.S.S.R. London: Burns & Oates.

WE have nothing but a warm welcome and praise for this learned, opportune, and useful work. Father Livius has here done what was urgently called for by the persistent perversion of historical truth as to the Roman Episcopate of St. Peter. We find misrepresentation on this point spreading through Protestant histories, text-books, magazines, and cheap penny prints. The authors of such misrepresentations know well how much depends on this great historical fact. Indeed, as Father Livius well remarks:—

The question of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate is one not merely as to the bare actual occurrence of something alleged to have happened in the past—as is that of every other historical event—but is also one of a great *moral* fact. In treating of this question, we have to deal, not with some still-born and lifeless occurrence without results, which is no more heard of, but with a complex living fact, informed with moral principle and vitality, that enters into the order of thought and of theological truth, and into the domain of practical conduct, religion, and politics. It purports to have its original source in Divine revelation, to be the result and realization of an express promise of Christ through Peter to His Church, or, rather, to be the divinely appointed mode whereby that promise, which affects the essential constitution of the Church, is carried into actual effect. Its energy as a living moral fact is manifest in all time since its first origin, both from the results of its own active operation and from the constantly prevalent belief of Christendom, both as to its material occurrence and its formal character. It is ever big with great consequences, momentous to the doctrine, religion, and discipline of the Church, as well as to the political principles and action of the entire Christian society. Throughout successive ages it has held its place in the minds and hearts of millions of the faithful—as still with all Catholics at the present day—not as though it were simply some isolated material event of past history that happened on a time and once for all, but as an ever-present principle influential for religious belief and practice (Introduction xi.).

With this view before him, Father Livius has given us an important and invaluable work which will go a great way, we believe, to show up the emptiness or fallacy of the Protestant arguments on this question. His book is divided into three parts. The first part may be said to be a reproduction of Professor Jungmann's learned dissertation, “*De Sede Romana S. Petri Principis Apostolorum.*” Father Livius could not have done better than give us this excellent “*Dissertatio,*” which is distinguished by all that erudition, clearness,

and lucid exposition for which the well-known professor is famous. Father Livius has shown his good judgment and anxiety to benefit the general reader by giving cited passages from the Fathers in full. He wishes by this method to put the entire historical argument plainly before the honest inquiring mind, in order that truth may be the more easily attained. It needs only a calm unprejudiced mind to read carefully the whole of the patristic and historical evidence, as it is patiently gathered together in this excellent work, to feel satisfied that the truth advocated of St. Peter's Roman bishopric cannot honestly be denied.

The second part sets forth the evidences of the same great fact from archæology. The author here makes use of the very learned and interesting work of Provost Northcote and Canon Brownlow. That work is well known to be most reliable in every way, and the result of much conscientious labour. Father Livius draws most excellent arguments for his position from the various inscriptions, symbols, and other archæological facts discovered in the different catacombs and cemeteries. He makes the sculpture, the gilded glasses, and the paintings of the catacombs speak with a loud clear voice which tells us, in unmistakeable words, that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome. And it is not easy to see how Anglicans, who express such anxiety to study the records of the early ages and to follow their teaching, can escape the cogency of these archæological proofs of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate and Primacy. As Father Livius well says:—

Anglicans, for the most part, profess to follow as their guide the teaching of the Early Church, and do so on the ground that what was of primitive belief and practice, so far as this is ascertainable, forms the best and safest criterion of genuine apostolic truth. Now, if from the evidence in the catacombs, they apply this principle to other matters of primitive Christianity, they are bound, would they be consistent, on the same grounds and by the same process of reasoning, to apply it also to the doctrine regarding St. Peter; for the monuments of Christian antiquity in Rome bear witness at least as clear and explicit to the early belief of St. Peter's Primacy and Roman Episcopate as they do to that of any other of the points enumerated—Blessed Trinity and Incarnation, the Fall and Redemption, Our Lord's birth, life, death, &c., &c.—and, so far, by consequence, are proofs of the real objective truth of these doctrinal facts.

This same belief, embodied, as we have seen, in so many material memorials of active zeal, piety and devotion, during the first centuries, shows itself so sturdy and vigorous a stem as to make us quite sure, on the one hand, that its roots lie deep down, and that it can have derived its origin from nought else but the Divine word of Christ Himself, and to secure us from much wonder, on the other hand, when ere long this same stem is seen grown up into the trunk of a great tree stretching forth its branches to the ends of the earth, and yielding its fruit in all generations for the healing of the nations. It rises as a firm column based upon a foundation so solid, even upon a rock, that we marvel not when we behold it bearing up, not only the whole building of the Church's faith and ecclesiastical polity, but sustaining also the thrones of temporal princes, and the entire edifice of social order and Christian civilization, by reason of its strength.

In truth, the evidences that now shine forth from the darkness of the catacombs, where they for so long lay buried, are to our mind so clear and conclusive that, were there no written testimony of antiquity still surviving, these alone would suffice for confirmations and proofs, in the historical order, of the objective reality of the Petrine facts as they have been handed down and believed through Catholic tradition (p. 179).

The third part of this work contains a series of useful and excellent chapters supplying us with various arguments on many subjects relative to St. Peter's Roman Episcopate. The author, though he may justly claim the principal merit of this third part of his valuable work, yet acknowledges his indebtedness to such writers as Blessed John Fisher, Baronius, Murray, Döllinger, Cajetan, Franzelin, Mr. Allies, and others. We very warmly recommend this learned and most useful work. It is, in every sense, a valuable work, and appears very opportunely at the present moment, stating, as it does, the arguments for St. Peter's Roman Episcopate with clearness and cogency, and illustrating them with a wealth of patristic and learned testimony. The Catholic controversialist, and, indeed, any intelligent Catholic reader, will find it worth while to have the volume at hand for reference.

Moral Philosophy; or, Ethics and Natural Law. By JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. London: Longmans. 1888.

THIS is the first instalment of a very important issue of original works on Catholic philosophy. Under the editorship of the Rev. Father Clarke, certain well-qualified members of the Society of Jesus propose to publish a series of manuals in English, which will fairly present to the ordinary reader the course of logics, metaphysics, and morals, which they are accustomed to impart to their own scholastics. It is a most useful enterprise, and, if it be well carried out, it will be of the greatest advantage to the priests and laity of English-speaking countries.

The handy volume before us is by the Rev. Father Joseph Rickaby, who informs us that it embodies the substance of a course which he has delivered for eight years in succession to the scholastics of the Society at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst. It consists of about 400 pages, and is divided into two principal divisions, "Ethics" and "Natural Law." Under the first head we have chapters on "Happiness," "Human Acts," "Passions," "Habits and Virtues," "The Origin of Moral Obligation," "Conscience," &c. The second division includes "Duties to God," "The Duty of Preserving Life," "Of Speaking the Truth," "Charity," "Rights," "Property," &c.

Nearly all the perplexed questions of morality lie at the very root of the science. What is moral good, or moral evil? Why am I bound to choose the one and reject the other? Why must I follow my conscience? Can I ever be happy, and, if I can, ought happiness to be my aim and object? Any one who has traversed such a

dreary waste of speculation as, for example, Mr. Leslie Stephen's "Science of Ethics," knows the sort of hesitating, vague, and unsatisfactory essay-writing which does duty in modern days for ethics. Father Rickaby assumes the existence of an almighty and infinitely good God. Without God man cannot be explained; and this is true even of that natural order to which the writer, as we need not say, confines himself. The desire of happiness is an absolute characteristic of human nature; that nature is illuminated by a persistent, if fitfully shining, light of moral direction; and both this desire of happiness and the existence of this moral intuition point to a future life and an almighty Maker and Preserver. Happiness, as Father Rickaby well proves, must consist in the employment of the intellectual part of our nature, under congenial circumstances. But this means a certain calm and restful knowledge of God in the life to come.

The problem of Moral Obligation is not, to our mind, so well reasoned out as the consideration on Happiness. Father Rickaby admits that Moral Obligation finally rests on the unreasonableness of doing violence to one's nature as a reasonable being (p. 115). But he says that something more is required to constitute *sin*. "Sin is more than folly, more than a breach of reason." Sin is the breach of a law. Now a man cannot "give commands to himself." This seems a needless refinement. A man's conscience or moral discernment seems without contradiction to have all the binding force of a law upon his whole nature. The fact that he dictates of his own nature are only transcripts of the essential will of God simply proves that you cannot assert his reason to be, in the *real* order, the ultimate rule of right and wrong; it does not prove that it is not an adequate law as far as the man himself is concerned. Therefore to contravene it is *sin*. And it seems evident that the savage, who has only a dim conception of a God, can yet commit sin by acting against his natural conscience. Neither is this to say that morality is "independent" of God. Our natural perceptions are the law of God written in our hearts.

The chapters on the "Eternal Law" and on "Conscience" are very good and complete. We are not quite so well pleased with Father Rickaby's treatment of such questions as Property, Law, War, and Civil Power. Perhaps the limits of space have made him too short and summary on these subjects.

The style of the book is bright and easy, and the English (as we need not say) extremely good. The writer is, throughout, a little too short and smart. There is also some apparent straining after effect, and a certain affectation in quotation and reference. But these are excusable defects when the object is to rouse and sustain attention in abstract discussion. The manual will be welcome on all sides as a sound, original, and fairly complete English treatise on the groundwork of morality.

Kirchenlexicon von WETZER und WELTE. Zweite Auflage von Cardinal HERGENROETHER und Professor KAULEN. Fünfter Band. Friburg: Herder. 1888.

THIS fifth volume of the great "Kirchenlexicon" contains not less than 2112 closely printed columns. The work deserves the attention of English scholars, because it is representative of the progress made by Catholic science in Germany, under the guidance of the Holy See, and particularly since the Vatican Council. Every article has been affected in some way by this happy change among German Catholic scholars; particularly noticeable being the reform in philosophy and the increasing influence of St. Thomas; as may be seen, for example, in the articles on Guenther, Herbart, Goerres, Hegel, and Herder. But all the articles are written up to the most recent historical investigation—*e.g.*, those headed Galilæo, Hexen, Hexen-process, &c. Due attention is given to religious movements outside the Church, as is evidenced by the articles on the "Salvation Army" (Heilsarmee) and "Gustav-Adolf-Verein." The liturgy of the Church is fully treated: and Canon Law and the customs prevalent in Catholic Germany receive exceptionally careful treatment. This fifth volume extends from Gaal to Himmel; seven more volumes are to follow.

BELLESHEIM.

Saint Maurice et la Légion Thébéenne. Par BERNARD DE MONTMÉLIAN. Two vols. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1888.

THE story of the Thebean Legion is of dramatic interest. The slaughter in cold blood of some six thousand six hundred Roman soldiers by their pagan companions in arms, for the name of Christ, is surely a thrilling episode of Christian history; whilst the obscurity resting over the circumstances of the event, the uncertainty as to date and other particulars, the silence of contemporaneous historians, are difficulties that pique the interest of the student; to which must be added the sceptical attacks of the Centuriators and subsequent Protestant writers. These have laid stress on the improbability of the slaughter of so many soldiers of one legion for Christ being passed over in silence by authors of the next two centuries, such as Lactantius, Sulpicius Severus, and Prudentius—just the ones to whom one would look for mention of such an event. They have pointed to the language used by Eucher, Bishop of Lyons, the one author on whose testimony the martyrdom rests. Eucher wrote more than a century and a quarter after the date assigned for the martyrdom, and then he related only what he had heard from Isaac of Geneva, who in turn had only heard it from Theodore of Octodurum. In spite of all this, however, the majority of Catholic critics—*e.g.*, the Bollandists—accept the story in its chief details; and they are joined by many of the most eminent Protestant historians. The martyrs have found in the Abbé de Montmélian a new and enthu-

siastic champion. He enters into the question of details and pre-disposes of difficulties by a well-argued narrative of the event, founded on the results of the soundest criticism. Following M. de Rivaz, whose work on the martyrs he warmly eulogizes, he places the date of their death at the 22nd of September, A.D. 302. This is later than the generally accepted date (A.D. 286) held by Labbe, Alban Butler, and others, who place the martyrdom at Octodurum, in the Valais, as Maximilian marched to Gaul on his expedition against the Bagundae. Our author shows that this legion was not formed until A.D. 292, and that the soldiers suffered on the march from Cologne to Italy. He shows clearly that they suffered death, not for illegal revolt, but for conscience sake; and on this he lays great stress. Their story is, he says, "une page détachée de la lutte qui dure depuis dix-huit siècles entre l'Eglise et l'Etat," &c. The author does not find much difficulty in establishing the value of Eucher's narrative, of which he gives a translation; with the Latin original in the Appendix. The second half of this interesting work traces a wonderful picture of the impression made over the Christian world by the fame of the martyrdom. Saint Maurice and his companions have been constantly honoured in nearly every country of Europe, more especially in Switzerland, Savoy, Burgundy, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and parts of Germany. The work much needs an index.

The Skein Unravelled: a Course of Lectures on the Main Points of Christianity. By the Very Rev. Canon DUCKETT, D.D. London: Jarrold & Sons. 1888.

THE "Skein Unravelled" comprises a course of nine lectures delivered by Canon Duckett in St. John's Catholic Church, Norwich. They deal with Atheism, the necessity and proof of Divine Revelation, the existence and nature of the Church, and the prerogatives of the Pope. The objections are fairly put and convincingly answered. The lectures are just the thing to put into the hands of sincere inquirers.

Theologia Moralis juxta doctrinam S. Alphonsi Mariae de Liguorio, Doctoris Ecclesiae. Auctore, JOS. AERTNYS, C.SS.R. Tomi duo. Tornaci: H. Casterman. 1886.

THE writer of this elaborate Moral Theology mentions in his preface the reasons which make him follow the holy Doctor S. Alphonsus. One of them is curious; it is because St. Alphonsus says (in his "Monitum Auctoris") that he himself always took great care to prefer reason to authority. "Look," said the Saint (in his *Disseratio*), "at the long war between the Scotists and the Thomists; during all that time not a Scotist held Thomist doctrine, and not a Thomist Scotist. Yet if any given Franciscan had happened to be a Dominican he would have opposed Scotus tooth and nail. And on

the other hand, if a Dominican had been a Franciscan, he would have been quite as absolute against St. Thomas. It was certainly not *reason* that prompted this." These are words which even a Redemptorist might mark and digest. The well-worn discussion about the absolution of *recidivi* might, we think, have been treated with somewhat more conciliation, and therefore more reasonableness, than we find at p. 187 of the second volume. "Laxistae" are referred to, and Sanchez, Faure, and Ballerini are set down as "theologi remissiores." The ordinary eye cannot see much difference between "extraordinary" signs of sorrow, and "real and genuine" signs of sorrow—as far as the Sacrament of Penance is concerned. And when the so-called "laxist" lays down that you are justified in believing what your back-sliding penitent tells you about his dispositions, he means after, not *before*, you have done your best to dispose him properly.

This work, written by an intimate friend of the late Father Konings, is intended as a text-book, and not as a mere compendium. There are, however, far too few definite references; indeed, except to St. Alphonsus, there may be said to be none. Still, it is clearly written, sensible, and fairly complete. The greater number of modern questions will be found treated. Some of the great theologico-medical questions of the day might have been discussed at greater length. The definition of "Drunkenness" is hardly complete (if drunkenness is a sin); and it is difficult to see how, on the author's principles, "quiet" drunkards could be guilty of mortal sin. Again, he seems too rigid in his decisions as to the use of chloroform and morphia. In regard to *communicatio in saecris*, why does he not answer a question constantly asked in England and America—"Can Catholic servants attend prayers in a non-Catholic house?" Why, again, does he not tell us whether the "Index" is binding in these countries? He decides that a Bishop may grant a private oratory for once in a way if there be a grave and urgent cause; but the further question whether the Bishop could validly deny to the faithful the right to fulfil the Sunday obligation in such an oratory would have opened an interesting dispute. The great value of the work, like that of Father Marc's, is that it sets forth the opinions of St. Alphonsus, as gathered from the widest acquaintance with his works. We are pleased to see that the author is, to our mind, more accurate than Father Marc in formulating the holy doctor's theory of Probabilism.

Meditations for Every Day of the Year. From the "Christian Considerations" of Father JOHN CRASSET, S.J. Translated and edited by the Very Rev. T. B. SNOW, O.S.B. Two vols. London: R. Washbourne. 1888.

FATHER CRASSET was a contemporary of Thomassin, Du Cange, and Dom D'Achery at Paris in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The *Meditations* which he published (about

1678), under the name of "Considérations Chrétiennes," were translated—in part at least—into English some seven years later, whilst their author was still living, at a time when the English Court was Catholic. The two volumes before us are a complete version of the work, founded on the English translation referred to. Father Snow has preserved a curious feature of the old translation—the epigrammatic brevity of all the sentences and the printing of each in a line of its own, like verse. Here are some examples :—

The judgments of God are terrible,
But His mercies are infinite.
It is good to fear,
But it is better to hope, &c. (i. 80.)

O happy Simeon!
Who carried the Cross of Jesus.
Christians, it is in your power,
To have the same honour as he had.
All our crosses are pieces of His Cross,
They have touched His soul or His body (i. 297.)

O Jesus, my Saviour!
How can I value humility
If I so dislike humiliation?
No humiliation, no humility.
Give me humility at any price,
If it cost me honour and life (ii. 272.)

It is obvious that this method of writing and printing a meditation has many advantages. It enables the eye to seize without difficulty the thought or the prayer; unnecessary words are kept out; and a certain solemn impressiveness is imparted to the matter proposed. The only drawback is that neither the matter nor the language is uniformly on such a level as to render this "blank verse" form always suitable. More than once, when you expect elevation and distinction, you stumble on the common-place. But a meditation, to be useful, must be occasionally practical and homely. And Father Crasset's matter is so scriptural, so full of Our Lord, so devotional, that it is wonderful how well his phrases lend themselves to this unusual form. At the same time these volumes contain real and genuine "meditations," each one worked out thoroughly on the method of St. Ignatius, ranging over every subject which the soul needs to dwell upon. The scriptural texts at the beginning of each are a very acceptable feature. Those who dread having to wade through an indefinite extent of prose before they can secure their "points" will welcome this novel and helpful manual. Its cheapness—the two volumes of over 400 pages apiece being only eight shillings the two—will also recommend it. Father Snow has prefixed a useful introduction, containing instructions on Meditation, and one or two biographical notes.

St. Mary's Convent, York. Edited, with a preface, by HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

IF St. Mary's Convent, York, had no other title to our interest than the fact that it has stood on the same spot since two years before William III. landed in England, this history would be welcome. The book, printed by the Rev. Father Coleridge in his "Quarterly" series, is full of facts and memories connected with Catholic history during the last two hundred years. The house which now meets the eye of the visitor as he emerges from Railway Street, after skirting the ancient walls of York, received its present appearance about 1788—but it had been substantially there a century earlier. After the reader gets clear of some rather intricate, but most necessary, genealogical details, he finds himself assisting with Mother Frances Bedingfield at the purchase of the site in 1686. The real founder was the Venerable Sir Thomas Gascoyne, the stout Yorkshire baronet who confessed his faith before the persecutors during the Oates plot, and died in the Benedictine Abbey of Lamspring in 1689, in his ninety-fourth year. The "Institute of Mary" has a curious history, which those who have read the "Life of Mary Ward" (published in two recent volumes of the same series) will follow out here with eagerness. The names of those connected with the house at York suggest to the memory nearly every great Catholic family of the North of England. They had to carry out their religious life as best they could. Their dress in 1737 was a "slate-coloured gown," with a cap and hood. They did not dare to address each other, even at home, as "mother" or "sister." They were liable to visitation from the Lord Mayor and the Archbishop; and it is related how a certain Dr. Jacques Sterne, Canon of York—the narrative does not mention that he was uncle to a more famous Dr. Sterne who held the living of Coxwold, not many miles away—waited on the Rev. Mother in 1748, and threatened them with the penal law. Dr. Sterne afterwards became their very good friend. Indeed, the York authorities, on the whole, gave them very little trouble, and were more than once exceptionally kind, like that Lord Mayor to whom the Mother Superior presented a silver snuff-box. The boarding-school of St. Mary's is too well known to require notice. A list of over 2000 names of pupils who have belonged to the convent between 1710 and the present date is given at the end of the book. But the annals of the "Institute" as a religious body are even more interesting. It was here that Mary Aikenhead, by desire of Archbishop Murray, went through that religious training which ended in her transferring the Rule of the Institute of Mary to the fertile soil of Ireland, under the title of the Irish Sisters of Charity; and it was at St. Mary's, also, that Frances Ball made her novitiate, by the wish of the same prelate, and whence she carried home the statutes of the well-known and widely spread "Loretto Nuns"—who are simply the "Institute of Mary" under another name.

The book will be found delightful reading. It is full of anecdote, of personal traits, and of quaint details; it is skilfully put together, and easily written. It is rarely that we can quarrel with the annalist's English, as we feel inclined to do when she uses the word "superiority" instead of "superiorship." No old pupil of York will be without this record of a unique House; and to the general reader it supplies details in the history of Yorkshire Catholicism, and side-lights on the manners and customs of our ancestors, which will be very highly appreciated.

Essays, Chiefly in Poetry. By AUBREY DE VERE, LL.D.
Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THE chief attraction in these volumes of reprinted essays—which have remained too long unnoticed—is the elaborate discussion of the character and genius of Wordsworth. Mr. de Vere knew Wordsworth personally. At the age of eighteen, his father, Sir Aubrey de Vere, had taught him to admire the great poet. Afterwards, about eight years before Wordsworth's death, Mr. de Vere made his acquaintance. "During the next four years," he says, "I saw a great deal of him, chiefly amidst his own mountains; and besides many delightful walks with him, I had the great honour of passing some days under his own roof" (vol. ii. p. 275). A man may be excused for being somewhat enthusiastic about a bard who has read his own poetry to him. But if we can trace in Mr. de Vere's three essays just a suspicion of hero-worship, his strong and sympathetic intelligence has all the same given us in these pages certainly the best criticism on the master which it has been our good fortune to read. Mr. de Vere dedicates his first essay to a demonstration of Wordsworth's "passion"—a quality of his verse which it is the fashion to under-estimate. "Not only," he says, "is the chief characteristic (of Wordsworth's poetry) the power with which it simultaneously exhibits human nature and material nature in their mutual action and re-action, but also in dealing with this, his favourite theme, his genius, so far from being cold, an admission often made even by his admirers, is habitually under the influence of poetic passion in its highest and rarest forms" (vol. i. p. 107). That Wordsworth, at first, laid himself open to the charge of affectation in his search for simplicity, is hardly to be denied. But it is true that he triumphantly showed how much manliness and human interest there is in the commonest themes, and gave the world a splendid demonstration that poetic language may be true and genuine without being dry or trivial. It may be admitted that "passion," in the sense of sensuous instinct or sensational energy of phrase, is rarely to be found in these pure and lofty poems; but passion, in the sense of "moral" passion—the sense of the terrible, of the pitiful, of the pathetic—the sense

of man's nobler aspirations thwarted by circumstance or promoted by his surroundings—all this you find in abundance in such poems as "Margaret," or "The Solitary," or "Matthew," or "The Old Cumberland Beggar," and most of all, perhaps, in the "Leech-gatherer."

It is only a very superficial reader who can see in this poem nothing but natural description and a moral purpose. The poem is passion also, and passion in its highest form—the passion of the intellect and of the spirit in their soarings and sinkings; the passion of the imagination that moulds all the aspects of Nature, so as to be the mirror of its own varying moods, now making to itself palpable monsters out of her most casual aspects, now resolving her plainest objects into dream that it may walk unembarrassed through worlds as visionary as its own. It is the fusing power of passion which imparts to this poem its perfect harmony of colouring, and converts into a spirit-moving reality that which, had its inner meanings proceeded from the didactic intellect alone, must have presented itself with all the coldness that belongs to allegory. The language is throughout the language of passion—not declamatory passion, but passion steadied by its own weight (vol. i. p. 132).

A very interesting selection of extracts from every period of Wordsworth's poetry illustrates Mr. de Vere's exposition of these views, and if the essay did nothing else it would serve as a kind of Wordsworth gallery, in which many of his choicest gems are set before the reader, and "criticized," in the highest sense of the word, with the intelligence of a highly educated mind and the insight of a truly poetic temperament.

The second essay on Wordsworth discusses the "Wisdom and Truth" of his poetry. These qualities Mr. de Vere illustrates successively in their relations with man's moral nature, with political morality, with poetry, science, and progress, and with the exterior universe. In this paper the purity of the poet's verse is well brought out, as also his high conception of duty, his lofty moral insight, and his personal religiousness. It is no less elaborately wrought out and attractive than the former. The two together form an introduction to Wordsworth, which must prove extremely valuable—for instance, to teachers and students. At the same time, it is just possible that Mr. de Vere may here contribute to a false and misleading estimate of his favourite poet. Poetry cannot supply religion. The essence of poetry is that intellectual sculpture of the naturally beautiful and true which affects our human susceptibilities. But this goes only a very short way in making a man pray continually, mortify his passions, submit to teaching, or humble his head to sacraments. Poetry, if made too much of, rather substitutes emotion for virtue; and that "moral" emotion, which the Wordsworthian poetry promotes, if it is somewhat nearer to Christian virtue than other emotion, is not the less useless as a substitute. Mr. de Vere considers that Christianity is "zealously asserted" in Wordsworth's maturer poetry, and obviously implied in the whole of it. But, besides that the Protestant poet's views of Christianity are necessarily fragmentary and inadequate

—for he never mentions the Crucifix, the Real Presence, or the supernatural holiness of the saints—you can no more be a Christian by a poetic view of Nature than you can plant trees by waving your hands from a hill-top. The latter process may be useful in its way, but some natures have a tendency to think it is all that is required. As to Mr. de Vere's own sentiments, nothing need be said; more especially after reading the beautiful essay which he has here republished on Mr. Healy Thompson's "Life of St. Aloysius."

The paper on Spencer is worth reading by those who have read Spencer—and even more, perhaps, by those who have not. The rest of the volume is made up chiefly of criticisms on Sir Henry Taylor and W. S. Landor.

Jesu's Psalter. With Chant. By Rev. SAMUEL HEYDON SOLE.
London: Burns & Oates. 1888.

THIS is a book of the most valuable and interesting sort, and whether as a contribution to Catholic history, to philology, or to devotion, it may be most cordially welcomed. Father Sole traces the history of that beautiful and popular prayer, so well known to our fathers, the "Jesus Psalter." It is a prayer familiar to many of us from our youth—from times when it seemed almost to supply for Benediction in so many places where scattered families or even country congregations could not have the privilege of visiting Our Lord in His sacramental presence. It was then that the repetition of the sacred name brought a kind of eucharistic manifestation into the midst of the little flock, and the rhythm and cadence of the balanced prayer seemed like incense which was offered to His throne. But the version of the "Garden of the Soul" was only an adaptation of a far older, and in some respects a far more devotional, form. "The abbreviation," says Father Sole, "must be regarded, I fear, as its only merit. Beautiful as it is, its beauty is what remains to it of its true form; and its wilful departure from the essential structure of the Psalter, which had been kept sacred through a century and more of terrible persecution, does, in the mind of the present editor, condemn it wholly" (Preface, p. 22).

Father Sole prints three versions of this Psalter. The first is from a MS. now at Manresa, which is probably a transcript of an older copy. The Manresa MS. is dated 1571. In this version the sacred name is repeated *thirty times* with each petition. There are fifteen petitions. The second version here reprinted is from the well-known book, the "Manual"—the copy Father Sole uses bearing the date 1589. It hardly differs from the former. The third version is simply a modernization, carried out in the gentlest and most reverential spirit, of the ancient form, preserving as far as possible the structure, rhythm, and rhyme of the author himself. That author was no other than Richard Whytford, a Brigittin of Syon House. Whytford, who was a prolific writer, was a friend of Erasmus,

and a master of the English tongue—as may be seen by his version of the “Imitation,” re-edited a few years ago by Dom Wilfrid Raynal. Father Sole, in a long, learned, and most interesting preface, discusses not only the origin and fate of the Psalter, but the life and history of its author, together with the proofs of authorship. This noblest of English prayers seems to have been first used in the household of Lord Mountjoy, where Whytford was chaplain, during the reign of Queen Mary, when there were hopes that the old religion would be as it had been. But its fate was to be used by the persecuted and the exiled, and to comfort the sorrowful and the fearful, during three centuries, even to our own day, when we may hope that its power and unction will continue to be as deeply felt as ever in the past.

The Practice of Humility. By our Holy Father POPE LEO XIII. Translated from the Italian by Dom JOSEPH JEROME VAUGHAN, O.S.B. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.

The Practice of Humility. By his Holiness POPE LEO XIII. Translated from the Italian by Monsignor GEORGE F. DILLON. Turin: L. Romano; London: Burns & Oates; Dublin: M. H. Gill.

THESE two translations are, in a literary and publishing sense, rivals. Whilst confessing that we prefer Father Vaughan's as being somewhat more “English,” it is only just to say that they are both very good, and both evidently very faithful to the original. Readers may do more than satisfy a laudable curiosity by procuring this little tract on humility, written by our Holy Father for his seminarists when he was Archbishop of Perugia. It is practical, orderly, devout, and efficacious in touching the heart. It is so orderly—a quality not always found in small spiritual books—that the translators might easily have given a “heading” to each of the sixty paragraphs into which it is divided. There is little—perhaps nothing—which specially regards the ecclesiastical student. The subject of studies seems never to be touched upon. The book is therefore a manual for all Christians, being an exposition of the practical side of that humility which is the foundation of the whole spiritual life. Both translators have prefixed short prefaces. Dom Vaughan mentions that he undertook his work with the “special permission and blessing” of the illustrious author. Monsignor Dillon has brought out his version at the desire of the Bishop of Casale, to whom the treatise was paternally recommended by Pope Leo himself, in March 1887. Monsignor Dillon states that translations are being made into every European language, and that the book has been taken up in Italy itself with the most striking eagerness. The brief manual concludes with extracts from St. Augustine and several other saints who have written on humility. There is little in the volume which will throw

much light on the inner personality of the present Pontiff; but such a phrase as "Never wish to be singularly loved," which introduces paragraph xxvi., may perhaps be read as the revelation of an unusually affectionate nature which has resolved to repress mere human feeling and to act as far as possible on supernatural motives. Dom Vaughan, as becomes a good Benedictine, notices how the sermon here quoted from St. Augustine contains the originals of some of St. Benedict's famous sentences on humility; and, though he does not say so, he would clearly have been more happy if the Holy Father had alluded to the seventh chapter of the great Rule. He has a note referring to Dante's description of Pope S. Celestine as the one who made "il gran rifiuto;" but it is by no means certain that Dante in this passage intends to designate that holy Pope.

Compendium Sacrae Liturgiae. Scripsit P. INNOCENTIUS WAPLEHORST, O.S.F. Neo-Eboraci, &c.: Benziger Fratres. 1887.

THIS is a Latin treatise, by a Franciscan Father, of the United States, setting forth the rubrics of the Mass, the rite of private and solemn Masses, vespers, the administration of the Sacraments, the Divine office, Pontifical functions of various kinds, processions, &c., together with general notions on the liturgy, and its mystical significance. It is fairly complete, though in some parts necessarily very brief. There are many useful hints for English-speaking priests. It is distinguished by clearness and good sense. There are always points in a manual of rubrics which may be discussed. For example, our author would have shown courage if he had got rid of that distinction between *preceptive* and *directive* rubrics which has, we venture to say, much mental confusion to answer for. We are told (p. 3) that "preceptive" rubrics are those which bind in conscience under sin, "directive" those which are "expressed as a recommendation, and give directions and instructions for the more suitable way of acting, and which, *per se*, do not bind under sin, unless there is scandal, contempt, or an innovating intention." There can be no doubt that St. Alphonsus made this distinction, in name at least. But it is equally true that many of the rubrics, which, as being *extra missam*, he considered merely "directive," he held to bind under sin; as for example to omit matins and lauds before saying mass (without reasonable cause), to neglect the prayers appointed at vesting, &c. The view which the holy Doctor seems to uphold—although his words are a little puzzling—is that there are rubrics which are grave, and rubrics which are comparatively unimportant: that the rubrics outside of the Mass are not grave, but yet are real commands, and that there are also, within the Mass, rubrics which are not grave, and which a really good reason may excuse from. The author seems to say that "directive" rubrics are expressed in the form of advice, such as "ad arbitrium," "pro opportunitate." And then he says

that, to speak generally, the rubrics regarding what is "outside Mass" are probably "directive" only, unless there is other evidence of a command. But what other evidence of a command could be had which would be clearer than the fact of the thing being a rubric of the Roman missal? There is no need to say that a counsel is not a command, but it would seem to follow quite as clearly that a command is a command.

It is not clear why, at p. 55, it is laid down absolutely that in private *Requiem* Masses the prayer *Deus qui inter* must always be said as the first prayer. Many authorities, and among others Merati and Cavalieri, hold that it is conformable to the rubrics to say in the first place the prayer corresponding to the application of the Mass.

In the rite for the visitation of public churches, it would have been well to notice—if the writer was aware of it—that in 1866 Cardinal Barnabò approved of joining together the two absolutions for the dead, in places where there are no cemeteries. The absolution at the altar would in that case be the only one given, and the two Collects prescribed for the cemetery would be added. This modification is very necessary at most visitations, where there is little enough time to get through everything, and where the choirs do not generally shine in singing the *Libera*.

Whether the altar-candles may be sometimes of another material than bees-wax is a question clearly treated by the writer. No candles except wax candles can be placed on the altar or over it—that is, on the super-altar. All the candles prescribed in a function, such as acolytes' candles, "torches," &c., must be wax. But he does not decide the further question, whether other candles may not be used in the sanctuary. As to the difficulty about white and yellow wax, he quietly declares that it is matter of indifference whether one or the other is used, the rubrics making no distinction. This is true with some slight exceptions. The *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* prescribes "common," that is, unbleached wax, for *Tenebrae* and for Good Friday. As this kind of wax is not prescribed for Advent and Lent, the author seems going a little beyond the rubric in recommending them at such times.

A few other remarks might be made, but the book is solid and good, and ought to prove of the greatest utility to the clergy generally, bringing together, as it does, in one volume a vast number of liturgical subjects.

Hylomorphism of Thought-Being. Part I. By Rev. THOMAS
QUENTIN FLEMING.

MANY, no doubt, on hearing the title of this book will wonder what "hylomorphism" means, but those who have studied the Scholastic theory of "matter and form" will understand that "hylomorphism" denotes the formation of a compound from two

principles, one active, the other passive. In the course of these ten essays on the formation of "thought," the Rev. Father Fleming advances and develops the theory that, just as bodies are said to be composed of two elements, called "matter" and "form," so also our thoughts are made up of two constituents, which from their nature and characteristics may be styled "the matter" and "the form," or as the author puts it, "the hylic monad" and "the morphic monad," of our concepts. His reason for advancing this theory may be summed up in a few words. Thought is a true representation of an object; as, then, bodies or beings outside the mind present a hylomorphic formation, the representation of them in the mind should show a similar process of formation. The idea or perceptual representation, the "species intelligibilis" of the Scholastics, when acted upon by the reflective intellect, is the "form," "the morphic monad" of the concept, while the adequate intrinsic possibility, which the reflective intellect supplies, is the "matter," "the hylic monad." Hence it will be perceived that the functions of the intellectual memory are of vast importance in the formation of thought, seeing that the "form" is, if not always, at least most frequently, derived from the memory, the storehouse of past ideas. The subject of these essays opens up a wide field for philosophical investigation, and should prove highly interesting to those who delight in analogy. All reasoning on the nature of thought requires diligent study and patient observation of the working of the intellect, and Father Fleming's book gives abundant evidence that the author has neglected neither the one nor the other. Those who study this treatise on the Theory of Thought will find the marginal notes of great service, as they enable one to follow all the steps and stages of reasoning.

Logic, or the Morphology of Knowledge. By BERNARD BOSANQUET, M.A. Two vols. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1888.

THESE two elaborate volumes are an attempt, by a distinguished metaphysical scholar, to propound a system of Logic. They are very tough reading, but that is perhaps a necessary consequence of their subject. The process of "Naming," says Mr. Bosanquet, "as known to our reflective thought, is to adopt an individual element of language as the instrument of intellectual reference to an individual identity in the knowable world" (i. 15). There are plenty of sentences like this. Mr. Bosanquet's main view, as far as we can gather, is that naming is practically the first step in knowledge, that naming implies some degree of Distinction and Identification, that Judgment merely develops and carries out such Distinction and Identification, and that Reasoning is the recognition of those same things as seen mediately, or by the medium of an interposing idea. In all this there is nothing very unorthodox. Logic, to judge from the modern treatises, is impossible to define. The

common notion is that it treats of the formal laws of thought. But it is next to impossible to say what these formal laws are unless you first know what the mind is and does. Mental morphology, to use Mr. Bosanquet's term, cannot be separated from mental physiology. You can classify the shapes or forms of plants without much reference to their laws of life, but the forms of inference are the same as the mind's own essence. A philosopher who holds that truth shines on the mind as from a sun, which is the Divine nature, will have one idea of Logic; a speculator, whose only idea of knowledge is the repetition of physical or mechanical impact, will have a very different one. One school, believing in universals, will praise the syllogism; another, denying all but the particular, will hold the syllogism to be a fraud. The old scholastic division of mental operations into Notions (or Concepts), Judgments, and Reasonings, seems after all the most useful and satisfactory that has been suggested. One is not obliged to say that a Concept does not contain the germ of a Judgment, or to deny that Reasoning is only a Judgment developed into explicitness. The truth is that, apart from the impressions of the senses, which furnish the material part of knowledge, all reasoning, speculation, science, and philosophy is only a drawing out of what we already have within us. But such drawing out will not fail in giving us plenty to do as long as the world lasts. After that, what is called knowledge will be a different process. Mr. Bosanquet's book may be recommended as not only a steady and helpful effort to systematize logical theory, but as explaining and analyzing with great acuteness a large number of mental operations, whose names (at least) were unknown to the schoolmen.

Polybius. The History of the Achaean League, as contained in the Remains of Polybius. Edited, with introduction and notes, by W. W. CAPES, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

THIS will make a welcome addition to the library of the student of the Greek classics. The introduction, which gives us some account of the author and his work, and also of the Achaean League, is clear and interesting. The notes are everything that can be desired.

Goldsmith. Selected Poems. With introduction and notes by A. DOBSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

AN excellent addition to the series of English classics brought out by the Clarendon Press. The notes are copious and good.

Is One Religion as Good as Another? By the Rev. J. MACLAUGHLIN.
London: Burns & Oates.

WE are much gratified that Father MacLaughlin's opportune and excellent little book has passed into a second edition. This fact alone speaks well for it, and shows that it is doing the good work which its author intended. The numerous laudatory notices which it has received from various reviews, magazines, and papers testify to the value of this very useful publication. We notice that the author, in this second edition, has dropped the word "Indifferentism" on the title-page, and has retained only the words, "Is One Religion as Good as Another?" We think this is an improvement, and that the new title is, in its simplicity, more striking than the first, and more truly suggests what is the substance of the book. We again earnestly recommend this well-timed, useful, and forcible work. It appeals powerfully both to the intellect and to the will.

Jubilee-tide in Rome. By JOHN GEORGE COX. London:
Burns and Oates.

THIS elegant volume is a reproduction in book form of those interesting and sparkling letters which appeared, week after week, in the *Tablet* during the late festivities in Rome in honour of Pope Leo XIII.'s jubilee. Facing the title-page is a portrait of the Holy Father, exceedingly striking and full of power and character. At the end of the volume is appended a list of the English and Scottish pilgrims who visited Rome during these great festal days. Many persons will, no doubt, be glad to have these interesting letters preserved in a permanent form. This volume, besides being a handsome ornament to a drawing-room table, will be found full of attractive reading. Its pages sparkle with life and humour, and there is not a dull line in them. "Jubilee-tide in Rome" will no doubt often be chosen as a handsome and acceptable present in memory of pleasant and happy days spent in the Holy City during the Christmas of 1887 and the early days of the following year.

-
1. *Chaldea, from the Earliest Times to the Rise of Assyria.* By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1887.
 2. *Assyria, from the Rise of the Empire to the Fall of Nineveh.* By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1888.

M. RAGOZIN'S two volumes form part of the series of popular histories published by Mr. Fisher Unwin under the general title of "The Story of the Nations." The first of them forms a kind of general introduction to the series, dealing as it does with some of

the earliest records of civilized communities. The two taken together relate the history of the peoples of the Euphrates valley down to the fall of Nineveh in the seventh century before Christ. M. Ragozin is, we believe, a French Orientalist, who has been for some years engaged in professorial work in America. There is little in his English style to betray the foreigner. On his title-page he quotes Carlyle and Emerson to the effect that history is poetry could we tell it aright, and he has certainly succeeded in making the obscure history of Chaldea and Assyria into an interesting narrative, full at times of the strange poetry which is to be gleaned from the fragments of the religious literature of these long-vanished nations. In a detailed review we should be inclined to challenge some points in M. Ragozin's account of the evolution of pagan religions; and we cannot always accept the view he takes of the points of contact between the Biblical narrative and the history of the great empires of the East; but, taken as a whole, the volumes before us deserve very high commendation. We know of no better works on the same subjects written in a popular style. They are not, of course, intended for specialists, but for the general reader they provide a clear and interesting summary of the results of modern research in a field in which some of the most interesting discoveries of our time have been made. The illustrations, chiefly reproductions of the monuments, are well chosen, and in most cases well engraved, and really help the reader to a better knowledge of the subject. We note this because the illustrations are the weak point of some of the previous volumes of this series.

Chronological Tables, a Synchronistic Arrangement of the Events of Ancient History. By the Rev. ARTHUR C. JENNINGS. London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

THIS is an arrangement in six parallel columns of ancient "Political History," "Jewish Church History," "Wars, Popular Movements, Catastrophes," "Biography and Topography," "Inventions, Discoveries, &c.," and "Laws, Literature, the Drama, Institutions." The divisions are unfortunately not always very clear. For instance, some of the events in the third column might equally well be placed in the first. We are warned in the preface that very little reliance is to be placed on many of the dates. The object chiefly held in view by the compiler appears to have been to show what events in Greece and Rome were contemporary with the incidents of Biblical history, and to give a general idea of the progress of the arts and sciences at various periods of antiquity. A little less detail and a simpler arrangement of the tables would have better secured these objects, but doubtless many students will find the tables useful as they stand for occasional consultation.

“Twelve English Statesmen” Series:—*William the Conqueror*. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN. *Henry the Second*. By MRS. J. R. GREEN. *Cardinal Wolsey*. By MANDELL CREIGHTON. *Oliver Cromwell*. By FREDERIC HARRISON. *William the Third*. By H. D. TRAILL. London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

THESE five volumes belong to a series of historical biographies which Messrs. Macmillan are publishing under the title of “Twelve English Statesmen.” The idea of, as it were, focussing history in such a biographical series is a happy one. Events and scenes grouped round a striking central figure are to most minds of greater and more living interest than when they appear as episodes in a long historical narrative. The writers of these monographs have all earned a claim to be considered as authorities on the subjects with which they deal, and the historical figures selected for treatment are among those that stand foremost in our island story. Of the volumes before us Canon Creighton’s “Wolsey” is in every way the most striking and interesting, Mr. Frederic Harrison’s “Cromwell” the least satisfactory; but all are of a high order of merit, and the series is likely to be a very popular one.

Biographers can rarely resist the temptation to give the palm of superiority over all competitors to their hero for the time being. Mr. Freeman says of William the Conqueror:—

Stranger and conqueror, his deeds won him a right to a place on the roll of English statesmen, and no man that came after him has won a right to a higher place.

Canon Creighton, speaking of Wolsey, says that—

If we consider his actual achievements, we are bound to admit that he was probably the greatest political genius whom England has ever produced.

And Mr. Harrison describes Cromwell as “the greatest ruler this country ever had.” As a contrast, and a welcome one, to these mutually contradictory exaggerations, we must note that Mr. Traill shows a judicial spirit in his estimate of William III. He says that Macaulay “over-painted both his kingcraft and his statesmanship,” and, while paying a just tribute to all that was great in his character and reign, he does much to destroy the Whig legend which represents William as the founder of the British Constitution.

Elements of Physiological Psychology: A Treatise on the Activities and Nature of the Mind from the Experimental and Physical Point of View. By G. T. LADD, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. London: Longmans. 1887.

STUDENTS and teachers of philosophy who have not met with this important work will be glad to have it brought to their notice. It is, I believe, the only attempt that has ever been made

to sum up the results of the study of the mind from the experimental and physiological side. The investigations are described in full detail and irrespective of any bearing they may be thought to have on the spiritual and moral nature of man. This alone would make the book indispensable to all who are engaged in the study of this important part of philosophy. But it is the more valuable, because, after a careful survey of all that modern science can bring forward, the author concludes, I think irresistibly, that "physiological psychology cannot explain the entire being of the mind as arising out of the development of the physical germ from which the bodily members unfold themselves. It knows no decisive reason against the belief that such a non-material and real unit-being as the mind is, should exist in other relations than those which it sustains at present to the structure of the brain. On the contrary, it discloses certain phenomena which at least suggest and perhaps confirm the possibility of such existence for the mind." It will be seen that those who enter into controversy with materialists of the physiological school cannot afford to leave the evidence supplied by this work on one side. It is unfortunate that Prof. Ladd does not seem to be acquainted with the peripatetic doctrine as developed by St. Thomas, which seems most in harmony with modern natural science; if he has an hypothesis which he favours, it is the somewhat kindred one of Lotze. But this will make his facts all the more above suspicion when employed by Catholic philosophers; and in every other respect the book is one which can be most warmly recommended.

J. R. GASQUET.

-
1. *Les Chevaliers de Malte et la Marine de Philippe II.* Par le Vice-Amiral JURIEU DE LA GRAVIÈRE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.
 2. *La Guerre de Chypre et la Bataille de Lépante.* Par le Vice-Amiral JURIEU DE LA GRAVIÈRE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1888.

THESE two works are a continuation of Vice-Admiral de la Gravière's history of the naval struggle between the Christians and the Turks. Two former volumes, "Doria et Barberousse," and "Les Corsaires Barbaresque et la Marine de Soliman le Grand," have already been spoken of in high terms by this REVIEW. They showed how the Turks gained and kept the supremacy of the seas. The present volumes tell us how the infidels' career of victory was first checked at the siege of Malta, and afterwards turned into a rout at the battle of Lepanto. The Knights of St. John and St. Pius V. are the heroes of these momentous events. Whoever wishes to see how much Europe owes to the Popes and to the military orders, cannot do better than study Vice-Admiral de la Gravière's excellent histories.

T. B. S.

Les Marguerite Françaises: Les Saintes, les Reines, les Princesses, les Grandes Dames, les Femmes du Peuple. Par EDMOND STOFFLET. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.

NEXT to Mary, no name has been so common among the French as Margaret. Struck by the part played in the history of his country by those who have borne this name, M. Stofflet has written a charming little narrative of their varying fortunes from the time of the Crusades to the end of the Revolution. He gives us some account of Margaret of Provence, wife of St. Louis, Margaret of Burgundy, Margaret of Flanders, Margaret of Anjou, Margaret of Navarre, Margaret of Valois, Margaret of Montmorency, Margaret of Lorraine, and other queens and princesses. Nor are the heroines of religion omitted, such as Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque, Margaret de l'Isle, Margaret de Gondi, and Margaret de Vigier. Many "femmes du peuple," good and otherwise, are also briefly sketched. The reader will not fail to notice M. Stofflet's marked Legitist bias.

T. B. S.

The Standard of Value. By WILLIAM LEIGHTON JORDAN, F.R.G.S., Assoc. Inst. C.E. Fifth edition. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1888.

WHEN Mr. Jordan first published this work he was accused of attempting to revive the defunct controversy on Bimetallism. He now points with triumph to the fact that the "defunct controversy" has since formed the subject of a Royal Commission, whose final report is about to be published. His arguments in favour of a double standard are clearly and forcibly stated. But the book as a whole is chaotic, the numerous prefaces occupying one-half of the total number of pages. Perhaps the best chapter is that on "The Pound Sterling."

T. B. S.

A Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada from the Earliest Period to the year 1888; including the British North America Act, 1867; and a Digest of Judicial Decisions on Questions of Legislative Jurisdiction. By JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada. Montreal: Dawson Brothers. 1888.

THE Fisheries dispute between Canada and the United States is drawing attention to the powers and the working of the Canadian Constitution. The double system of Home Rule—Home Rule of the whole Dominion as against the Imperial Government, and Home Rule of each province as against the Dominion Government—is little understood on our own side of the Atlantic. Dr. Bourinot's admirable manual gives a clear and concise account of the complex

arrangements under which men of various races and religions are enabled to dwell harmoniously together. It should be carefully studied by all who are interested in Home Rule and Imperial Confederation.
T. B. S.

The New Social Order. By JOHN FORDYCE, M.A. London :
Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

MR. FORDYCE'S aim in this little work is to make it plain to his readers "that we owe all that is noblest and most hopeful in modern civilization to the grace and truth and love that are manifested to man in Christ." He treats of the moral condition of the ancient pagan world, the new ideal of manhood, the emancipation of woman, the Christian family, and the dignity of labour. It is a pity that he has not noticed the important part played by the Blessed Virgin in the civilizing influences of Christianity. Mr. Loring Brace, whose book he quotes very freely, was careful not to overlook this point. However, we must thank Mr. Fordyce for his spirited protest against the pessimism now so widespread.

Pessimistic guides [he says] point us back to pagan life as their ideal of life, and, if they had their way, the world would once more be what it was in the days of St. Paul, without God, without hope, and without love. Hence, the importance of not only clinging to the early Christian ideals, but of clinging to their ever-living and ever-creative source. The future of the race will depend ultimately, as of old, on the relation of man to the Christ of history. The ancient pagan world tried to live without God, without hope, without inspiration from the consciousness of the Eternal in and around men, and we know what was the result. Brilliant teachers and leaders of our time are trying the same sad experiment, and, but for the fact that higher forces are at work in and around them, the same disastrous results would be again witnessed. According to the poet, "the good, the true, the pure, the just" need the charm of "for ever" to give them full and perfect *vitality*. The ideals, principles, and truths that were so powerful in earlier days are still full of power, but they require to be associated now, as they were associated then, with the living Christ. In order to work for man's highest welfare, and in order to have faith in the ultimate success of our efforts, we must believe in the existence, energy, and ever-loving co-operation of the Divine Worker, whose are the triumphs of the past, and whose are the still more glorious hopes and triumphs of the golden future (pp. 167-168).

T. B. S.

Prosperity or Pauperism? Physical, Industrial and Technical Training. Edited by the EARL OF MEATH (LORD BRABAZON). London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1888.

THIS book appears most opportunely—on the eve of important educational reforms. It is almost universally admitted that the present system is turning out a generation with well-filled minds

and empty stomachs. Lord Meath would insist "that our young men and maidens may start in life with healthy bodies, with a knowledge of *things* as well as books, with a power of using their *hands* as well as their heads, and of making the most of small resources." In the present volume he has collected together a number of articles and reviews contributed by himself, Sir Philip Magnus, Prof. Huxley, Lord Hartington, and others, to the chief periodicals of the day. If England is not to be beaten out of her own markets we must at once take up vigorously the promotion of physical and technical training. Our most formidable opponents are the best educated people.

"Germany thirty years ago, as compared with England, was simply nowhere; but placing English and German workshops side by side now, we should find that the progress in the latter has been positively marvellous. During all these years the Germans had been following the English step by step, importing their machinery and tools, and engaging, when they could, the best men from the best shops, copying their methods of work and the organization of their industries; but besides this, they had devoted special attention to a matter which England had almost ignored—the scientific or technical instruction of their own people. And what has been the result of all this? They have reached a point at which they have little to learn from the English" ("Royal Commission on Technical Instruction," vol. i. p. 335).

Perhaps the most interesting paper in the whole collection is that contributed by Miss Chapman on the *Slöjd*, or hand-work system, as practised in Sweden. The main object of *Slöjd* is not the teaching of any trade, but the development of the faculties and the acquiring of general dexterity.

T. B. S.

-
1. *The Philosophy of Law*. By IMMANUEL KANT. Translated from the German by W. HASTIE, B.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1887.
 2. *Outlines of the Science of Jurisprudence*. Translated and edited from the Juristic Encyclopædias of PUCHTA, FRIEDLÄNDER, FALCK, and AHRENS. By W. HASTIE. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1887.

MR. HASTIE believes that, as in philosophy generally, so also in the philosophy of law, we must go back to Kant. He has, in these two volumes, performed the difficult task of translator with great success, and his introductions are valuable contributions to the history and bibliography of jurisprudence. We demur, however, to his treatment of the German word *Recht*, which he invariably renders by the English *Right*. *Recht* has two, or rather three, meanings—right, an individual right, and law. Such expressions as "the science of right," "natural right," are misleading. But, while we

are grateful to Mr. Hastie for his labours, we cannot help endorsing Austin's opinion of the German jurists: "It is really lamentable that the instructive and admirable books which many of the German jurists have certainly produced should be rendered inaccessible, or extremely difficult of access, by the thick coat of obscuring jargon with which they have wantonly incrustated their necessarily difficult science" ("Jurisprudence," p. 738). T. B. S.

L'Abbé Maury. Par Mgr. RICARD. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1888.

THE leaders in a lost cause are generally doomed to oblivion. When the National Assembly of 1789 is spoken of we at once think of the great tribune Mirabeau. His foremost antagonist, Maury, before whose fervent eloquence and biting repartees even he sometimes quailed, is now almost forgotten. Mgr. Ricard has done well to preserve, or rather to revive, the memory of this most powerful defender of the throne and the altar. Maury's life was indeed most eventful. Born in a little village near Avignon, the son of a shoemaker, he raised himself by his brilliant talents to be the King's Preacher and member of the Academy. The clergy of Péronne elected him as their representative in the Assembly, where his courage and oratorical powers soon gained him the perilous position of spokesman of the Royalist party. He stood manfully by the King long after the cowardly flight of the *émigrés*, and was unmoved by the alternate threats and blandishments of the revolutionists. It was not till the very end of 1791, when further resistance was useless, that he yielded to the request of Pius VII. and quitted Paris for Rome. Mgr. Ricard gives us many vivid descriptions of the contests between the tribune and the abbé, and of the hairbreadth escapes of the latter from the fury of the Sansculottes. But, while we admire the bravery and ability of Maury, we must not forget that his latter days were unworthy of his early promise. His career as cardinal does not fall within the scope of the present work, but will, we are glad to hear, form the subject of another volume from Mgr. Ricard's pen. T. B. SCANNELL.

Specimina palaeographica Regestorum Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio III. ad Urbanum V. Romae: ex Archivo Vaticano. MDCCCLXXXVIII.

THIS was the literary gift presented to the Holy Father on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee by the officials of the Vatican Archives. The congratulatory address is contributed by Cardinal Hergenroether, and the work of the palaeographical specimens by another German, Father Denifle, O.P., who has established a European

VOL. XX.—NO. II. [*Third Series.*] I I

reputation as a palæographer of the first order. The present work contains no fewer than sixty-four plates in heliotype, showing the phases of writing in the registers, which are explained in forty-four pages of letterpress. It is a costly volume, superbly printed, and the more valuable that only 250 copies were printed. The value of Father Denifle's explanation of the styles of writing and other important data afforded by the material forms of these Papal documents can scarcely be exaggerated; to students of Church history it will prove of the first importance.

Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi Regesta, gloriosis auspiciis Leonis P.P. XIII. feliciter regnantis e tabularii Vaticani manuscriptis voluminibus aliisque monumentis, collegit et edidit JOSEPHUS, S. R. E. Cardinalis HERGENROETHER. Fasciculi V.—VI. Friburgi: Herder. 1888.

HIS Eminence Cardinal Hergenroether perseveres, in spite of continued ill-health, with wonderful zeal in the great work of publishing the "Regesta of Leo X." We have before us the fifth and sixth instalments just published. They embrace pages 520–808, and contain no less than five thousand extracts from Vatican and other documents (No. 8244–13467), relating to a period from April 29, 1514, to the end of that year. Considering what is unquestionable—viz., that as the Cardinal approaches the period of the great Protestant revolution, the documents to be edited will increase in number, we may conjecture the extent of work yet before him. The present instalment of Regesta chiefly refer to Continental dioceses. Yet England receives a prominent share; and especially the documents on pages 524, 527, 543, 545, 553, 582, 589, 597, 601, 609, 641, 686, which are connected with ecclesiastical matters in England, Scotland, and Ireland, may be pointed out. They concern benefices, appeals to the Holy See, or the diplomatic relations between England and Rome. Students of ecclesiastical history will be grateful for these new fasciculi, and will wish the learned editor health and strength to complete his great undertaking.

BELLESHEIM.

An Explanatory Commentary on Esther. With four Appendices, by Professor PAULUS CASSEL, D.D., Berlin. Translated by Rev. AARON BERNSTEIN, B.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1888.

Old and New Testament Theology. By HEINRICH EWALD. Translated from the German by Rev. T. GOADBY, B.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1888.

WE have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to these latest additions to the Foreign Theological Library. Dr. Cassel's "Esther" is a valuable comment on a book which has but few good commentators. The author's deep reading in Hebrew

literature enables him to do justice to a book which of all others is Hebrew of the Hebrews. He has added a translation of the second Targum and some valuable essays on Mithra-worship, Zoroaster, and the Winged Bulls of Persepolis. Dr. Cassel identifies Ahasuerus with Xerxes, but whether Vashti or Esther is the Amestris of Herodotus he does not state. On the delicate question of Esther's age when she first found favour in the king's eyes, it is curious to find that Rabbinic commentators make her out to have been seventy-four, because that is the numerical value of the Hebrew letters which form her name. The omission of the name of God in the Hebrew portion of the book is explained by politic reasons in connection with Mithra, with whom the Persian king was identified in popular repute.

Dr. Ewald's "Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott," from which the second book is taken, is valuable as the expression of a deep and sincere Biblical scholar's faith derived from the Bible and the Bible only. It is a lesson to some of the less distinguished scholars of our time, who so lightly reject what the great Ewald believed.

The Biblical Illustrator. By REV. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. *St Mark.* London: James Nisbet & Co.

The Homiletic Magazine. Vol. XVIII. January to June 1888. London: Nisbet & Co.

St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel. By HOWARD HEBER EVANS, B.A. London: Nisbet & Co. 1888.

The Philosophy of the New Birth. By JOHN EDWIN BRIGG, Vicar of Hepworth. London: Nisbet & Co.

MR. EXELL'S book is a marvel of condensation—more than seven hundred pages of closely printed matter. It is a perfect homiletic library on St. Mark's Gospel. The *Homiletic Magazine* keeps well up to its high standard of excellence. Many of the papers in the theological section are remarkably able. The sermon sketches are brief and suggestive. We are glad to find that Mr. Evans is engaged in more useful work than trying to prove that St. Paul wrote the last verses of St. Mark's Gospel. His defence of St. John's authorship of the Fourth Gospel seems to us the best treatise that he has written. One great point in his argument is that the writer of the Apocalypse was also the writer of the Gospel. It may be thought that Mr. Evans makes a little too sure that St. John's authorship of the Apocalypse is beyond question. Mr. Evans makes a strong case of the arguments which favour his conclusion, but fails to give sufficient weight to what is urged on the other side. Mr. Brigg's little book on the New Birth is somewhat in the style of Professor Drummond's *Natural Law in the spiritual world*. Analogies between Nature and Grace are very beautifully drawn out, but their value is imaginative rather than argumentative.

Messianic Prophecy, the Prediction of the Fulfilment of Redemption through the Messiah. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1886.

WE quite believe the learned author when he tells us in his preface that he has devoted many years of study to the preparation of this work, and that it has cost him more labour than all other topics combined. The special value of the work lies in the fact that it is a defence of Messianic Prophecy, by one who is well versed in modern criticism, and is able to make use of its methods for the defence of truth.

The fires of criticism [he says (p. 4)] consume the hay, straw, and stubble of human conceits and inventions which sprang from false methods of interpretation and preconceived theories of what prophecy ought to be. But all that is really valuable abides the test and rises in majesty above the ashes of human traditions.

After an able discussion of the nature and forms of Prophecy, the learned author examines in detail and in chronological order the Messianic passages from the Protoevangelium in Genesis to Malachi. We remark that in the blessing of Judah (Gen. xlix.) Dr. Briggs prefers the rendering, "until that which belongs to him comes," meaning the promised land. In accord with most modern scholars he attributes the second part of Isaias to a later prophet during the Captivity. In regard to Daniel, he seems to us to concede too much to modern scepticism by surrendering the position that Daniel was himself the author of the book, and simply claiming that the book is a compilation of stories and visions relating to Daniel, edited by a later writer, probably in the Maccabean age.

History of the People of Israel till the Time of King David. By ERNEST RÉNAN. London: Chapman & Hall. 1888.

WITH M. Rénan and his works we can have no sympathy. Our notice of this translation must therefore be brief. The character of Scripture history as told by M. Rénan is best explained in his own words:

We do not need to know in histories of this kind how things happened; it is sufficient for us to know how they *might have* happened. Every phrase should be accompanied by a *perhaps* (p. xvii.).

We may select one amusing illustration of the author's dogmatism, in which he admits no "perhaps."

Handwriting [he says (p. 155, note)] was not known in Israel till three or four hundred years after the time of Moses and Joshua. The ages which do not possess handwriting transmit only fables.

That M. Rénan should take a malicious pleasure in libelling King

David was of course to be expected from his treatment of the Son of David. After M. Rénan has done all he can to destroy faith in the Bible, it is refreshing to find him saying in his preface that "the Bible is, whatever may be said, the great book of consolation for humanity. It is by no means impossible that the world, tired out by the constant bankruptcy of liberalism, will once more become Jewish and Christian." The translation is well done and reads well. To those who know M. Rénan's French this will appear the highest praise. One piece of criticism we cannot refrain from. The author styles David "the sacred *chorège*." The translator appends the following note: "The *chorège* among the Greeks was the person who found money for spectacles!" Would it not be well for the translator to buy himself a pair?

The Expositor's Bible. The Epistle to the Hebrews. By T. C. EDWARDS, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1888.

LIKE most of the Expositor Series, this commentary is good of its kind. It is not critical, nor is it meant for the more advanced class of biblical students. The aim of the writer is mainly to trace the unity of thought and connection of ideas in this most difficult epistle. Dr. Edwards does not discuss the question of authorship, but simply states his conviction that St. Paul is neither the actual author or originator of the treatise. Dr. Edwards, as might be expected in a Protestant expositor, fails to comprehend the priesthood according to the order of Melchisedech. His comment on xiii. 10 is a perfect travesty. In the eleventh chapter of the epistle, Dr. Edwards sees a suggestion of the Platonic doctrine of reminiscence, and quotes Wordsworth's beautiful lines: "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting." He is surely mistaken in confounding this with Traducianism, for which a verse in an earlier chapter (vii. 10) is sometimes quoted as an evidence.

A Dictionary of Lowland Scotch, with an Introductory Chapter on the Poetry, Humour and Literary History of the Scottish Language, and an Appendix of Scottish Proverbs. By CHARLES MACKAY, LL.D. London: Whittaker & Co. 1888.

THERE are a good many clever people who are deterred from reading Scott and Burns, or even Mrs. Oliphant and Dean Ramsay, by the trouble they find in readily following the Scottish dialect. Dr. Mackay comes to their assistance with a handsome and complete manual of Lowland Scotch. Whether it will do much good in this direction or not—for when you want to get on with a story, it is poor comfort to know you can find your word in a dictionary—

it is at all events a very interesting compilation. Most people now know that Scotch is a dialect of English. Dr. Mackay seems to contradict this. He says, "The strange mistake . . . prevails to a large extent . . . that Scotch is a provincial dialect of the English, like that of Lancashire or Yorkshire" (p. 5). What does Dr. Mackay think Lancashire or Yorkshire is? Or what does he think English is? "English and Lowland Scotch," he says, "were originally the same." But when? In King Alfred's time? Or in Chaucer's? Or King James the Fifth's? The truth is, the Scotch of William Dunbar is about as different from, and as like, the English of Chaucer, as that of Chaucer was different from, and like, contemporary Devonshire or Yorkshire. Dr. Mackay's Introduction will be considered unscientific in these days of comparative philology. But he is very amusing, and his glossary is fairly complete. But we do not think, "mad as a hatter," is really a phonetic corruption of "mad as a cataract;" or that the truth about "mare's nest" lies between *mearachd nathais* and *mearachd snasta*; or that "grog" has no connection with Admiral Vernon's program jacket, but is really the Gaelic word "croc." These things may be so, but we do not believe it.

Addresses. By EDWARD THRING, Head Master of Uppingham School, 1853-1887. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1887.

Poems and Translations. Same Author and Publisher.

Uppingham School Songs and Borth Lyrics. Same Author and Publisher.

OF these dainty little volumes the "Poems and Translations," and the "School Songs, &c." will appeal most directly to those who were acquainted with Uppingham and its accomplished late Head Master; but the "Addresses" will deserve attention from a larger public; embodying as they do the practical thoughts of an eminently successful teacher, after an experience of more than thirty years. Of the seven addresses, one was delivered before the Education Society, another in the University of Cambridge, a third at the Leamington High School for Girls, and each and all before audiences specially interested in teaching. They are marked by a strong and impressive personality, and by the eloquence which is born of earnestness.

Mr. Thring pleads almost passionately for the teachers "liberty to teach," and is a deadly enemy to the red tape officialism of examinations. He says:—

Teaching and examinations are deadly enemies, as soon as examinations *cramp the liberty necessary for teaching*. Where examinations reign, every novelty in training, every original advance, every new method of dealing with mind, becomes at once simply impossible. It is outside the prescribed area, and does not pay. . . . The Inspector destroys teaching,

because he is bound by law and necessity to examine according to a given pattern; and the perfection of teaching is, that it does not work by a given pattern. . . . The minds of the class cannot be produced as specimens on a board, with a pin stuck through them like beetles. Showing in the regulation quantity is one thing; clearing the stuff out of the bewildered brain, and strengthening the mind, is another; and the two are foes.

The "Addresses" were selected and sent to the publisher by Mr. Thring, only a few days before his fatal illness. The sincerity of their conviction and fulness of suggestive thought commend them, and will make them helpful to those engaged in teaching.

The Pioneers and Progress of English Farming. By ROWLAND E. PROTHERO. London: Longmans & Co. 1888.

THE command of a terse and lucid style enables Mr. Prothero to compress a vast mass of information within the compass of a handy volume, which may be read with pleasure, not only by experts, but by all those less directly interested in a subject of supreme national importance. The history of land tenure, and the successive agricultural revolutions, which have affected rural society, are sketched with admirable clearness, but it is the chapters which deal with the present and immediate future of the land industry in this country to which readers will turn with the greatest curiosity. The author has, however, no heroic remedies, either legislative or social, to propose, and it is only in gradual adaptation to altered circumstances that he sees a hope for the future of English agriculture. Protection he regards as a will-o'-the-wisp, leading to apathy on the part of those who trust to it, but his arguments against it are mutually self-destructive. Thus, while in one page he denounces it as inapplicable to England, from its inevitable result in raising the price of food, he declares it in another to have proved a failure in France, exactly because it has not had that effect. But if an import duty of 5s. 3d. per quarter on wheat, and 25 francs per head on cattle, can be levied without any effect on the market, we have here, at least, an invaluable source of revenue in an impost for which nobody, as in the Jackdaw of Rheims, is "one penny the worse." If the producer is disappointed of his increased profit, the taxpayer, at least, gains relief at the expense of the foreigner.

Aus Welt und Kirche. Bilder und Skizzen. Zweite Auflage. Von Dr. FRANZ HETTINGER. II. Bände. Freiburg: Herder. 1888.

PROFESSOR HETTINGER, of Würzburg University, is favourably known to the Catholics of England. His celebrated book, on "Dante," one of the most thoughtful commentaries ever written on the "sommo poeta," is widely known in Father Sebastian Bowden's excel-

lent translation; his "Apology of Christianity" is now in course of translation into English; and his "Apologetik," or what the Schools term the "Demonstratio Christiana et Catholica," has just left the press in its second edition. Professor Hettinger is a theologian and philosopher; he has also a quick eye for the lessons of human life, the achievements of Christian art, and the wonders of nature. And it is in these latter characters that he composes these new volumes, which will be read with pleasure. The first volume is exclusively devoted to Italy, the main portion of it being claimed by the Eternal City. English priests who studied in Rome, will find the first volume peculiarly interesting. Professor Hettinger is, after Cardinals Reisach and Hergenröther, the best scholar produced in our day by the German College in Rome, and it is interesting to follow his reminiscences of Rome whilst he made his college course, and whilst, during the year 1868, he laboured in the preparation for the Vatican Council. His description of the theological studies in the German College is the best "Apology" of this institute, which deserved so well of the Catholic religion for three hundred years. We have also interesting sketches of Assisi, Siena, and of Fra Bernardino Ochina, the unfortunate General of the Capuchins, and an essay on the three graves in Ravenna. All these sketches are from the pen of a scholar who looks from the standpoints of supernatural faith on both the events of history and the beauties of nature. The second volume is concerned with Germany and France.

BELLESHEIM.

Israfil. By A. E. WAITE. London: E. W. ALLEN. 1886.

WE must confess that we have failed to fathom the meaning of this mystical volume, or even to learn from it what manner of being is the Israfil from whom it is entitled.

The Holy Angels. By the Rev. R. O'KENNEDY. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS is a treatise of 268 closely printed small octavo pages, embodying the scholastic angelology in the form of question and answer. Those readers who have not seen or cannot read St. Thomas will find here his view of the angelic natures and choirs. The serious and confiding manner in which the author accepts the realities of spirit-rapping, mesmerism, and magic is one of the charms of the book. The literary style is severely simple, as becomes a catechist, and the author's critical eye most indulgent. The book is exteriorly pretty in its get-up, with rich gold diaper pattern on cover, and an angel of the Protestant female type, without halo, on the cover.

G. C.

Select Recitations for Catholic Schools and Academies. Compiled by ELEANOR O'GRADY. New York, &c. : Benziger Brothers. 1887.

THIS may be recommended from among the numerous books of recitations, both because the collection is of pieces unobjectionable for a Catholic school and contains some distinctly Catholic compositions, and also because there is the freshness of novelty about it. Instead of the hackneyed pieces we are familiar with in English collections, this volume contains a good choice of less familiar things, and some recent American poems, many of them of merit.

Sonnets. By EMILY PFEIFFER. London : Field & Tuer.

THE public will welcome a republication of Mrs. Pfeiffer's sonnets, out of print since 1882, when they were destroyed, together with the entire six volumes of her poetry, in the fire at Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.'s establishment. Much of the present volume is, however, new, consisting of sonnets written since the date quoted, and of these we transcribe one on "Etna from the Straits of Messina," which is, in our judgment, the finest:—

Thou shinest in the morning's eye alone,
 Pure on the blue, a pyramid of light,
 Immaculate, but lifted to that height
 By burning wrong and sorrow made thine own.
 Fierce evils, outcast from a depth unknown,
 Pour from thy open wounds by day and night,
 And still thou standest silent, calm, and white,
 While at thy feet the shallow waves make moan.

Martyr of mountains, shall I say the Christ,
 Bearing earth's sorrows, for its trespass made
 Sin, that her sons may reap the fair increase
 Of smiling fields? The offering hath sufficed;
 The olive thrives, since on thy head is laid
 The fiery "chastisement" of Europe's "peace."

The Poet's Praise. By HENRY HAMILTON. New York : Putnam & Sons. 1887.

WE are glad to greet another volume of thoughtful and reflective verse by the author of "America," and to mark in it a distinct advance on his former work. The series of sonnets on great poets show considerable critical insight, combined with grace of expression.

A Life of David Hall, D.D., Bishop of Exeter and Norwich. By the Rev. GEORGE LEWIS, B.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

BISHOP HALL holds a minor place in English literature, and played a secondary part in the affairs of the Anglican Church in the days of the two first Stuarts. Some of his devotional treatises are still popular with devout Protestants, but his satirical poems, and most of his controversial writings, have passed into the limbo of books that are never read. His life has recently been written at some length by the Rev. George Lewis, who has at least one necessary qualification of a successful biographer, namely, a sincere admiration of his hero. The book is not one from which Catholic readers will gain either pleasure or profit. Bishop Hall had a fierce hatred for all things Catholic, and a double measure of hatred for the Jesuits. His biographer is a thoroughly staunch Protestant, who speaks of Catholics as Romanists, reproduces with occasional mild expressions of dissent some of Hall's bitterest insults against Catholicity, and especially gives expression to his agreement with his hero's unmeasured language against the Jesuits. The chapter on "Hall's moderation" is somewhat curious reading. His biographer lays special stress upon this as one of the chief qualities of the Bishop's mind, yet has to confess that it never stood in the way of his defending the persecution of the Catholics at home, and heaping the most exaggerated calumnies on the Catholics abroad, amongst whom he had more than once journeyed, apparently to very little purpose. He saw all things through a pair of English Protestant spectacles, and thus he came to write such moderate statements as these:—"What Papist in all Christendom hath ever been heard to pray daily with his family, or to sing but a psalm at home?" And again: "Who ever saw God's day duly kept in any city, village, household, under the jurisdiction of Rome?"

Plays and Poems. By ALBERT E. DRINKWATER. London: Griffith, Farran & Co. 1886.

THE attainment of a second edition marks a certain measure of success for this volume, and the short plays it contains are, perhaps, effective when acted, though they fail to give sufficient semblance of probability to satisfy the colder criticism of the study.

Through Dark to Light. By A. EUBULE-EVANS. London: Wyman & Sons. 1886.

THERE is considerable beauty both of thought and expression in the present volume of speculative musings, a form of writing which seems to harmonise with modern phases of thought. The long piece entitled the "Christ Picture," a religious poem, as its name implies, is very fine and noble.

Suggestive Lessons in Practical Life. Being Reading Books for School and Home. 1st Series, The Food we Eat. 2nd Series, The Clothes we Wear, The Homes we Build, &c. 3rd Series, The Fuel we Burn, The Metals we Smelt, &c. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

THREE three volumes of interesting, well-written, and well-illustrated lessons in most practical matters are a valuable addition to school or home reading-books. We are told that they are "designed to train the young to thoughtfulness and intelligence, through observation of the facts of the world's industry and skill," and we can scarcely imagine elementary books better adapted to effect this excellent purpose, beguiling the "wearisome bitterness of learning," and making reading a pleasure. Children who have gone through them with an intelligent teacher will know more about the marvels of art and mechanism, about nature's products, and the methods of changing them into food, fuel, utensils, &c., than many of their elders. The first series is adapted to Third and Fourth Standards, the second to the Fourth and Fifth Standards, and the third to the Fifth and Sixth Standards. We are glad to see that these volumes have been adopted by the London School Board.

The Church and the Roman Empire. By the Rev. ARTHUR CARR, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

THE object of this little volume is to show the relations between Christianity and the Roman Empire, and the external growth of the Church during the fourth and fifth centuries. No epoch, to use Mr. Carr's words, has been more fruitful in great men and great events. The subject is one which even an unskilful pen could hardly rob of interest, and that our author is the selection of the learned editor of "Epochs of Church History" is a pledge of good writing and able treatment. The book in many respects is pleasant to read. Mr. Carr's style is always lucid; while, with his masterly grasp of the political situation, he deftly puts his readers in possession of the main threads that run through the immense and intricate imperial web which covered the then civilized world. Diocletian's new departure in statesmanship, the multiplication and rapid succession of emperors, civil and foreign wars, and other portentous events, stand out in these pages—to smallest forms reduced, and though without number, yet at large. The lightly outlined portraits of single characters, like Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory of Nazianzen, are so many admirable miniatures. But here our praise must end. The religious side of the question is not approached with that absence of bias which makes Mr. Carr so trustworthy and sure-footed a guide in matters non-religious. He starts with the assumption, natural in a member of the Established Church, that Christianity has no divinely appointed visible head on earth. This assumption is maintained throughout the work, and affects his appreciation of every ecclesiastical incident.

If the Pope can be kept out of sight, so much the better: if his presence is revealed by some conciliar canon which supposes his supremacy, the canon is pronounced dangerous; if in some imperial decree, then there is evidence of papal influence over a feeble mind. If the supremacy makes itself felt unmistakably, then it is due to Rome's old political or present geographical position, or to "growth of jurisdiction"—to anything rather than to the Petrine commission. Hence a hazy view of Christianity—"the shape which breathed into every movement, and in reality shaped results." Hence, again, the indefiniteness of the shape or mould itself, and the looseness of the pieces of which it is composed. Hence also we meet with passages like the following: "The great stress of Leo's policy was directed to establish this principle [the supremacy of the See of Rome], which appeared necessary for the unity of Christendom. The experience of after-ages has shown the need of limiting and guarding such a principle; but at this epoch the sentiment of unity was forced upon the Church by the imperial idea, while the sentiment of unity, combined with autonomy of separate Churches, had not presented itself as conceivable. The contest which Leo sustained in defence of the Catholic faith deservedly gave a prestige to the See of Rome, which *in his time*, and afterwards, was upheld by far more questionable means." We don't understand the words which we have italicized. "At the special epoch when it occurred the strength and unity which his powerful intellect achieved for the Church were undoubtedly needed. . . . Nearly [1200] years were granted to the new empire to complete and develop the statesmanship of Leo; and when the break in the unity occurred, it was the Roman See, and not the Church of Christ, who was impaired." This is a sample of the views which, to our regret, prevent us from recommending Mr. Carr's book unreservedly.

Master Thaddeus; or, the Last Foray in Lithuania. By ADAM MICKIEWICZ. Translated from the Original by MAUDE ASHURST BIGGS; with a Preface by W. R. MORFILL, M.A.

THOUGH the Polish language is still spoken by nearly ten millions of people, its literature is sealed from most of the nation. The translator of a slighter poem, "Konrad Wallenrod," has now translated the greatest work of the foremost poet of Poland is Adam Mickiewicz, who died, after his exiled life, in 1855. "Master Thaddeus" is to Polish the pride and ornament of the original literature—what the "Nieblungen Lied" is to Germany, the "Divina Comedia" to Italy, or "Don Quixote" to Spain. It is called a historical epic, and its scene is laid before the invasion of Russia by Napoleon in 1812. But its home scenes go far to give us rather the position of a very earnest historical novel; for it abounds in graphic pictures of everything Polish—from breakfasts and mushroom hunts to Polonaises and betrothal feasts, and gar-

dens, with their cucumbers and hedges, their geese and peacocks. We hear of the figures of the Three Kings, drawn by boys through the streets on the Epiphany; and the salutation at the threshold of the house also reminds us that we are in one of the few faithful lands "O, may Jesus Christ be praised!" says the entering guests, and the voice within answers, "For ever and ever, amen!" As an example of the style in which the rhyming lines of the original are rendered into blank verse, we may take the old Polish legends of the stars, probably first derived from a Rabbinical source:—

The two scales of the heavenly Balance
Shine further on. The Lord, upon the day
Of the creation, as our old men tell,
Weighed all the planets, and the earth in turn,
Upon them, ere into the deeps of space
He launched their weights. The golden Balance then
He hung in heaven; therefrom men received
The model of their scales and balances.
Toward the north the starry circle shines
Of that famed Sieve,* through which the Lord, they say,
The rye-grains sifted, which from heaven he threw
To father Adam, banished from the garden
Of pleasure for his sin.

A little higher
Stands David's chariot,† ready for career,
Its long beam pointing to the Polar star.
The ancient Litvins of this chariot knew
That common people wrongly called it David's;
It is an angel's car. In it, ere time,
Rode Lucifer, when he defied the Lord,
And rode on headlong by the Milky Way¹
To heaven's threshold, until Michael hurled him
Down from his car, and cast it from the road.
Now broken doth it roll among the stars;
The Archangel Michael suffers not repair.
And this too know we from the old Litvini;
But they, no doubt, first learned it from the Rabbins.
That Dragon of the Zodaic, long and great,
Who winds his starry folds across the sky,
Whom sages wrongly have the serpent called,
No snake is, but a fish, Leviathan.
Ere time he dwelt within the seas, but after
The Deluge from the lack of water died.
So angels hung him on the vault of heaven,
Partly for his strange figure, and in part
As a remembrance.

This painstaking translation is an addition to English literature. Since we know more of Poland's historical griefs and struggles than of her homesteads and inner life, it gives us new views and happier pictures, to throw out into further relief our former knowledge of the nation's sufferings.

* Corona Borealis.

† Ursa Major.

1. *Elements of Analytic Geometry*. By JOSEPH BAYMA, S.J. San Francisco: A. Waldteufel. 1887.
2. *A Treatise on Analytical Statics*. By J. TODHUNTER, M.A., F.R.S. Edited by J. D. EVERETT, M.A., F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THE author of the first of these works, Father Bayma, of Santa Clara College in California, has taken great pains to bring together the most important investigations in analytic geometry in a very clear and elementary form. We may point out some predominant features, which give to this book advantages that many voluminous and learned treatises do not possess. (1.) The greater part of the solutions are explained and proved in the form of problems. This method will direct and assist the student in solving other problems in a similar way, if a more complete course is required. (2.) Only a small amount of knowledge of trigonometry is necessary for the student in order to understand the proofs, and to discuss the equations. (3.) A considerable number of diagrams greatly assist the student to grasp the truth almost intuitively, with little algebraical demonstration. (4.) The well-chosen examples with numerical values will give the student much clearer and more precise notions than complicated generalizations with algebraical figures.

If the author had added a few hints and problems in reference to applications in astronomy, acoustics, reflection of light, radiation of heat, he would not only have increased the interest, but also shown the utility of analytic geometry for applied science.

The appendix, containing tables of logarithms of natural numbers and of circular functions, greatly increases the value of the book. The addition of a short table containing some natural trigonometric functions might have made it still more valuable.

Todhunter's "Treatise on Analytic Statics" is an excellent manual in the hands of a student who has plenty of time to devote to pure science and mathematics. The author has not spared any trouble in arranging the material, not only in a very clear order, but also so as to explain and to prove it in a strictly scientific form. The reader of this work is expected to have gone through a considerable amount of trigonometry and higher mathematics in order to follow the reasoning. We must bear in mind, however, that the number of students who love pure science and mathematics merely for the study's sake is exceedingly small. Like most of Todhunter's great works on advanced and higher mathematics, this book is too voluminous, and not practical enough for the requirements of the present day. It is impossible for any student to master such a large amount of theoretical work in order to be proficient in technology, which has now become far more important than pure book-learning. We hear over and over again the same complaints, which run somewhat as follows: "I cannot see any utility in higher mathematics. And yet I have to study 420 large pages on differentiation, about the same amount on

integration, 364 pages on analytical statics, and not much less on conic sections, and from beginning to end to master crowds of mystifying formulæ." Lamentations of this kind are heard not only from ordinary students, who have to finish their studies within a few years, but from more gifted ones and those who can afford time to study as long as they please. Considering the general outcry against big volumes filled with pure theory, this book would be by far more useful if a certain amount of less important proofs and problems were simplified or left out altogether and replaced by applications to practical purposes.

The get-up of both volumes is extremely neat and attractive.

F. LANDOLT.

"*Elementary Classics.*" *Cæsar's Gallic War*: Book VII. Edited by the Rev. J. BOND, M.A., and A. S. WALPOLE, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THIS is a thoroughly good and useful edition. The notes are to the point, and instructive throughout. Perhaps the most serviceable part of the book consists of the illustrations, for it is exceedingly difficult for a young student to follow the description of the siege of Ergovia, or to have a clear idea of what was meant by such devices as the *Lilium*, the *Itemales*, or the *Cippi superne visi*, without the aid of pictures. We cannot agree with the editors in saying that the *Allobroges* dwelt N. and N.W. of the *Rhone*—on the contrary, they lived S. and E. of that river: moreover, they dwelt N. and not S. of the *Isère*. This is a mere slip, and does not detract from the value of the book. The seventh book of "*Cæsar's Gallic War*" has been set this year for the London matriculation. We can heartily recommend this edition to the attention of candidates.

Women's Voices. By Mrs. WILLIAM SHARP. London: Walter Scott. 1887.

THIS pretty volume is a collection of specimens chosen with taste and judgment from the works of English poetesses in all ages. The list is a more extensive one than is generally supposed, and contains names little known to the general public, yet not unworthy to be preserved from oblivion by some such collective work as this. The volume is particularly adapted for a prize or gift-book, and its extremely moderate price ought to secure it large circulation.

Ethel's Book; or, Tales of the Angels. By FREDERICK WILLIAM FABER, D.D. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

OF this new edition of an old favourite, too well known to need commendation, we may mention that it is well got up, in style suitable for a gift-book or for the drawing-room table, with clear type, good paper, gilt edges, and wide margins.

St. Paul in Athens. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co.

THIS is "a monograph on Athens in connection with its one scriptural episode." Four chapters are taken up with a description of the city and its inhabitants as they appeared to St. Paul, and four "extract the spirit" of the Discourse on the Areopagus. The author is happier in the former task than in the latter, the chapter on the "God of Grace" in particular being lamentably deficient in unction and definiteness. The work is written in a fervid style, that at times is diffuse and wearisome, and, though there are occasionally vivid and interesting descriptions in it, it throws no new light on the Sacred Text. Dr. Macduff is evidently of the belligerent order of Low Churchmen who have received their "sacred trust" from "the Fathers and Martyrs of our English Reformation," and who have no "bigoted credence in the supposed charm of Apostolic succession" (p. 213). We are not, therefore, surprised that he should see in the *superstitions* of the Court of the Areopagus the "prototype of the Romish Inquisition" (p. 50). It is interesting to learn (p. 217) that "the great Apostle has true 'Apostolic successors,' *though it may be subsidized, still at work*" in Athens!

Wishes on Wings: a Roundabout Story. By F. S. D. AMES. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS story opens in a manner to interest the reader in the fate of a selfish and spoiled girl, who bears adversity with a very bad grace. Presently, however, she falls into a sort of trance, and is carried away by fairies, goes to India, learns the lesson of her life, and profits by it so speedily, that, awakening at home, she is a reformed character. The art of this device is poorly done, and spoils the story. As to its effect, if it should affect the young reader's moral sense and mind, it would probably be the unwholesome lesson that you are what you are till influences outside you take your morals in hand. "Inside the Gate," a second story not mentioned in the title page, is far the better one of the two, although somewhat sentimental.

The Church and the Age. By Very Rev. I. T. HECKER. New York :
Office of *Catholic World*.

THIS handsome volume is a reprint of twelve articles that have already appeared at intervals in the *Catholic World*. Their main purpose is to prove that the Church is not, as is commonly supposed among non-Catholics, an enemy to personal freedom and independence of action rightly understood, but rather their greatest bulwark and defence. Needless to say, their style is marked by all the vigour and confidence that distinguish the author's other works. May we express the opinion that a work of this kind would have more force for good if it were fortified with the *imprimatur* of responsible authority.

English Men of Letters. Edited by JOHN MORLEY. *Sidney.* By J. A. SYMONDS. London : Macmillan & Co. 1886.

MR. SYMONDS' critical and biographical sketch of Sir Philip Sidney leaves little to be desired in the way of completeness ; still it leaves unsolved, perhaps necessarily, the problem suggested by the hero's life, the secret, namely, of the influence exerted by him from a comparatively early age, over the minds of his contemporaries. His personal equation, to use the slang of modern philosophy, seems to have been out of all proportion to the estimate which we should form of him, judging him merely by the work that survives him. His fate is in this respect the reverse of Shakespeare's, whose name, obscure and unhonoured in his lifetime, seems to posterity to irradiate with its lustre the whole age of Elizabeth.

The Praises of Heroes. By T. B. A. London : Burns & Oates.

THIS volume should be of special interest to Catholic readers, as it consists of a series of short narratives of the deaths of martyrs told in simple and generally flowing verse. There have been few, if any, attempts to popularize in this form the acts of the saints, although no nobler theme could be found for the inspiration of poetry.

A Soul's Comedy. By ARTHUR EDWARD WAITE. London : George Redway. 1887.

THE author of this volume has a rare gift in his command of powerful and lofty blank verse, but wants the dramatic power of representing human beings in their active relations towards each other. Hence his narrative is developed in a series rather of monologues than dialogues, in which previous action is detailed in a

retrospective form. A strong imagination enables him nevertheless to interest the reader in his characters, and to appeal successfully to that portion of the public whose taste lies in poetry of the speculative and philosophically religious school ; but a morbid choice of subject makes his poem painful and unhealthy reading.

Vauclain and other Verses. By JOHN CAMERON GRANT. London : E. W. Allen. 1887.

THE author, who, in his preface and dedication, boldly avows his political bias, will probably be read with sentiments tinged with the same colouring medium. His patriotism is evidently genuine, and he certainly does not shrink from strong language in expressing it ; but is happier, it seems to us, when he seeks inspiration in historical or classical subjects, than in treating the more personally exciting topics of the present day.

Letters to Persons in Religion. (Vol. IV. of the works of S. FRANCIS DE SALES, translated into English by the Rev. HENRY BENEDICT MACKEY, O.S.B.) With Introduction by Bishop HEDLEY, and Facsimile of the Saint's Handwriting. London : Burns & Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society Co. 1888.

IT is a pleasure to see Father Mackey's translation of the writings of S. Francis de Sales making progress. This last volume will be highly valued by a large circle of readers, because it makes accessible, for the first time in English, some of the most precious and characteristic letters of the Saint. The edition has another quality which still further enhances its value ; it is more authentic and easily consulted than even the French editions, thanks to the completeness given by Father Mackey in arranging, correcting, and editing. We cannot point to these advantages in better words than the concluding ones of Bishop Hedley's Introduction :

The division into six books will be found useful. All the letters to the Visitation are kept together, viz., in Books II. and III., and arranged according to date. Book I. contains letters previous to the founding of the Visitation ; Book IV., letters to persons outside the Visitation ; Book V., "general instructions" for the Visitation ; and Book VI., letters on various festivals. The Index and analysis will make it easy to find passages and subjects. Father Mackey has added one or two excellent paragraphs of introduction and explanation. He has, in many cases, put for the first time the real names of the persons to whom the letters are addressed. He has also corrected many dates and added others. The headings of the letters are by the translator himself, those found in the French editions being very often wrong or misleading. The book, therefore,

is much more than a mere translation. Father Mackey, in executing his task, has made use of all that minute knowledge of the life and writings of S. Francis of Sales, which many years of patient study have put him in possession of, and which we may expect to bear still more abundant fruit in the future if his life be spared.

The present choice of letters will be doubtless most esteemed by religious. It will be, as the Introduction remarks, an admirable manual of spiritual reading, "especially for those whose institute is modelled on the Visitation, or carries out the principle of mercy and compassion which lies at the root of all that S. Francis wished religious women to be." But we think it will be of scarcely less interest and value to all who seek counsel in the way of holiness. And emphatically those who have the "direction" of religious will find here many a hint and precious advice in the arduous task of guidance. It would be quite superfluous to mention the characteristics of S. Francis's method; every one will look for wisdom, sweetness, and the unction of a deeply loving heart, and will find them here. That the Saint was eminently practical is well known: take this instance from a letter to a Superior, chosen at random (p. 305):—

Sleep well: little by little you shall return to the six hours, since you desire it. To eat little, work hard, have much worry of mind, and refuse sleep to the body, is to try to get much work out of a horse which is in poor condition without feeding him up.

In recommending this volume the interesting introduction by Bishop Hedley cannot be passed over; it contains, in the writer's well-known lucid style, some preparatory remarks, thoughtful and suggestive, on the influence of S. Francis of Sales on the religious life, which the Bishop remarks "is far more deep and widespread than most people imagine." The designs of the Saint in his own first project of the Visitation Order, conceived in a spirit which he shared eminently with S. Vincent de Paul and S. Ignatius, and the modification of this in one way, leading to its abundant realization by God's providence in another, and also in numerous cognate Orders and Congregations, are excellently set forth. S. Francis de Sales, in his first project of the Visitation, S. Vincent de Paul, and Mary Ward, the foundress of the "English Virgins," mark the change in the social position of woman in modern society, and by their rules and spirit have consecrated it to new ideals of religious self-sacrifice. At the moment, as his lordship remarks, that S. Francis was taking steps to have his Institute approved at Rome, Mary Ward was in Rome also pleading her cause.

Mary Ward wanted to do away with canonical enclosure, to let her nuns go about the country like missionaries, to undertake the teaching of catechism, and to have all the convents of her Institute placed under one Mother-General. Her vision has been realized, in the Presentation, the Loretto Sisters, the Irish Sisters of Mercy, and those innumerable offshoots or modifications of these Orders which are even yet multiplying. S. Ignatius, in spite of the Pontifical privilege that his Order should never

have to govern nuns, is the patriarch of these active Orders, and has given them their statutes, their discipline, and their freedom for every charitable work. The devoted Congregations which I have called French, with their offshoots, have inherited the spirit of S. Francis of Sales. For example, the Constitutions of Père Eude's Institute are almost word for word those of the Visitation, although it is true that he has added one or two which S. Francis himself might have signed. The holy Doctor wished his daughters to "visit" the poor and sick. God has brought these poor and the sick to the very doors of their cells, under the very roof of their chapels. That loving sweetness and devoted sacrifice which were his characteristics are multiplied day by day, all the world over, wherever communities of white-robed nuns gather around them the miseries of nature, of misfortune, or of sin, and practice upon their alleviation the lessons which S. Francis of Sales dictated to the first daughters of the Visitation (Introd. p. xiii).

Rituale Romanum, cui novissima accedit Benedictionum et Instructionum Appendix. Editio prima post Typicam. Ratisbonæ, Neo-Eboraci et Cincinnati: F. Pustet. 1888.

THIS new and beautifully got-up edition of the "Rituale Romanum" deserves to be brought to the knowledge of the clergy. It is a most complete and handy edition, and bears a special authentication of the Sacred Congregation of Rites as entirely conforming to the highly approved "Editio Typica." The Appendix is quite noteworthy. It contains a large and useful collection of Blessings, Prayers, Instructions of the Congregation of Rites, &c. We may instance, as specimens, the Instruction of September 12, 1857, for a priest duplicating in places distant from one another; the Decree of July 1864, as to the Oil for Sanctuary Lamp; and a collection of the special Blessings of Scapulars, &c., belonging to various religious Orders, the right to use which priests not seldom obtain by privilege. This Appendix makes the present edition of the Ritual emphatically the edition for missionary priests: the excellence of type, printing and arrangement, and high approval of it in Rome, recommend it to all.

Britain's Early Faith. By W. H. ANDERDON, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.

THE claim of the Anglican Church to identity with the Church in England before the Reformation is astounding enough; but words fail us when we attempt to describe our feelings on reading the leaflet, "The Church of England never Roman Catholic," issued by the Church Defence Association. Archbishop Benson and his suffragans cannot help seeing the awkwardness of deriving their doctrine and orders from Augustine of Canterbury, the emissary of Rome. We are now told that—

There was a British Church, represented by three of its bishops, at the

great Council held at Arles in A.D. 314. It was not until A.D. 597 that Augustine, the first missionary from Rome, sent by Gregory the Great, landed in England. The British bishops and clergy, though they had more than one conference with Augustine, were unable to agree upon common action with him, and eventually he confined his labours to the south and south-eastern districts of England. Augustine died in A.D. 606, and before a hundred years had passed there was little remaining to show that a Roman Christian had ever visited and taught in England. The true fathers of the Church of England were such men as Aidan and Finian, the former of whom was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne in A.D. 635.

It would be difficult to compress into such a small passage a greater number of instances of "suppressio veri" and suggestio falsi—to say nothing of the direct falsehood of the statement that no traces of the Roman origin remained. If anything is certain in English history it is that the great bulk of our institutions, especially the Church, has a Saxon and not a British origin. We may refer to such grave authorities as Canon Bright and Mr. Gardiner in proof of this. Philology, too, plainly condemns the theory of the Defence leaflet. No Anglican prelate can style himself a "bishop," or speak of West "minster" or York "minster," or exhort his hearers to give "alms," or "preach," or ordain "priests" and "deacons," without admitting the Roman origin of his Church. His tongue bewrayeth him. Dr. Morris says: "The introduction of Christianity about the end of the sixth century brought England into connection with Rome, and during the four following centuries a large number of Latin words became familiar to educated Englishmen. The words introduced into the language during this period were, for the most part, connected with the Church, its services and observances, as *ancor*, hermit (*anachoreta*), &c." (Historical English Grammar, p. 11).

But the habits of the Anglican controversialist are the same as when Cardinal Newman described them long ago. Without acknowledging himself beaten—no Briton ever does—the Anglican takes up a new position. "Well, at any rate, the British and Roman Churches were quite different." We might say *transeat*, or granted, for the sake of argument; but what has this to do with the continuity theory? Anglicanism does not claim to be merely a revival. However, the Catholic is able to dislodge his opponent even from this new position of fancied security. In "Britain's Early Faith" Father Anderdon plainly proves the "Romishness" of the ancient British Church. The relations between the early Popes and Britain, the conduct and doctrine of the British bishops at Arles, Nicæa, and Sardica, the influence of the Irish missionaries, the conferences between St. Augustine and the British Christians are all treated in that familiar and yet convincing style which has made Father Anderdon so famous as a controversialist. It is most important that English Catholics, while allowing that Disestablishment is an open question, should strenuously oppose the line of defence taken by the supporters of the Establishment.

T. B. S.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *Victories of the Martyrs.* By St. ALPHONSUS DE LIGUORI. Edited by Rev. EUGENE GRIMM. Centenary edition. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers; London: R. Washbourne; Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.
2. *Manual of Prayers, with an Appendix.* London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
3. *The Catholic Prayer Book.* London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
4. *The Roman Hymnal.* Compiled by Rev. J. B. YOUNG, S.J. Fourth edition. New York, &c.: Fr. Pustet.
5. *Meditations on the Life and Virtues of St. Ignatius of Loyola.* Translated from the French by M. A. W. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
6. *Life and Martyrdom of St. Cecilia.* Translated from the ancient Acts. London: John Hodges. 1887.
7. *The New Manual Hymn-book.* London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
8. *Visits to Jesus in the Tabernacle.* London: Catholic Truth Society. 1888.
9. *Our Lady's Month.* Compiled by J. S. FLETCHER. London: Washbourne. 1887.
10. *Life of Blessed Father John Forrest, O.S.F.* By Rev. Father THADDEUS, O.S.F. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
11. *The Life of St. Winefride, Virgin and Martyr.* Edited by THOMAS SWIFT, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
12. *Stories for First Communicants.* By the Rev. Dr. J. A. KELLER. Translated by FRANCES A. KEMP. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.
13. *Ave Maris Stella: Meditations for the Month of Mary.* From the Italian of Canon AGOSTINO BERTEU, by M. HOPPER. London: Burns & Oates. 1888.
14. *Instructions on the Commandments and Sacraments.* By St. ALPHONSUS DE LIGUORI. Edited by Rev. EUGENE GRIMM, C.S.S.R. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.
15. *A Complete Novena for the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary* By Dom LOUIS-MARIE ROUVIER. English edition by the Carthusian Fathers, Parkminster. London: Burns & Oates 1888.

16. *A Thought from St. Vincent de Paul for each Day of the Year.* Translated from the French by FRANCES A. KEMP. New York, &c. : Benziger Brothers.
17. *Texts for Children.* By M. A. WARD. London: Burns & Oates.
18. *Corona Beatae Maris Virginis.* London: R. Washbourne. 1887.
19. *On the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.* By the BISHOP of SALFORD. London: Burns & Oates.
20. *Abridged Bible History.* By I. SCHUSTER, D.D. Translated from the German. Third edition. Freiburg, St. Louis, &c. : B. Herder. 1888.
21. *A Companion for the Members of the Association of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.* Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1888.
22. *A Treatise on True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin.* By the Blessed GRIGNON DE MONTFORT. Translated by F. W. FABER, D.D. With preface by the BISHOP of SALFORD. Fourth edition. London: Burns & Oates.
23. *The Heart of St. Francis of Sales.* Edited by the Very Rev. GEORGE PORTER, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.
24. *Maria Magnificata.* By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. London: Catholic Truth Society.
25. *Six Sermons on Devotion to the Sacred Heart.* By Rev. EWALD BIERBAUM, D.D. Translated by Miss ELLA M'MAHON. New York, &c. : Benziger Brothers. 1888.

1. This, the ninth volume of the Centenary edition of the works of St. Alphonsus, issued by the American Fathers of his Congregation, completes the first series of the *Ascetical Works*—that is to say, those ascetical treatises which are suitable to the faithful in general. (The seventh and eighth volumes, comprising “The Glories of Mary,” have not yet reached us.) The holy Doctor wrote these “Lives of the Most Celebrated Martyrs of the Church” in his old age, after he had been released from the burden of the episcopate. The work is not well known in this country, but it deserves to be taken up and used by all. The Saint presents us with a series of detailed histories of the principal martyrs of the early Church, and of the Japanese martyrs of the seventeenth century. St. Alphonsus is strongly of opinion that one ought frequently to meditate on the sufferings of those who have died for Christ. He considered, as we gather from his own preface to this volume, that nothing could make the Christian life so serious, so thorough, and so devoted to God as the frequent contemplation of the heroic endurance of those whose earnestness was put to such terrible proof. We cannot do better than follow the counsels of such a spiritual guide. The book is well translated, and is enriched with many excellent notes, with a

prefatory notice by the editor, and with the reprint of a paper, from the *Month* of December 1885, on "Japan and the Holy See."

Referring to an observation made by us in the DUBLIN REVIEW for October 1889 (p. 489), it is only fair to state that the editor of this edition mentioned distinctly in his introduction to the first volume that he intended to use the late Bishop Coffin's translations. We regret that we had forgotten this; but it would in any case have been better to have added the Bishop's name on the title-page of such treatises as he has himself done.

2 Messrs. Burns & Oates send us a neat shilling Prayer-book, containing all the prayers of the Bishops' "Manual," together with devotions for Mass, Sacraments, &c.; altogether a complete and authentic book of devotion.

3. A small manual for Mass and the Sacraments. The Litany of our Lady is, in one slight instance, not printed according to the "Manual"—"Vessel of singular devotion" being given instead of "Singular vessel of devotion."

4. This is the fourth edition of a very full and useful Hymnal. Both Latin and English hymns are given, with the music, as well as Mass music, vespers, chants, &c. &c.

5. A skilful and loving hand has drawn up ten meditations, of considerable elaboration, in which the life and virtues of the holy Patriarch St. Ignatius are proposed to the contemplation of the soul, for the devotion of the "ten Sundays," or for a novena.

6. The "Acts of St. Cæcilia," here translated, are considered by De Rossi to have been compiled in the fifth century. The date of her martyrdom, which used to be placed under Septimius Severus in the third century, is now considered to be about A.D. 180, during the reign of M. Aurelius. The translation here given bears the *imprimatus* of the Cardinal Archbishop, and will be found easy and devotional. The "Acts" are extremely rich in striking passages, as may indeed be gathered from the brief excerpts which have been adopted in the Breviary office. A short postscript relates the interesting history of the discovery, translation, and re-discovery of her relics. The compiler might, perhaps, have mentioned that Venerable Bede states that the English St. Willibrord was consecrated, in 696, by Pope Sergius, in the Church of St. Cæcilia, though not, of course, on the present site of the great Trastevere basilica.

7. This brochure contains the hymns which are given in Messrs. Burns & Oates's issue of the "Manual of Prayers" noticed above.

8. About fifty brief "reflections," or meditations, for use in visiting the Most Holy Sacrament, based on Old Testament types and on our Lord's life and words; with the recommendation of the Bishop of Southwark.

9. This is a very pretty little book, and Mr. Fletcher has collected many pious things and distributed them throughout the "Month of Mary." But some will object to the introduction of extracts from non-Catholic writers, such as George Herbert, D. G. Rossetti, Longfellow, and even Byron. Such testimonies to Our

Lady's honour are most valuable, but are hardly in place in a devotional book.

10. Father Thaddeus has collected all that is known of the life and martyrdom of the Blessed John Forrest, burnt by King Henry VIII., in 1538. There are many interesting features in the book—for example, the denunciation of Henry VIII. to his face by Father Peto at Greenwich; the letter of Queen Catherine; and the account of the miraculous image from Darvell Gatheren, in North Wales, which was burnt in the same fire as the Blessed Martyr.

11. The Rev. Father Thomas Swift has here printed a translation of the two mediæval lives of St. Winefride now existing, together with many notes and much history and information regarding the miraculous well. A list of the best-known cures is given, the writer bringing his record down to 1886. The book contains the substance of the recently published account of St. Winefride in the first November volume of the Bollandists, and is a most useful and complete manual of all that relates to the *cultus* of the Holy Virgin and martyr.

12. This is another of Father Keller's devout story-books. As far as we can see, the stories are edifying and sensible. The translation is well executed, but there are one or two mistakes, such as "Queen of Orleans," "Almoner" (for "chaplain"), "community" (for "village"), &c.; and why has not St. Benedict Joseph Labre his title of Saint?

13. This is a pretty and devout "Month of Mary," bearing the *imprimatur* of the Cardinal-Archbishop. It contains one example of religious prudery which is amusing. St. Philip is made to say—speaking of some noisy young people—"Provided they do not commit sin I would allow them to chop wood near me." What he really said was, "I would allow them to chop wood on my back."

14. There are few more useful books than these "instructions" of St. Alphonsus on the Commandments and Sacraments. They should be in every catechist's hands, and they will prove of the greatest value to the intelligent laity. They form a complete course of moral theology, without casuistry, but with the addition of much exhortation and devotional matter. One or two notes should have been added before the book was published in these countries. For example, what the holy writer mentions in regard to excommunication in several places is inapplicable to present circumstances (see, for example, p. 165).

15. The learned and devout Carthusian, to whom we owe this book, insists strongly on the advantages of making novenas in honour of Our Lady. To enable the faithful to do this work with the greater fruit he has compiled a set of readings and prayers which are excellent and complete. Should not the version of the "Salve Regina," p. 203, have been made to conform to that authorized in the Bishops' manual? The sentences cited from the fathers at the end of the volume have unfortunately no references.

16. The "thoughts" from the sayings of St. Vincent de Paul are

full of instruction and of power. A great many of the extracts relate to the virtues required in priests and superiors.

17. A text for every day in the year, suitable for a child to get by heart. There is an interesting preface by the Rev. Father Gallwey, S.J.

18. This little book contains a sentence about Our Lady for every day of the year, all taken from some saint or devout writer, whose name is appended.

19. A reprint of the Bishop of Salford's most useful and devout popular treatise on the Mass.

20. Dr. Schuste's abridgment of Bible history will be found very satisfactory for use in schools and families. It is intended for the young; the translation is well done, and the engravings are fairly executed, whilst its price is extremely low. It has the recommendation of the Archbishop of St. Louis and (we are told) of many other bishops.

21. A manual for members of the Association of the Sacred Heart, containing a brief history and explanation of the devotion, with rules, prayers, and hymns. It is approved by the Archbishop of Dublin.

22. With regard to this handsome re-issue of a well-known spiritual book, we need only recall the words of the Bishop of Salford, and recommend every one to study it, "so as to experience personally the transformation it is capable of working in the soul" (p. 19).

23. We have here thirty-one considerations on the interior virtues of St. Francis de Sales, drawn chiefly from Père de la Rivière. The translation is fair, but "Spiritual Director" occurs three or four times for "Spiritual Directory." The Bishop of Annecy and the Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster authorize the book.

24. These meditations on Our Lady's life are intended, we are told, for the month of May or October, or to accompany the recital of the "thirty days' " prayer. They are written in clear, forcible, and sometimes eloquent English, as we might expect from the Rev. Father Clarke.

25. Preached in Catholic Germany, these useful sermons on the Sacred Heart are presented to English readers in an easy and flowing translation. They are not particularly striking, and their matter and style are feeble in comparison with what we already have in the mother tongue on the great subject which they treat. But they present to the reader and the preacher a large number of useful reflections, passages of Scripture, and utterances of the German episcopate, and they are characterized by considerable fervour. These qualities, and their commendable clearness, will make them a useful addition to a spiritual library.

INDEX.

- ÆRTNYS, J., C.S.S.R., Theologia Moralis, *noticed*, 448.**
Allies, T. W., The Lambeth Conference, 291.
Alphonsus, St., Victories of the Martyrs, *noticed*, 488; Instructions on Commandments and Sacraments, *noticed*, 488.
Ames, F. S. D., Wishes on Wings, *noticed*, 482.
Anderdon, W. H., Britain's Early Faith, *noticed*, 486.
Annuaire de l'Enseignement Primaire, *noticed*, 231.
Apostles' Creed, The, and the Rule of Faith, 275; whether of Apostolic origin, 276; chief object of, 280; attempt to trace original form of, 282; antiquity of the Roman Creed, 284; comparison of New Testament language with, 288.
Asia, Excursions to Central, 423.
Augustine, St., Recent Works on, 88; was he anti-Papal, 97; Protestant treatment of, 101; a Catholic study of, 104.
***Ave Maria*, *noticed*, 229.**
Azarias, Brother, Aristotle and the Christian Church, *noticed*, 220.
- BAKER, James, John Westacott, *noticed*, 200.**
Baptism in Play, 434.
Bayma, J., S.J., Elements of Analytical Geometry, *noticed*, 480.
Bell, Marianne, Curious Creatures, *noticed*, 230.
Bellesheim, A., Notices by, 207, 232, 234, 473.
Bennett, H. M., M.A., Reasons for Submitting to Rome, *noticed*, 219.
Beuno's, St., College, 371.
Berteu, A., Ave Maria Stella, *noticed*, 488.
Bhutanese, Manners of the, 195.
Bierbaum, Rev. E., Sermons on S. Heart, *noticed*, 489.
Black, W., Strange Adventures of a House-boat, *noticed*, 199.
***Bookworm*, *The*, *noticed*, 229.**
"Borough English," 43; origin of the term, 45; the custom not derived from some previous race, 47; but from races now inhabiting Europe; its antiquity, 53.
Bosanquet, B., Logic, or Morphology of Knowledge, *noticed*, 458.
Boutmy, E., Developpement de la Constitution en Angleterre, *noticed*, 239.
Bourinot, J. G., Constitutional History of Canada, *noticed*, 464.
Bowles, Miss E., Lady Georgiana Fullerton, 311.
Brahmaputra, Source of the, 194.
Braddon, M. E., The Fatal Three, *noticed*, 429.
Breen, Rev. J. D., O.S.B., "189," *noticed*, 219.
Bridgett, Rev. T. E., Life of Blessed John Fisher, *noticed*, 213.
Brigg, J. E., Philosophy of the New Birth, *noticed*, 469.
Briggs, C. A., Messianic Prophecy, *noticed*, 470.
Brück, Dr. H., History of Catholic Church in Nineteenth Century, *noticed*, 234.
Buried Cities of Arizona, 192.
- CÆSAR's Gallic War, Book VII., by Bond and Walpole, *noticed*, 481.**
Californian Fruit Produce, 423.
Cambridge, Curriculum at, 358.
Carr, Rev. A., The Church and Roman Empire, *noticed*, 477.

- Cassel, P., Esther, *noticed*, 468.
 Catholic Church in England, The, and *The Quarterly Review*, 107; "Leakage" in, 119; Catholic clergy, and the English nation, 121; the culture of, 352; Ecclesiastical training of, 367; French seminary course, 369.
 Catholics and County Councils, 77; will Catholics find difficulty in obtaining seats, 80; Catholics and public duty, 83; Public duty and the Catholic Union, 85; Increase of in England, 112; Social position of in England, 115, 135; Literary work by; 129; Various kinds of eminence of, 140.
 Cecilia, St., Life and Martyrdom of, *noticed*, 488.
 Ceylon, Tank Restoration in, 192.
 Chambord, Comte de, M. de Falloux on, 31.
 Christmas Island, 422.
 Church of England Reformed herself, Reply to Contention that, 246.
 Churgress, The, *noticed*, 230.
 Clarke, Rev. R. F., S.J., Lourdes and its Miracles, *noticed*, 219; Maria Magnificata, *noticed*, 489.
 Clerke, Miss E. M., Memoirs of a Royalist, 22; Irish Industries, 378.
 Coleridge, Rev. H. J., S.J., Life of Lady G. Fullerton, *noticed*, 216.
 Colvin, Sidney, Keats, *noticed*, 237.
 Comets, 178.
 Companion for Members of Association of S. Heart, *noticed*, 489.
 Constantinople, Paris to, 425.
 Corona, B.M. Virginis, *noticed*, 489.
 Cox, J. G., Eastertide in Rome, *noticed*, 460.
 Craven, Madame A., Lady Georgiana Fullerton, *noticed*, 216.
 Crawford, F. Marion, With the Immortals, *noticed*, 428.
 Crawford, Oswald, Sylvia Arden, *noticed*, 431.
 Creighton, M., Cardinal Wolsey, *noticed*, 462.
 Crickets in Algeria, Devastation by, 191.
 Culture of clergy, 352; of Protestant candidate for, 353; of Catholic candidate for, 360; modern philosophy and, 364; Jesuit training and, 371; Theology and, 375.
 Cushing, Paul, The Blacksmith of Voe, *noticed*, 430.
 Cutts, E. L., on St. Augustine, 90.
- DEB Raja, Country of the, 195.
 Dennis's Book on Industries of Ireland, 378, *seq.*
 Devas, C. S., Notice by, 223.
 Diabolical Possession in Art, 210.
 Diamond Mines, &c., in Africa, 420; Catholicity at the, 422.
 Drinkwater, G. E., Plays and Poems, *noticed*, 476.
 Duckett, Canon, The Skein Unravelled, *noticed*, 448.
- EDWARDS, T. C., Epistle to Hebrews, *noticed*, 471.
 Electric Light Litigation, Recent, 417.
 Emigration, Italian, 441.
 Eubule-Evans, A., Through Dark to Light, *noticed*, 476.
 Evans, H. H., St. John, Author of Fourth Gospel, *noticed*, 469.
 Ewald, H., Old and New Testament Theology, *noticed*, 468.
 Exell, Rev. J. S., Bible Illustrator, *noticed*, 469.
 Exhibition, The Aëronautical, at Vienna, 185; The Vatican, 203.
- FABER, F. W., Ethel's Book of the Angels, *noticed*, 482.
 Falloux, Comte de, Memoirs of, 22; political career of, 27; private life, influence among Royalist party, 31; the Comte de Chambord and the crisis in French politics, 37, *seq.*
 Farjeon, B. L., Farebrother the Miser, *noticed*, 197.

- Fleming, Rev. T. Q., Hylomorphism of Thought-Being, *noticed*, 457.
 Fletcher, J. S., Our Lady's Month, *noticed*, 468.
 Fluorine, The Isolation of, 182.
 Fordyce, J., The New Social Order, *noticed*, 465.
 Franciscan Enterprise in Peru, 419.
 Freeman, E. A., William the Conqueror, *noticed*, 462.
 Fullerton, Lady Georgiana, 311; early years of, 313; marriage, 320; writes "Ellen Middleton," 321; conversion, 324; writes "Grantley Manor," 325; grief of, at loss of her son, 327; friends and work, 328; illness and death, 332.
- GASQUET, F. A., O.S.B., Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries, *noticed*, 240.
 ———, J. R., The Apostles' Creed and the Rule of Faith, 275; Notice by, 462.
 Gibbons, A., Early Lincoln Wills, *noticed*, 231.
 Gipsies and Jews in Central Asia, 193.
 Gissing, A., Joy cometh in the Morning, *noticed*, 197.
 Gladstone, Mr., On the Elizabethan Settlement of Religion, 243; Inaccuracies of, enumerated, 244, *seq.*
 Goldfields, Kaap Valley, 421.
 Goldsmith's Poems, by Dobson, *noticed*, 459.
 Grant, J. C., Vauclin, *noticed*, 484.
 Graviere, J. de la, Knights of Malta and War of Cyprus, *noticed*, 463.
 Green, Mrs. J. R., Henry the Second, *noticed*, 462.
 Greville, Charles C. F., Memoirs of, 54; Early Life of, 57; on acts and character of the Queen, 60; on Catholic Emancipation and the Church of England, 69, *seq.*
 Grignon de Montfort, Blessed, 211; Treatise on Devotion to Blessed Virgin Mary, *noticed*, 489.
- HÆCKEL, J. T., The Church and the Age, *noticed*, 483.
 Haggard, H. Rider, Maiwa's Revenge, *noticed*, 432.
 Hamilton, H., The Poet's Praise, *noticed*, 475.
 Harrison, F., Oliver Cromwell, *noticed*, 462.
 Hastie, W., Jurisprudence, *noticed*, 466.
 Hedley, Bishop J. C., Can the Scriptures Err? 144.
 Hergenröther, Cardinal, Leonis X. Regesta, *noticed*, 468.
 Hettinger, F., Aus Welt und Kirche, *noticed*, 473.
 Holand, Rev. J. R., S.J., Ownership and Natural Right, *noticed*, 223.
 Homiletic Magazine, vol. xviii., 469.
 Howard, B. W., Tony the Maid, *noticed*, 199.
 Hume, F. W., Mystery of a Hansom Cab, *noticed*, 196.
 Hutton, Mr. R. H., as a Religious Thinker, 1; on "Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith," *ibid*; his attitude towards the Catholic Church, 3, 8, 11; his literary sympathy, 5; on Cardinal Newman, 7; criticism on, 18.
 Hymns, Power of, 212.
 Hymn-Book, New Manual, *noticed*, 468.
- IDYLLS of the King, A Missing Page from the, 259.
 Industries, Decay of, in Ireland, 379; causes of, 383; State aid for revival of, 384; recent enterprises, 387.
 Infallibility, Practical Working of, 11.
 Inspiration: Is it compatible with error? 145; the Councils and, 146; nature of, 149.
 Irawadi, Navigation on the Upper, 188.
 Irish Industries, 378; Baltimore Fisheries, 390; Woollen, 392; Flax, 393.
- JAMES, Henry, The Reverberator, *noticed*, 431.

- Jennings, Rev. A. C., Chronological Table, *noticed*, 461.
 Jesuit Ecclesiastical Training, 371.
 Jordan, W. L., The Standard of Value, *noticed*, 464.
- KANT, J., Philosophy of Law, *noticed*, 466.
 Keats, "English Men of Letters," *noticed*, 237.
 Keller, Dr. J. A., Stories for Communicants, *noticed*, 488.
 Kemp, F. A., Daily Thought of St. Vincent de Paul, *noticed*, 489.
 Krakatoa Revisited, 426.
- LADD, G. T., Physiological Psychology, *noticed*, 462.
 Lahousse, G., *Metaphysica Specialis*, *noticed*, 236.
 Lambeth Conference, The, 291; Contrast between, and the Vatican Council, 292; Value of, 294; Four conditions that its members might speak as Bishops: 1. Orders, and 2. Doctrine, 300; 3. Jurisdiction, 305; 4. Communion with Church Catholic, 310.
 Lee, A. G., St. Philip Neri, *noticed*, 219.
 Leo XIII. and the Nineteenth Century, 203; Letter of, to Bishops of Brazil, 400; The Practice of Humility, Vaughan's and Dillon's Translations, *noticed*, 455.
 Lewis, Rev. G., Life of Bishop Hall, *noticed*, 476.
 Leys, J. K., The Lindsays, *noticed*, 200.
 Lilly, W. S., Catholics and County Councils, 77.
 Lightning Conductors, Modern views of, 415.
 Livius, Rev. T., C.S.S.R., St. Peter Bishop of Rome, *noticed*, 443.
 Lubomirski, Prince, Conversion of, 25.
- MACKAY, C., Dictionary of Lowland Scotch, *noticed*, 471.
 Macduff, J. R., St. Paul in Athens, *noticed*, 482.
 MacLaughlin, Rev. J., Is one Religion as good as another? *noticed*, 460.
 Malet, Lucas, A Counsel of Perfection, *noticed*, 199.
 Malagrida, Monument to P., 202.
 Manchester Canal, Progress of the, 188.
 Manual of Prayers, *noticed*, 488.
 Mary Magdalen, Story of, *noticed*, 219.
 Mars, Canals of, 177; climate of, 414.
 Masonic Anti-League, 205.
 Meath, Earl of, Prosperity or Pauperism, *noticed*, 465.
 Meditations on Life of St. Ignatius, *noticed*, 488.
 Mickiewicz, A., Master Thaddeus, *noticed*, 478.
 Mivart, Dr. St. G., and the Inspiration of Bible, 157, 163.
 Montmelian, B. de, S. Maurice et la Légion Thébéenne, *noticed*, 447.
 Morris, Rev. John, S.J., Mr. Gladstone on the Elizabethan Settlement of Religion, 243.
 Morte d'Arthur, Catholic Character of, 259, *seq.*; The "Holy Grail" in, 262; Lancelot's and Guinevere's Conversions in, 272.
- NATIONAL Gallery in 1889, 334; Arrangement of, 335; Styles as a help to arrangement, 337; Sir Frederic Burton as an artist, his paintings, 340; Sir Frederic as Director of, additions made by him, 344; Need of a good Director and a Treasury grant, 347.
 Newman, Cardinal, Mr. R. H. Hutton on, 7.
 Newport and Menevia, The Bishop of, Can the Scriptures Err? 144.
 Ninette, *noticed*, 430.
 Norris, W. E., Chris, *noticed*, 198.
 Notes of Travel and Exploration, 186, 419.
 Notes on Novels, 196, 428.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals : French, 210, 433 ; German, 207, 435 ; Italian, 202, 438.

O'GRADY, E., Recitations for Schools, *noticed*, 475.
 O'Kennedy, Rev. R., The Holy Angels, *noticed*, 474.
 O'Meara, Kathleen, Narka, *noticed*, 197.
 Oxford, Curriculum at, 353, *seq.* ; Life led at, 356.
 Ozone, Purification of Air by, 419.

PANAMA Canal, 428.
 Peacock, Edward, Borough English, 43.
 Personal Identification and Description, 183.
 Peru, Franciscans in, 419.
 Pfeiffer, E., Sonnets, *noticed*, 475.
 Philosophy, Modern Value of, in Education, 364.
 Photography, Celestial, 411.
 Pleiades, New Nebulæ in the, 176.
 Poland and Ireland, 206.
 Political Economy, 202 ; Benevolence and, 439 ; Free Competition and, 440.
 Polybius's Achæan League, by Capes, *noticed*, 459.
 Porter, Very Rev. G., S.J., Heart of St. Frances de Sales, *noticed*, 489.
 Praises of Heroes, *noticed*, 483.
 Prothero, R. E., Pioneers of English Farming, *noticed*, 473.
 Provence, Flower Farms in, 187.

Quarterly Review, The, and the Catholic Church in England, 107 ; and the Culture of our Clergy, 352.

RAGOZIN, Z. A., Chaldæa and Persia, *noticed*, 460.
 Reichel, O. J., Elements of Canon Law, *noticed*, 221.
 Renan, E., History of People of Israel, *noticed*, 470.
 Ricard, Mgr., L'Abbé Maury, *noticed*, 467.
 Rickaby, J., S.J., Moral Philosophy, *noticed*, 445.
 Rituale Romanum, Editio Typica, *noticed*, 486.
 Rosmini's Propositions, Roman Condemnation of, 166, 436.
 Rossi, G. R. de, La Bibbia offerta da Ceolfrido al Sepolcro di S. Pietro, *noticed*, 232.
 Roman Municipal Elections, 438.
 Roman Hymnal, *noticed*, 488.
 Rouvier, Dom L. M., Novena for Festivals B.V.M., *noticed*, 488.
 Route from Assam to Upper Burmah, 194.

SALES, St. Francis de, F. Mackay's Translation, *noticed*, 484.
 Salford, Bp. of, The Sacrifice of the Mass, *noticed*, 489.
 Scannell, Rev. T. B., Notices by, 239, 463-7, 486.
 Schaff, Dr. Philip, on St. Augustine, 88.
 Scheeben, The late Dr., 435.
 Schneider, J., S.J., Manuale Sacerdotum, *noticed*, 223.
 Schuster, L., Bible History, 489.
 Science Notices, 176, 411.
 Scriptures, Can they Err? 144 ; How the "Word of God," 146 ; Do they contain mistakes, 148 ; Catholic tradition as to accuracy of, 153 ; Authorship of Books of, 155 ; Some modern Catholic opinions on, 157 ; Mr. Mivart's position regarding the inaccuracy of, 157, 163.
 Sharp, Mrs. W., Women's Voices, *noticed*, 481.
 Sheehan, Rev. P. A., Recent Works on St. Augustine, 88.
 Siberia, Trade Routes to, 186 ; Yenesei route to, 426 ; Ob-railway to, 427.